

Ignoring Race and Denying Racism: A Meta-Analysis of the Associations Between Colorblind Racial Ideology, Anti-Blackness, and Other Variables Antithetical to Racial Justice

Jacqueline Yi¹, Helen A. Neville², Nathan R. Todd¹, and Yara Mekawi³

¹ Department of Psychology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

² Department of Educational Psychology and African American Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

³ Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences, University of Louisville

One critical role counseling psychologists can play in dismantling anti-Blackness and eradicating systemic racism is to build on the field's strength in understanding individual-level processes (i.e., systems are created and maintained by individual actors). Drawing on antiracism scholarship, we aimed to better understand how colorblind racial ideology (CBRI), or the denial and minimization of race and racism, may serve as a barrier to engaging in antiracist praxis. Specifically, we conducted a meta-analysis to determine if color evasion (ignoring race) and power evasion (denying structural racism) CBRI were differentially associated with anti-Blackness and processes linked to antiracism. Findings based on 375 effects drawn from 83 studies with more than 25,000 individuals suggest different effects based on CBRI type. As hypothesized, we found that power evasion CBRI was related to increased endorsement of anti-Black prejudice ($r = .33$) and legitimizing ideologies ($r = .24$), and negatively associated with a range of other variables associated with antiracism, including social justice behaviors ($r = -.31$), multicultural practice competencies ($r = -.16$), diversity openness ($r = -.28$), and racial/ethnic empathy ($r = -.35$). Consistent with theory, color evasion CBRI was related to increased diversity openness ($r = .12$). We discuss limitations of our study, as well as outline future directions for research and practice to focus on the role of CBRI in sustaining and perpetuating anti-Blackness and systemic racism. Thus, this meta-analysis has implications for pushing the field of counseling psychology to build the bridge between individual ideologies and creating structural change.

Public Significance Statement

In this article, we synthesized results from 83 studies that examined colorblind racial ideology (i.e., denying and minimizing the importance of race and racism). We found that endorsing colorblind racial ideology, particularly power evasion (denying racism) rather than color evasion (ignoring race), was associated with higher anti-Black prejudice, lower racial/ethnic empathy, and lower multicultural competencies.


Keywords: colorblind racial ideology, racial prejudice, ethnic empathy, social justice, multicultural competencies


Supplemental materials: <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000618.supp>

The way to right wrongs is to turn the light of truth upon them.—Ida B. Wells-Barnett

Not everything that is faced can be changed, but nothing can be changed until it is faced.—James Baldwin

Jacqueline Yi  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6056-0136>

Helen A. Neville  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8053-0519>

Yara Mekawi  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9181-2324>

The authors, Helen A. Neville and Nathan R. Todd, contributed equally to the article and are listed in alphabetical order.

The authors did not receive funding for this work and have no conflicts of interests to disclose.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Jacqueline Yi, Department of Psychology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 603 East Daniel Street, Champaign, IL 61820, United States. Email: ji10@illinois.edu

In the United States, there are waves of recognition of racial inequities inevitably followed by long stretches of apathy in which the majority of Americans minimize the existence of racism, particularly directed against Black individuals. Recently, there was an increase in identifying racism as a problem in the United States after the lynching of Ahmaud Arbery in Georgia (February 23, 2020) and the murders of Breonna Taylor (March 13, 2020) and George Floyd (May 25, 2020) by police officers. However, months after the killings, levels of denial began to rebound. According to data from the Pew Research Center (Thomas & Horowitz, 2020), in June 2020, 60% of White Americans expressed support for Black Lives Matter, which we interpret as an acknowledgment of the dehumanization of Black people via institutional racism. But, by September 2020, that number slipped to 45%, whereas Black Americans' support for Black Lives Matter remained stable during the same 3-month period (87% vs. 86%).

The quotes in the epigram by antiracist author-activists Ida B. Wells-Barnett and James Baldwin underscore that to change racial

oppression, one—as individuals and society—must first name the problem; that is, to shine the light on all manifestations of racism, such as the anti-Blackness exemplified by police killings. Psychology and related research on colorblind racial ideology (CBRI) provide information on barriers to naming the problem of structural racism against Black, Indigenous, and other People of Color (BIPOC) as a source of racial inequities in society. There is tension in the CBRI literature—some empirical findings support the assertion that denial of structural racism (i.e., greater CBRI) is associated with a range of racist ideas and practices that support the oppression of BIPOC (Neville et al., 2013). Other results indicate that CBRI can reduce prejudice and stereotyping (e.g., Leslie et al., 2020). Part of the equivocal findings can be explained by the different conceptual and measurement approaches to CBRI (i.e., denying structural racism compared to ignoring racial group membership) assessed in the studies. The purpose of this article is to conduct a meta-analysis on the diverse approaches to CBRI and their associations with naming and working toward eradicating anti-Blackness and racism more broadly. The scope of the project is consistent with Miller et al.'s (2018) recommendations for the field of counseling psychology to address racism. Among the recommendations they uncovered was the critical examination of racial attitudes, including challenging colorblind racial beliefs. The project also builds on recommendations from the recent American Psychological Association (American Psychological Association [APA], 2021) resolution calling on psychology to play an active role in dismantling systemic racism. The resolution includes recommendations for psychology to help educate teachers and mental health professionals about racism-related processes. Findings from this study can help guide psychologists about which constructs to consider in these education efforts.

Although quantitative research in the social sciences has historically been used to reinforce racial inequities, it can also be used to promote racial justice projects leading to social transformation (Garcia et al., 2018). In this study, we use a meta-analytic approach, which represents the gold standard in conducting reliable reviews of the literature, because it is useful in examining consistencies and inconsistencies among extant findings (Borenstein et al., 2009) and has been used to address racial injustice (Young & Young, 2022). Our meta-analysis specifically builds on two recent empirical reviews of the CBRI literature (Leslie et al., 2020; Whitley & Webster, 2019). Collectively, their findings suggest small, significant, and *negative* associations between CBRI and prejudice and stereotyping. However, these meta-analyses only included studies that defined CBRI as ignoring race; they did not include articles that operationalized CBRI as ignoring institutional racism. That is, these published meta-analyses did not include the growing body of CBRI literature documenting a *positive* association between ignoring institutional racism and prejudice. In this study, we adopt a critical lens by including indicators of awareness of institutional racism. Additionally, there are no systematic reviews that explore whether CBRI is specifically associated with anti-Black outcomes in addition to the general race-related attitudes and behaviors that are conceptualized as supporting racial inequities. Furthermore, no reviews to date have specifically explored CBRI's role in prejudice toward Black people compared to prejudice toward non-Black People of Color.

We focus on individual-level CBRI as one pathway to create larger structural change for two main reasons. First, in agreement with social psychologist and racism scholar, James Jones (Association for Psychological Science, 2020), one realistic role

psychologists can play in transforming anti-Blackness and structural racism is to challenge personal beliefs about racism; he reminded us that people can change policies and practices because systems are created and sustained by individual actors. The study is also consistent with the work of sociologist Bonilla-Silva (2006, 2020) in that findings can provide data on how CBRI is antithetical to racial justice; without providing opportunities to uncover the ways in which systemic racism influences social trends (e.g., greater food insecurities among BIPOC during the COVID-19 pandemic), people are more likely to blame BIPOC for inequalities and not support policies that get at the root causes of the concern. For example, medical researchers have highlighted the ways in which ignoring systemic racism can lead to larger health inequities. Okah et al. (2021) found that compared to their peers, physicians with less understanding of systemic racism were more likely to essentialize race in medical treatment and thus less likely to consider the role of racism in health. In this sense, CBRI attitudes are thought to reinforce the erroneous belief that race is biological as opposed to a social construction, which, in turn, can lead to medical research and policies that fail to consider the role of racism on BIPOC health. By doing so, the medical field is more likely to adopt beliefs that blame BIPOC for health disparities as opposed to identifying and targeting the causes of the disparities.

This article draws on the strengths of our discipline in tackling anti-Blackness and structural racism through understanding individual-level endorsement of CBRI. Findings from our meta-analysis have implications for research and practice in counseling psychology that attend to CBRI to dismantle systemic racism (see Table 8, for a summary). Furthermore, we recognize that awareness of racism is core to antiracist work (Pieterse et al., 2016). In defining antiracism, Bonnett (2005) noted that although antiracism reflects “thought and/or practice that seek to confront, eradicate and/or ameliorate racism,” the term “implies the ability to [*first*] identify a phenomenon—racism—and [*then*] to do something about it” (p. 3).

To contextualize the present study, we first define CBRI, followed by a review of the literature on the association between CBRI and standard indicators of racial prejudice or intolerance (i.e., anti-Black attitudes, racial prejudice, and legitimizing ideologies) as well as indicators that are especially relevant to the applied work of counseling psychology professionals (i.e., social justice orientation and multicultural competencies). Within these sections, we outline the ways in which these processes support or challenge racist ideologies and practices. We conclude the introduction with a discussion of the moderators used in the current investigation.

Defining Colorblind Racial Ideology

In psychology, CBRI is a belief system that informs one's interpretation of and response to racial stimuli. We use sociologist Frankenberg's (1993) categorization of CBRI to organize our review. Frankenberg identified two types of CBRI: color and power evasion. Color evasion includes ignoring racial or ethnic group membership to reduce interracial tension and prejudice. It is the belief that, as humans, we are similar and that we should focus on this similarity as opposed to one's racial group membership (Whitley & Webster, 2019). Example measures of color evasion are Knowles et al. (2009) scale (e.g., “Putting racial labels on people obscures the fact that everyone is a unique individual”) and Rosenthal et al. (2012) scale (e.g., “All human beings are individuals

and therefore race and ethnicity are not important"). Internal consistency estimates for these scales have ranged from .55 (Sparkman et al., 2019) to .90 (Schwarzenthal et al., 2019), and studies have shown that greater color evasion is related to lower likelihood of identifying and reporting acts of discrimination (Apfelbaum et al., 2010) and lower engagement with racial minorities among White individuals (Plaut et al., 2009). Scholars operating from this color evasion frame argue that "prejudice derives from people's irrelevant and superficial emphasis on group categories (e.g., race), and therefore prejudice can be decreased by de-emphasizing group memberships" (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010, p. 218). Thus, conceptually, color evasion or denial of race and racial categorization is an intentional strategy some White people adopt in interpersonal relationships to appear nonbiased and ultimately to promote greater racial harmony (Apfelbaum et al., 2008).

Power evasion, on the other hand, consists of the denial, minimization, and distortion of the existence of institutional racism (Neville et al., 2000, 2013). Instead of reducing racial prejudice, scholars adopting this approach argue that ignoring racial group membership can exacerbate group conflict by encouraging White people to overlook the racialized experiences of members of BIPOC communities (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Critical race theory and related interdisciplinary scholars argue that power evasion CBRI reflects a larger dominant legitimizing ideology in society (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006, 2020; Mekawi et al., 2020). Legitimizing ideologies are commonly held myths that serve to justify the status quo; in this case, the racial status quo in which White people have political and economic power and BIPOC are marginalized. Theory and empirical findings suggest that BIPOC and White people can adopt power evasion attitudes, but that White people endorse higher levels because they benefit most from the attempted masking of racism (Neville et al., 2013). An underlying assumption of the power evasion approach is that only through shining the light on racism can people and systems begin to move toward racial equity.

The most widely used measure to study power evasion is the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000), which was published in the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 2 decades ago and remains as one of the few psychometrically sound measures of CBRI. Neville and her colleagues argued that CBRI reflect ultramodern forms of racism. The CoBRAS consists of three subscales: (a) Unawareness of Racial Privilege (e.g., "Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich"), (b) Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination (e.g., "Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people"), and (c) Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues (e.g., "Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension"). Neville et al. (2000) found high internal consistency estimates for CoBRAS, and the measure has been widely used in research on various race-related and social justice outcomes (Awad & Jackson, 2016).

Associations of CBRI With Anti-Blackness, Racial Prejudice, and Legitimizing Ideologies

Bonnett's (2005) comprehensive exploration of antiracism incorporates awareness of and taking action against racial prejudice and anti-egalitarianism. For this article, we view anti-Blackness as longstanding and persistent dehumanization and prejudice against Black people (Dumas, 2016). In the field of psychology, support for

anti-egalitarianism is often expressed in the form of legitimizing ideologies or beliefs that justify the hierarchical social order (Kteily et al., 2017). CBRI theory suggests that color and power evasion beliefs are related to racial and related attitudes (e.g., legitimizing ideologies), but in different directions. In this study, we focus on racial prejudice toward BIPOC in general and toward Black individuals specifically. Consistent with the core tenet of the color evasion approach, recent meta-analyses report a small but significant negative relationship between CBRI and racial prejudice. Specifically, across correlational and experimental color evasion studies, findings suggest small effects on general prejudice (Leslie et al., 2020; Whitley & Webster, 2019) and stereotyping (Leslie et al., 2020). Because both studies had broader aims, they did not separate general from race-specific measures. It is uncertain if the strength of the effect is weaker because of the global nature of the outcome measures. Across correlational studies with a range of adult samples, there is mounting support documenting the positive association between power evasion CBRI and racial prejudice (e.g., Neville et al., 2000; Poteat & Spanierman, 2012), anti-Black prejudice (e.g., Awad et al., 2005; Yi & Todd, 2021), and legitimizing ideologies including social dominance orientation (e.g., Daughtry et al., 2020; Mekawi et al., 2020) and belief in a just world (e.g., Neville et al., 2000; Yi & Todd, 2021). The strength of the effects, however, varies from study to study. On the basis of the theoretical and empirical research, we offer the below hypotheses (see Table 1, for full list of study hypotheses):

Hypothesis 1a–b: Color evasion CBRI will have a significant negative association with anti-Black prejudice and prejudice against non-Black POC.

Hypothesis 1c–d: Power evasion CBRI will have a significant positive association with anti-Black prejudice and prejudice against non-Black POC.

Hypothesis 2: Power evasion CBRI will have a significant positive association with legitimizing ideologies.

Given that there is little discussion about the association between color evasion beliefs and legitimizing ideologies, these analyses were exploratory.

Associations of CBRI With Multicultural Competencies and Social Justice Orientation

In this section, we place Bonnett's (2005) foundational conceptualization of antiracism in conversation with research conducted in counseling psychology and related fields. Examining antiracism provides additional evidence for the importance of either challenging power evasion and/or promoting color evasion in preparing applied psychologists. Bonnett's expansive discussion included approaches to multiculturalism as a component of antiracism. According to Bonnett, people who adopt multicultural antiracism are concerned with cultural exclusion and denigration of others and often embrace an empathic imagination, which enables them to engage in perspective taking, all of which are core to engaging in antiracism practice. Drawing on arguments in his text, we extend Bonnett's work on antiracism to also include an awareness of and action to promote social justice. Counseling psychologists and others have argued that social justice orientation is an extension of multicultural counseling

Table 1
Summary of Core Hypotheses

Outcome	Color evasion CBRI	Power evasion CBRI
Racial prejudice		
Against Black people	H1a neg effect [null effect]	H1c pos effect [pos effect]
Against non-Black POC	H1b neg effect —	H1d pos effect [null effect]
Legitimizing ideologies	No hypothesis [null effect]	H2 pos effect [pos. effect]
Multicultural competencies		
Multicultural practice competencies	No hypothesis —	H3a neg effect [neg. effect]
Diversity openness	No hypothesis [pos effect]	H3b neg effect [neg. effect]
Empathy		
Racial/ethnocultural	No hypothesis —	H3c neg effect [neg effect]
General	No hypothesis —	No hypothesis [null effect]
Social justice orientation		
Racial attitudes	No hypothesis [null effect]	H4a neg effect [null effect]
Behaviors	No hypothesis —	H4b neg effect [neg effect]

Note. The information in the brackets represent the general findings from the meta-analysis, and “—” indicates that there was an insufficient number of effects to test the research question or hypothesis. CBRI = colorblind racial ideology; POC = People of Color.

competencies (e.g., Singh et al., 2020), and there are growing empirical findings to support the association between the two (e.g., Presseau et al., 2019). The majority of the studies in these areas adopt a power evasion approach. Thus, the remainder of this review focuses on the empirical research from this framework, which in turn grounds the hypotheses. Considering the dearth of theoretical and empirical research on color evasion CBRI and the specified outcomes, one goal of this meta-analysis was to explore these associations.

Multicultural Competencies

Developing multicultural competencies is a lifelong process in which one gains increasing *awareness* of self through critical reflection of personal values and attitudes, *knowledge* about the sociohistorical experiences of others, and *skills* to connect to clients/students and create system-level changes to become inclusive and egalitarian (Sue et al., 2019). Initial articulations of multicultural competencies centered awareness, knowledge, and skills as related to BIPOC communities, and most contemporary measures of multicultural competencies include items related to race and racism (e.g., Mallinckrodt et al., 2014; Ponterotto et al., 2002; Spanierman et al., 2011). In addition to these global multicultural competencies that helping professionals strive to embrace, counseling psychologists have identified more specific processes that are the key components of multicultural practice competencies: diversity openness and empathy (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014; Patterson et al., 2018). Diversity openness incorporates valuing and accepting diversity, including racial diversity (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014); and empathy is regarded as an essential component of all (counseling) relationships,

but especially in cross-cultural dyads (Patterson, 1996). Moreover, each of these components are consistent with antiracism praxis (Bonnett, 2005). In a history of empathy, Lanzoni (2018) explored the underpinnings of empathy or lack of as an expression of racism. Grounding their analysis in the letters and written work of early psychology scholars of racial prejudice and racism such as Gordon Allport and Kenneth Clark, she argued empathy is needed to support human rights and dignity for all, or an antiracist stance. We explored the associations between CBRI and multicultural competencies broadly because findings will have implications for identifying ways to include antiracism efforts more explicitly in training counseling psychologists.

Multicultural Practice Competencies

Data suggest that greater denial and distortion of racism are linked to lower levels of multicultural practice competencies among helping professionals (Spanierman et al., 2011). Specifically, consistent research findings indicate power evasion beliefs have significant medium-to-large associations with multicultural *awareness* among counselors (e.g., Neville et al., 2006; Wilcox et al., 2021), small-to-medium effects with multicultural *knowledge* among counselors (e.g., Chao et al., 2011; Neville et al., 2006; Wilcox et al., 2021) and teachers (e.g., Spanierman et al., 2011), and small-to-medium associations with general evaluations of multicultural practice competencies (e.g., Awad & Jackson, 2016; Chao et al., 2011; Spanierman et al., 2011).

Diversity Openness

Consistent with the conceptualization of power evasion CBRI, research findings indicate significant associations with openness to diversity and a valuing of diversity among a range of populations, including physicians (e.g., Domenech Rodríguez et al., 2019) and students (Neville et al., 2000). The effects sizes vary from small to large, depending on the measure and sample. Some data indicate that color evasion CBRI has a different association with indicators of openness/inclusion; that is, higher scores have been found to be associated with greater openness and appreciation for multiculturalism (See et al., 2020).

Empathy

Data among students and helping professionals alike indicate that greater denial and minimization of racism are associated with lower levels of racial or ethnocultural empathy. Racial/ethnocultural empathy is generally defined as a “specific type of empathy for others whose racial/ethnic background differs from one’s own” (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014, p. 133) and consists of attitudes, cognitions, and behaviors. The majority of studies in this area focus on power evasion CBRI and have used the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (Wang et al., 2003). Medium associations have been found among helping professionals (Domenech Rodríguez et al., 2019) and medium-to-large effects among college students (Blackmon et al., 2019; Kleiman et al., 2015). It appears, however, that power evasion beliefs are not significantly related to the perspective-taking dimension of racial/ethnocultural empathy or the ability to cognitively understand the experiences of people who are racially or ethnically different than oneself (e.g., Kleiman et al., 2015). Several

researchers have also explored the association between power evasion and nonracial, general empathy. The research findings on these associations are mixed, with some data suggesting significant, small negative relations between power evasion beliefs and general empathy (e.g., Burkard & Knox, 2004; Mekawi et al., 2020) and others reporting no significant association (e.g., Markowicz, 2009).

Hypothesis 3a–c: Power evasion CBRI will have significant negative associations with three components of multicultural competencies (i.e., multicultural practice competencies, diversity openness, and racial/ethnocultural empathy). Given the mixed findings on general empathy, we wanted to explore its association with CBRI.

Social Justice Orientation

There are numerous definitions of social justice orientation. Scholars in the field explore a range of dimensions, including awareness, interests, and advocacy. For this investigation, we view social justice orientation as consisting of attitudes and behaviors or an “outlook that reflects an interest in activities and programs that promote social equality” (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 120), as well as action taken to advocate for equality. Data consistently suggest small-to-medium effects between power evasion CBRI and social justice orientation. Specifically, greater levels of power evasion CBRI are associated with lower support for programs to address racial inequities such as affirmative action (e.g., Awad et al., 2005; Yi & Todd, 2021), and lower identification of structural issues as the causes of racial inequality (e.g., Buttner et al., 2007). Furthermore, findings on the association between power evasion CBRI and social justice action are equivocal, with several studies indicating a large association with self-reported antiracist or activist behaviors (Daughtry et al., 2020; Kleiman et al., 2015), and others suggesting no association with advocacy efforts (e.g., Pieterse et al., 2016). The few studies in this area that adopt a color evasion approach are inconsistent as well, with some studies indicating a small but significant positive (e.g., Milojev et al., 2014), negative (e.g., Kunst et al., 2015), or no association with social justice attitudes (e.g., Rosenthal et al., 2012).

Hypothesis 4a–b: Power evasion CBRI will have significant negative associations with two components of social justice orientation (i.e., racial social justice attitudes and social justice behaviors).

Moderators

In this investigation, we examined four moderators: (a) CBRI type (power or color evasion), (b) outcome focus (Black or non-Black), (c) publication type (published article or unpublished dissertation), and (d) racial composition of the sample (White/majority White or BIPOC/majority BIPOC). The above literature review discussed the findings by CBRI type (first moderator). When possible, we explored if effect sizes differed depending on whether the measures used in the investigation primarily included items on Black people (second moderator). This allowed us to investigate whether anti-Black sentiment or pro-Black beliefs were differentially related to CBRI compared to outcomes that focused on race more generally. To test for publication bias, we examined whether

published studies yielded significant and/or stronger effects compared to dissertations (third moderator). Finally, given empirical findings indicating that, on average, White individuals hold higher levels of power evasion beliefs compared to BIPOC, we explored differences based on the racial composition of the sample (fourth moderator).

Method

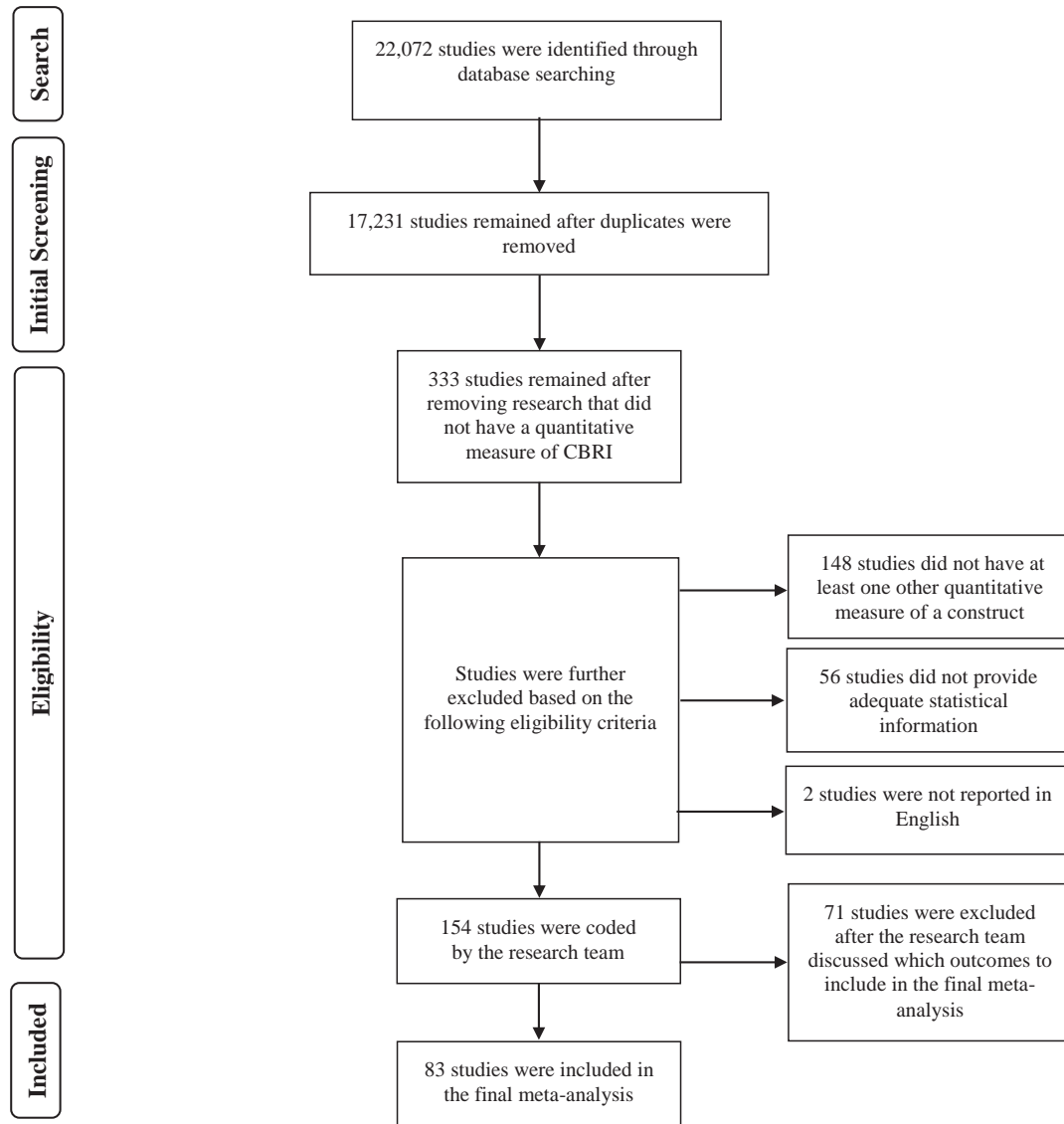
Literature Search

The literature search for this meta-analysis was conducted using the following databases: PsycINFO, PubPsych, Web of Science, ERIC, Sociological Abstracts, and ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. Abstracts and keywords were searched for the following terms: *colorblind** AND *rac**, *color-blind** AND *rac**, *color blind** AND *rac**, *CoBRAS* AND *rac**, *rac** awareness, and *rac** denial. We filtered our search to only include articles that were printed from 1995 to 2019. This initial search yielded 22,072 studies. We excluded 4,841 duplicate studies across all databases. All four authors and two undergraduate research assistants then reviewed studies by titles, abstracts, and full reports. We determined eligibility through the following criteria. First, we required that studies must have a quantitative measure of personal endorsement of CBRI, thus excluding any theoretical papers, qualitative studies, and irrelevant research. There were 16,898 studies that did not meet this criterion. Thus, 333 studies remained and were screened for the rest of our eligibility criteria. We required studies to have at least one other quantitative measure of a construct, and 148 studies did not meet this criterion. Studies had to provide adequate statistical information for effect size calculation (i.e., correlation between CBRI and another construct, sample size). We found 56 studies that did not meet this criterion. Finally, studies had to be reported in English, and we found two studies that did not meet this criterion. As a result of this process, 154 studies were determined to be eligible for coding (see Figure 1, for flow diagram of literature search process).

Coding Procedure

Studies were coded by all the authors. We coded the following information for each study: (a) author(s); (b) publication year; (c) CBRI endorsement measure; (d) CBRI measure type (i.e., power evasion vs. color evasion); (e) CBRI mean, standard deviation, and scale reliability; (f) outcome measure; (g) outcome mean, standard deviation, and scale reliability; (h) correlation between CBRI endorsement and outcome; (i) number of participants used to obtain each correlation; (j) racial composition of the sample (e.g., over 50% White, over 50% People of Color, all White, all Black/African American); (k) sample type (e.g., university students, community adult sample, helping professionals); and (l) publication type (i.e., published vs. unpublished dissertation). At the beginning of our coding process, a team of undergraduate research assistants reviewed studies and checked the authors' coding for accuracy. They reviewed a total of 47 studies and found seven inaccuracies. However, since most inaccuracies were found in statistical information that we did not use in our final analyses (e.g., CBRI means and standard deviations), we did not continue with this process for the rest of our coding.

Figure 1
Flow Diagram



Note. Flow diagram for the search and inclusion criteria for studies in the meta-analysis. CBRI = colorblind racial ideology.

Drawing from extant literature on CBRI measurement (e.g., Awad & Jackson, 2016), we categorized measures as color evasion when the scale item(s) assessed one's ignorance of race to emphasize similarity, and we categorized measures as power evasion when the item(s) assessed one's ignorance of structural racism. We independently categorized CBRI measure types as we coded studies and then collectively discussed categorizations until a consensus was reached about which CBRI measures to include in the final analyses (see Supplemental Table 1, for a list of CBRI measures included in our analyses, the references for measures, whether they were categorized as power or color evasion, and information on the reliability coefficients). We also discussed how to categorize outcomes based on the extant literature on CBRI. We independently sorted our coded outcome measures

into initial categories (e.g., legitimizing ideologies, social justice behaviors) and then discussed outcome categories until a consensus was reached about which outcomes to include in the final analyses (see Table 2, for a description of the outcome categories and examples of measures included). Our coding procedure resulted in a total of 83 studies and 375 effects for the present study.

Analytic Strategy

The research question guiding this study focused on the association between CBRI and continuous outcomes, such as prejudice or legitimizing ideologies. Thus, we used Pearson's r as the index of effect size. Variables were coded such that higher values indicated greater CBRI and greater values of the outcome (e.g., greater

Table 2
Outcome Conceptualization Definitions and Example Scales

Outcome	Definition	Example scales and content
Prejudice against Black people	Negative attitudes toward Black people	Modern racism (McConahay, 1986); Anti-Black attitudes (Katz & Hass, 1988); Symbolic Racism Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002)
Prejudice against non-Black POC	Negative attitudes toward non-Black People of Color, including Asian, Latinx, and Arab people	Scale of Anti-Asian stereotypes (Lin et al., 2005); Latino and Arab prejudice (Case, 2007)
Legitimizing ideologies	Beliefs that justify societal inequality	Social dominance orientation (Pratto et al., 1994); System Justification Scale (Kay & Jost, 2003); global belief in a just world (Lipkus, 1991)
Racial social justice attitudes	Awareness of racial injustice and attitudes oriented toward promoting racial justice	Affirmative action beliefs (Hurtado, 2005); White privilege awareness (Case, 2007); critical race theory measurement (Campbell, 2014)
Social justice behaviors	Frequency of/intentions toward engagement in behaviors that promote equity/challenge social injustices	Antiracism Behavioral Inventory (Pieterse et al., 2016); social justice behavioral intentions (Torres-Harding et al., 2012); social justice commitment (Miller et al., 2009)
Multicultural practice competencies	Knowledge, awareness, and skills around providing culturally informed services among mental health and medical trainees and practitioners and teachers	Multicultural Counseling Knowledge and Awareness Scale (Ponterotto et al., 2002); California Brief Multicultural Competence Scale (Keyser et al., 2014); Multicultural Teaching Competence Scale (Spanierman et al., 2011)
Diversity openness	Attitudes toward promoting diversity and celebrating multiculturalism	University Diversity Scale (Miville et al., 1999); personal support for multicultural ideologies (Levin et al., 2012); Cultural Openness and Desire to Learn Scale (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014)
Racial/ethnocultural empathy	Empathy toward People of Color	Ethnocultural empathy (Wang et al., 2003); intergroup empathy (Gurin et al., 2013); Empathic Feeling and Acting as an Ally Scale (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014)
General empathy	Empathy toward people in general	Interpersonal Reactivity Index Perspective-Taking, Empathic Concern Scales (Davis, 1983)

Note. POC = People of Color.

prejudice, stronger endorsement of legitimizing ideologies). Because our effect size was a correlation, we followed standard meta-analytic procedures and first converted the correlation to Fisher's Z (Borenstein et al., 2009). We conducted all study analyses using Fisher's Z , and then converted back to a correlation coefficient (i.e., r) for findings reported in the text and tables.

Multiple studies reported more than one correlation between CBRI and a given outcome, thus we had dependent effect size estimates. In order to use as much data as possible while accounting for potential dependence in the data, we used robust variance estimation (Hedges et al., 2010; Tipton, 2015). This approach applies a correction to standard errors in order to account for the presence of multiple effects from the same study (Hedges et al., 2010). We implemented this approach using the "robumeta" package in R (Fisher et al., 2017; Fisher & Tipton, 2015). This package allowed us to conduct a weighted, random-effects model meta-regression using corrections described by Hedges et al. (2010). A random-effects model was appropriate because our purpose was to generalize to the population of studies examining CBRI and because we assumed effect sizes would vary across studies (Borenstein et al., 2009; Quintana & Minami, 2006). In using this approach, we followed recommendations of scholars who estimate ρ at .80, as well as conducted sensitivity analyses to determine if changing the value of ρ altered the findings (Hedges et al., 2010). Across our analyses, sensitivity analyses did not show different patterns of results. Finally, because a few of our analyses contained small samples, we followed Tipton (2015) and used the Satterthwaite degrees of freedom adjustment implemented in "robumeta."

Tipton's showed that Type I error may increase when the degrees of freedom in the model were less than four. Thus, we follow other scholars and continue to report results when degrees of freedom are less than four in a model (e.g., Agadullina & Lovakov, 2018), but caution that these results need to be considered tentative.

As a first step in our meta-regression analyses, for each outcome, we examined an intercept-only model where the intercept was the average correlation between CBRI and the outcome. Next, similar to Peng et al. (2018), we examined an intercept-only model at each level of the moderator (i.e., we ran the meta-regression separately at each level of the moderator). This analysis revealed the average correlation for the given level of the moderator and if this correlation was significantly different from zero. In our tables, this effect is given in the row for each level of the moderator. Second, we used meta-regression to directly test if the correlations at each level of the moderator were significantly different from one another. We first dummy coded the moderating variables, and entered the variable coded as "1" into the meta-regression as a predictor. Because each moderating variable had two levels, a significant effect for this variable indicated that the correlations were significantly different between the two levels of the moderating variable. To communicate the findings from these analyses, which are available upon request, we used subscripts in Tables 3–7 such that levels of the moderator with different subscripts indicated a significant difference in the strength of association. Thus, for each moderator, we tested (a) if the association at each level of the moderator was significantly different from 0 and (b) if the effects at each level of the moderator were significantly different from one another. Finally, we used

Table 3*Prejudice Against Black People and Non-Black POC*

Measure	Number of correlations (<i>n</i>)	Number of independent samples (<i>k</i>)	Correlation (<i>r</i>)	Correlation (<i>r</i>) 95% CI	<i>df</i>	<i>I</i> ²	τ^2
Prejudice against Black people							
Main average correlation	53	12	.22*	[.04, .38]	11.00	96.11	0.13
Type of CBRI							
1. Power evasion	36	9	.33 ^{*a}	[.16, .49]	7.98	96.20	0.12
2. Color evasion	17	4	−.10 ^b	[−.40, .23]	3.00	88.26	0.05
Publication type							
1. Published	11	6	.21	[−.21, .57]	4.99	95.62	0.16
2. Dissertation	42	6	.22*	[.11, .32]	5.00	96.97	0.14
Prejudice against non-Black POC							
Main average correlation	15	7	−.10	[−.31, .09]	5.94	93.24	0.06
Type of CBRI							
1. Power evasion	15	7	−.10	[−.31, .09]	5.94	93.24	0.06
2. Color evasion	0	0	—	—	—	—	—
Publication type							
1. Published	12	6	−.10	[−.31, .09]	5.94	93.24	0.06
2. Dissertation	3	1	—	—	—	—	—
Metaregression							
Measure	Number of correlations (<i>n</i>)	Number of independent samples (<i>k</i>)	β (<i>SE</i>)	β 95% CI	<i>df</i>	<i>I</i> ²	τ^2
Prejudice against Black people versus non-Black POC							
Intercept	68	18	−.12 (.08)	[−.32, .09]	5.67	95.67	0.10
Black versus non-Black POC			.34* (.12)	[.08, .60]	11.78		

Note. For each outcome, each row tests if the correlation is different from zero. Within each moderator, the presence of two different letters (a, b) indicates that the effects are significantly different from one another (this was tested using metaregression, analyses available upon request). The absence of letters indicates they are not statistically different. We used “—” to indicate that we were unable to run the model due to not having enough effects. For the metaregression in this table, betas were estimated using Fisher’s *z* and Prejudice Against Non-Black POC as the reference group. Thus, the intercept corresponds to Non-Black POC and the term in the model tests if Prejudice Against Black People is significantly different than Prejudice Against Non-Black POC. CBRI = colorblind racial ideology; POC = People of Color.

* $p < .05$.

metaregression to test if the effects were different across outcomes for race-specific and more general outcomes (e.g., prejudice against Black people vs. non-Black POC; racial/ethnocultural vs. general empathy). In effect, these analyses used dummy coding to compare if the effect for the racial variable (e.g., racial/ethnocultural empathy) was different than the effect for the general variable (e.g., general empathy).

Throughout our analyses, we examined publication bias (i.e., the “file drawer problem,” where the failure to include unpublished studies may create bias in meta-analysis results; Quintana & Minami, 2006; Rosenthal, 1979). First, we included dissertation as a type of unpublished study and then examined publication type, published versus dissertation, as a moderator in the analysis (Ferguson & Brannick, 2012). Second, we examined funnel plots and Egger’s regression intercept, where a significant intercept would indicate the presence of bias (Borenstein et al., 2009; Egger et al., 1997). Of note, funnel plots and Egger’s regression intercept assume an independent data structure. Thus, we followed Agadullina and Lovakov (2018) and used the *agg* function in the R package *MAc* to first aggregate all effects within the same study, resulting in one effect per study (Del Re & Hoyt, 2012). We then used this aggregated data to examine funnel plots and Egger’s regression

intercept for each of the main average correlations for each outcome. Across all outcomes, funnel plots did not reveal bias, and the Egger’s regression intercept was not significant, indicating a lack of bias (analyses available upon request). Moreover, there were very few differences in the effects between published and dissertation studies, also providing evidence for a lack of bias.

Results

The coding procedures resulted in 375 unique correlations across 83 studies, which included 25,684 participants. Tables 3–7 present the results by outcome. For each outcome, we describe the overall effect and then present the correlation for each level of the moderating variables. Any result with less than 4 *df* should be considered tentative (Tipton, 2015). In a few cases, we used “—” to indicate that there were not enough effects to run analyses at a given level of a moderator (e.g., only one correlation for color evasion for racial/ethnocultural empathy). We were able to examine the type of CBRI and publication type across most outcomes. However, there were not enough outcomes to examine Black-specific measures and racial composition of sample across all outcomes. Thus, in the tables and results, we include

findings for the moderating variables where enough data were present to conduct analyses.

Racial Prejudice

Prejudice Against Black People

As reported in Table 3, across 12 studies and 53 effects, the average correlation between CBRI and anti-Black prejudice was significant, $r = .22$, 95% CI [.04, .38]. For type of CBRI, the average correlation between power evasion and prejudice against Black people was significant, $r = .33$, 95% CI [.16, .49], whereas the average correlation between color evasion and anti-Black prejudice was not significant, $r = -.10$, 95% CI [-.40, .23]. Results from the metaregression comparing types of CBRI showed that the correlation was significantly stronger for power versus color evasion. For publication type, the average correlation between CBRI and prejudice against Black people was not significant for published studies, $r = .21$, 95% CI [-.21, .57], whereas for dissertations the correlation was significant, $r = .22$, 95% CI [.11, .32]. Metaregression results comparing published and dissertation studies showed no significant difference between effects.

Prejudice Against Non-Black People of Color

As reported in Table 3, the average correlation between CBRI and prejudice against non-Black POC was not significant, $r = -.10$, 95% CI [-.31, .09]. Because all studies used power evasion measures, we were unable to examine the type of CBRI as a moderating variable. For publication type, the average correlation between CBRI and prejudice against non-Black POC was not significant for published studies, $r = -.10$, 95% CI [-.31, .09]. There were not enough effects to conduct analyses for dissertation studies.

We conducted a metaregression to test if the main average correlation for prejudice against Black people ($r = .22$) was different

from the main average correlation for and prejudice against non-Black POC ($r = -.10$). Across 18 studies and 68 effects, the β of .34 ($SE = .12$) 95% CI [.08, .60] comparing these two effects was significant, indicating that the association between CBRI and prejudice was stronger when the prejudice was against Black people in comparison to prejudice against non-Black POC.

Legitimizing Ideologies

As reported in Table 4, across 28 studies and 139 effects, the average correlation between CBRI and legitimizing ideologies was not significant, $r = .14$, 95% CI [-.02, .29]. For type of CBRI, the average correlation between power evasion and legitimizing ideologies was significant, $r = .24$, 95% CI [.04, .43], whereas the average correlation between color evasion and legitimizing ideologies was not significant, $r = -.06$, 95% CI [-.22, .10]. Metaregression results comparing types of CBRI demonstrated that the correlation was significantly stronger for power versus color evasion. For publication type, the average correlation between CBRI and legitimizing ideologies was not significant for published studies, $r = .04$, 95% CI [-.21, .28]; and for dissertations, the correlation was not significant, $r = .21$, 95% CI [-.01, .41]. Results from the metaregression comparing published and dissertation studies demonstrated no significant difference between the magnitude of effects.

For Black-specific measures, the average correlation between CBRI and legitimizing ideologies was not significant for Black-specific measures, $r = .05$, 95% CI [-.48, .56], whereas for legitimizing ideologies that were non-Black specific the correlation was significant, $r = .17$, 95% CI [.02, .32]. Results from the metaregression comparing Black and non-Black-specific measures demonstrated no significant difference between the magnitude of effects. For racial composition of the sample, the average correlation between CBRI and legitimizing ideologies was not significant for White/majority White samples, $r = .18$, 95% CI

Table 4
Legitimizing Ideologies

Measure	Number of correlations (<i>n</i>)	Number of independent samples (<i>k</i>)	Correlation (<i>r</i>)	Correlation (<i>r</i>) 95% CI	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i> ²	τ^2
Legitimizing ideologies							
Main average correlation	139	28	.14	[-.02, .29]	27.00	98.68	0.20
Type of CBRI							
1. Power evasion	89	21	.24 ^a	[.04, .43]	20.00	98.91	0.32
2. Color evasion	50	9	-.06 ^b	[-.22, .10]	7.90	92.27	0.03
Publication type							
1. Published	56	12	.04	[-.21, .28]	11.00	98.64	0.17
2. Dissertation	83	16	.21	[-.01, .41]	15.00	98.62	0.25
Black-specific measure							
1. Black specific	21	5	.05	[-.48, .56]	4.00	98.94	0.38
2. Non-Black specific	118	26	.17 [*]	[.02, .32]	25.00	98.38	0.16
Racial composition of sample							
1. White/majority White	111	21	.18	[-.02, .37]	20.00	98.95	0.24
2. POC/majority POC	26	7	.06	[-.14, .26]	6.00	95.39	0.07

Note. For each outcome, each row tests if the correlation is different from zero. Within each moderator, the presence of two different letters (a, b) indicates that the effects are significantly different from one another (this was tested using metaregression, analyses available upon request). The absence of letters indicates they are not statistically different. CBRI = colorblind racial ideology; POC = People of Color.

^{*} $p < .05$.

Table 5
Multicultural Competencies

Measure	Number of correlations (<i>n</i>)	Number of independent samples (<i>k</i>)	Correlation (<i>r</i>)	Correlation (<i>r</i>) 95% CI	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i> ²	τ^2
Multicultural practice competencies							
Main average correlation	158	24	-.19*	[-.31, -.06]	22.40	93.33	0.07
Type of CBRI							
1. Power evasion	157	23	-.16*	[-.27, -.04]	21.30	92.49	0.06
2. Color evasion	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Publication type							
1. Published	67	9	-.26	[-.49, .01]	7.98	96.08	0.11
2. Dissertation	91	15	-.15	[-.30, .00]	13.20	89.03	0.05
Diversity openness							
Main average correlation	149	32	-.07	[-.22, .08]	31.00	96.87	0.14
Type of CBRI							
1. Power evasion	93	16	-.28* ^a	[-.50, -.03]	15.00	97.09	0.20
2. Color evasion	56	17	.12* ^b	[.02, .21]	15.80	93.07	0.05
Publication type							
1. Published	90	23	-.05	[-.21, .12]	22.00	96.63	0.13
2. Dissertation	59	9	-.14	[-.48, .24]	7.99	97.30	0.17
Racial composition of sample							
1. White/majority White	91	24	-.07	[-.25, .12]	23.00	97.03	0.18
2. POC/majority POC	54	12	-.09	[-.33, .16]	10.90	95.74	0.10

Note. For each outcome, each row tests if the correlation is different from zero. Within each moderator, the presence of two different letters (a, b) indicates that the effects are significantly different from one another (this was tested using metaregression, analyses available upon request). The absence of letters indicates they are not statistically different. CBRI = colorblind racial ideology; POC = People of Color.

* $p < .05$.

[-.02, .37]; and for BIPOC/majority BIPOC samples, the correlation was not significant, $r = .06$, 95% CI [-.14, .26]. Results from the metaregression comparing racial composition of the sample demonstrated no difference between the magnitude of effects.

Multicultural Competencies

Multicultural Practice Competencies

As reported in Table 5, for multicultural practice competencies, across 24 studies and 158 effects, the average correlation between CBRI and multicultural practice competencies was significant, $r = -.19$, 95% CI [-.31, -.06]. For type of CBRI, the average correlation between power evasion and multicultural practice competencies was significant, $r = -.16$, 95% CI [-.27, -.04]. We were unable to examine the association for color evasion as not enough effects were present to conduct analyses. For publication type, the average correlation was not significant for published studies, $r = -.26$, 95% CI [-.49, .01]; and for dissertations, the correlation was not significant, $r = -.15$, 95% CI [-.30, .00]. Metaregression results comparing published and dissertation studies showed no significant differences.

Diversity Openness

As reported in Table 5, across 32 studies and 149 effects, the average correlation between CBRI and diversity openness was not significant, $r = -.07$, 95% CI [-.22, .08]. For CBRI type, the average correlation between power evasion and diversity openness was significant and negative, $r = -.28$, 95% CI [-.50, -.03],

whereas the average correlation between color evasion and diversity openness was significant and positive, $r = .12$, 95% CI [.02, .21]. Metaregression results comparing CBRI type demonstrated that the correlation was significantly different comparing types of CBRI. For publication type, the average correlation was not significant for published studies, $r = -.05$, 95% CI [-.21, .12]; and for dissertations, the correlation was not significant, $r = -.14$, 95% CI [-.48, .24]. Metaregression results comparing published and dissertation studies showed no significant differences. For sample racial composition, the average correlation between CBRI and diversity openness was not significant for neither the White/majority White samples, $r = -.07$, 95% CI [-.25, .12], nor the BIPOC/Majority BIPOC samples, $r = -.09$, 95% CI [-.33, .16]. Metaregression results comparing the racial composition of the sample showed no difference between effects.

Racial/Ethnocultural Empathy

As reported in Table 6, across 14 studies and 31 effects, the average correlation between CBRI and racial/ethnocultural empathy was significant, $r = -.33$, 95% CI [-.47, -.18]. For type of CBRI, the average correlation between power evasion and racial/ethnocultural empathy was significant, $r = -.35$, 95% CI [-.49, -.19]; however, we were unable to examine the association for color evasion as there were not enough effects to conduct the analysis. For publication type, the average correlation between CBRI and racial/ethnocultural empathy was significant for published studies, $r = -.36$, 95% CI [-.54, -.14], whereas for dissertations, the correlation was not significant, $r = -.29$, 95% CI [-.56, .05]. Results from the metaregression comparing published and

Table 6
Racial/Ethnocultural and General Empathy

Measure	Number of correlations (<i>n</i>)	Number of independent samples (<i>k</i>)	Correlation (<i>r</i>)	Correlation (<i>r</i>) 95% CI	<i>df</i>	<i>I</i> ²	τ^2
Racial/ethnocultural empathy							
Main average correlation	31	14	-.33*	[-.47, -.18]	12.90	94.24	0.08
Type of CBRI							
1. Power evasion	30	13	-.35*	[-.49, -.19]	11.90	94.14	0.08
2. Color evasion	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Publication type							
1. Published	19	9	-.36*	[-.54, -.14]	7.99	93.7	0.08
2. Dissertation	12	5	-.29	[-.56, .05]	3.97	95.66	0.11
General empathy							
Main average correlation	48	6	-.10	[-.28, .09]	4.68	84.72	0.03
Type of CBRI							
1. Power evasion	46	5	-.15	[-.34, .05]	3.55	75.51	0.02
2. Color evasion	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
Publication type							
1. Published	19	3	-.06	[-.38, .28]	2.00	85.37	0.02
2. Dissertation	29	3	-.14	[-.62, .41]	1.94	75.03	0.06
Metaregression							
Measure	Number of correlations (<i>n</i>)	Number of independent samples (<i>k</i>)	β (<i>SE</i>)	β 95% CI	<i>df</i>	<i>I</i> ²	τ^2
Racial/ethnocultural versus general empathy							
Intercept	79	18	-.12 (.07)	[-.30, .06]	4.52	93.24	0.07
Racial/ethnocultural versus general			-.25* (.10)	[-.48, -.02]	8.06		

Note. For each outcome, each row tests if the correlation is different from zero. Within each moderator, the presence of two different letters (a, b) indicates that the effects are significantly different from one another (this was tested using metaregression, analyses available upon request). The absence of letters indicates they are not statistically different. We used “—” to indicate that we were unable to run the model due to not having enough effects. For the metaregression in this table, betas were estimated using Fisher’s *z* and general empathy as the reference group. Thus, the intercept corresponds to general empathy and the term in the model tests if racial/ethnocultural empathy is significantly different than general empathy. CBRI = colorblind racial ideology.

* $p < .05$.

dissertation studies demonstrated no significant difference between the magnitude of effects.

General Empathy

As reported in Table 6, across six studies and 48 effects, the average correlation between CBRI and general empathy was not significant, $r = -.10$, 95% CI [-.28, .09]. For type of CBRI, the average correlation between power evasion and general empathy was not significant, $r = -.15$, 95% CI [-.34, .05]; however, we were unable to examine the association for color evasion as there were not enough effects for analysis. For publication type, the average correlation between CBRI and general empathy was not significant for neither the published studies, $r = -.06$, 95% CI [-.38, .28], nor the dissertation studies, $r = -.14$, 95% CI [-.62, .41]. Results from the metaregression comparing published and dissertation studies showed no significant difference between the magnitude of effects.

We conducted a metaregression to test if the main average correlation for racial/ethnocultural empathy ($r = -.33$) was different from the main average correlation for general empathy ($r = -.10$). Across 18 studies and 79 effects, the β of $-.25$ ($SE = .10$)

95% CI [-.48, -.02] comparing these effects was significant, indicating that the link between CBRI and empathy was stronger for racial/ethnocultural empathy in comparison to general empathy.

Social Justice Orientation

Racial Social Justice Attitudes

As reported in Table 7, for racial social justice attitudes (RSJA), across 17 studies and 56 effects, the average correlation between CBRI and RSJA was not significant, $r = -.28$, 95% CI [-.52, .01]. For type of CBRI, the average correlation between power evasion and RSJA was not significant, $r = -.32$, 95% CI [-.61, .03], and the average correlation between color evasion and RSJA was not significant, $r = -.10$, 95% CI [-.36, .18]. Metaregression results comparing types of CBRI did not show significant differences. For publication type, the average correlation between CBRI and RSJA was not significant for published studies, $r = -.28$, 95% CI [-.54, .03], and for dissertations, the correlation was not significant, $r = -.26$, 95% CI [-.85, .61]. Metaregression results comparing published and dissertation studies showed no significant difference between the magnitude of effects. For Black-specific measures,

Table 7*Social Justice Attitudes and Behaviors*

Measure	Number of correlations (<i>n</i>)	Number of independent samples (<i>k</i>)	Correlation (<i>r</i>)	Correlation (<i>r</i>) 95% CI	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i> ²	τ^2
Racial social justice attitudes							
Main average correlation	56	17	-.28	[-.52, .01]	16.00	98.61	0.23
Type of CBRI							
1. Power evasion	37	14	-.32	[-.61, .03]	13.00	98.83	0.43
2. Color evasion	19	4	-.10	[-.36, .18]	2.98	91.01	0.05
Publication type							
1. Published	41	12	-.28	[-.54, .03]	11.00	98.37	0.18
2. Dissertation	15	5	-.26	[-.85, .61]	4.00	99.03	0.65
Black-specific measure							
1. Black specific	11	3	-.03	[-.98, .98]	2.00	99.29	1.06
2. Non-Black specific	45	14	-.32*	[-.56, -.05]	13.00	98.47	0.20
Social justice behaviors							
Main average correlation	54	12	-.27	[-.52, .02]	11.00	98.31	0.24
Type of CBRI							
1. Power evasion	52	11	-.31*	[-.56, -.00]	10.00	98.37	0.25
2. Color evasion	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
Publication type							
1. Published	25	4	-.32	[-.72, .24]	3.00	95.52	0.13
2. Dissertation	29	8	-.25	[-.60, .19]	7.00	98.79	0.31

Note. For each outcome, each row tests if the correlation is different from zero. Within each moderator, the presence of two different letters (a, b) indicates that the effects are significantly different from one another (this was tested using metaregression, analyses available upon request). The absence of letters indicates they are not statistically different. CBRI = colorblind racial ideology.

* $p < .05$.

the average correlation between CBRI and RSJA was not significant for Black-specific measures, $r = -.03$, 95% CI [-.98, .98], whereas for measures that were non-Black specific, the correlation was significant, $r = -.32$, 95% CI [-.56, -.05]. Results from the metaregression comparing Black and non-Black-specific measures demonstrated no significant difference between the magnitude of effects.

Social Justice Behaviors

As reported in Table 7, across 12 studies and 54 effects, the average correlation between CBRI and social justice behaviors was not significant, $r = -.27$, 95% CI [-.52, .02]. For type of CBRI, the average correlation between power evasion and social justice behaviors was significant, $r = -.31$, 95% CI [-.56, -.00]; however, we were unable to examine the association for color evasion as there were not enough effects for analysis. For publication type, the average correlation between CBRI and social justice behaviors was not significant for published studies, $r = -.32$, 95% CI [-.72, .24]; and for dissertations, the correlation was not significant, $r = -.25$, 95% CI [-.60, .19]. Metaregression results comparing published and dissertation studies demonstrated no significant difference between effects.

Discussion

The purpose of this meta-analysis was to better understand CBRI's role as an individual-level barrier to dismantling anti-Blackness and eradicating structural racism. This project is in line with critical approaches such as "QuantCrit" (Garcia et al., 2018) and critical quantitative inquiry (Tabron, 2019), which advocate for using quantitative methods to disrupt the racial status quo.

Our critical meta-analytic approach ultimately sought to unveil how CBRI may reinforce anti-Blackness and other forms of racial oppression. The assumption undergirding this investigation is that a critical psychological science can best inform the ways in which individual actors can contribute to or disrupt institutional-level and anti-Black policies and practices. Psychologists must play a role in helping to educate teachers and mental health professionals about racism as one method of dismantling racism (APA, 2021). Naming the problem (i.e., having an awareness of structural racism) is a prerequisite for people or groups actively working to dismantle racism; thus, we argue it should be one of the central tasks in education efforts. In this meta-analysis, we investigated links between CBRI and a host of antiracism ideologies and practices. Our results contribute to a growing body of literature examining CBRI and its relation to anti-Black racism and extend beyond previous empirical reviews which solely focused on color evasion beliefs (Leslie et al., 2020; Whitley & Webster, 2019) to investigate distinctions between CBRI types and associations with diversity and social justice outcomes. Furthermore, our findings have important implications for future antiracist research and practice in counseling psychology, which we outline in Table 8 and discuss throughout the following sections.

Our meta-analysis established that CBRI, specifically power evasion, is associated with greater prejudice against Black people, thus providing evidence against the idea that CBRI is a way to "get past" racism (Jones, 1997; Neville et al., 2000). We also found that power evasion was more strongly associated with prejudice against Black individuals compared to non-Black POC, suggesting that the minimization of racism may be particularly relevant when targeting Black communities. These findings suggest that the denial of racism, more so than mere avoidance of race, may be

Table 8*Summary of Key Findings and Implications and Future Directions for Research and Practice*

Key findings	Implications and future directions for research	Implications and future directions for practice
Stronger association between CBRI and anti-Black racism compared to prejudice against non-Black POC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop an anti-Black CBRI measure to explicitly examine anti-Black structural racism • Investigate the development and implications of anti-Black CBRI across racial and ethnic groups • Study motivations and consequences of endorsing anti-Black CBRI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporate Black Studies into CP curriculum • Develop targeted critical educational interventions for people in positions of power (e.g., university administrators, chief executive officers, police, journal editors) to decrease anti-Black CBRI • Train CP students to develop and conduct these interventions
Stronger and more consistent findings between power evasion and outcomes compared to color evasion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use experimental methods to compare PE and CE on support for and implementation of anti-Black CBRI policies (e.g., support for ban on critical race theory, hiring and evaluation policies, reward structures) • Use longitudinal methods to identify differences and similarities in the development of PE and CE • Identify consequences of CE (e.g., in what ways does CE contribute to structural racism?) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distinguish between PE and CE when educating about CBRI • Identify anti-Black power evasion CBRI policies within CP programs, departments, internships, and professional settings • Identify color-conscious policies that can be adopted to promote racial equity in these same settings, including rethinking admissions structures
Greater power evasion beliefs associated with greater endorsement of LIs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct research to test whether anti-Black CBRI is the driving LI in explaining anti-Black prejudice, lower racial/ethnocultural empathy, and lack of support for anti-Black policies and practices • Conduct research on motivations for endorsement of LIs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create opportunities for CP students and faculty to support organizations in naming the role of LIs in their policies • Change the racial makeup of institutions and CP programs by increasing representation of Black folx • Train CP students to challenge the racial status quo and engage in structural analysis
Greater power evasion beliefs associated with lower levels of multicultural competencies and racial/ethnocultural empathy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct research on how to change CBRI among trainees • Examine how CBRI manifests in CP training sites and the impact of CBRI on client and training outcomes • Employ critical research methods to document the impact of PE and low racial/ethnocultural empathy on setting-level factors (e.g., work climate for Black folx, representation of Black folx at all levels) and use these data to implement policy changes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporate the role of structural racism and anti-Blackness in mental health diagnosis and treatment into CP curriculum • Use multicultural, SJ, and anti-Black frameworks in CP supervision models • Educate policymakers in helping professions on the role of CBRI in perpetuating anti-Blackness and systemic racism (e.g., licensing boards, funding agencies)
Greater power evasion beliefs associated with lower levels of general social justice behaviors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct research to more clearly and specifically define and operationalize SJ behaviors and anti-Black racism • Investigate engagement in SJ behaviors, expanding beyond likelihood/intentions to engage • Develop a process model for the links among anti-Black CBRI, engagement in SJ behaviors, and the outcomes/impacts of SJ behaviors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide curricular and applied opportunities for students to engage in anti-Black action, participatory action research, community-based research, and political advocacy • Create consultation opportunities for CP faculty and students to encourage organizations to adopt SJ-oriented missions and targeted agendas for topics related to wellness, justice, and joy for people of African descent

Note. CBRI = colorblind racial ideology; POC = People of Color; CP = counseling psychology; PE = power evasion; CE = color evasion; LI = legitimizing ideology; SJ = social justice.

particularly pernicious in perpetuating anti-Blackness, thus supporting the idea that not naming the problem as racism is associated with attitudes and behaviors that are antithetical to racial justice. Our results are also in line with recent work that compared color and power evasion in the same sample and found stronger associations with modern racism attitudes for power compared to color evasion (Mekawi et al., 2020). Of note, most studies included in our analyses of racial prejudice were composed of majority White samples. Perhaps for White people, adopting a colorblind perspective alleviates any conflict or dissonance that comes from being regularly exposed to the unjust treatment of Black people in the United States

while simultaneously believing that racism is a thing of the past. Future research should investigate the development and implications of CBRI endorsement across diverse racial and ethnic groups. Overall, our findings on CBRI and racial prejudice reflect the positioning of Black Americans in the United States' racial hierarchy and highlight the need to consider the impact of CBRI in efforts to dismantle anti-Blackness.

We also found associations between CBRI and legitimizing ideologies, multicultural competencies, and social justice behaviors. A sizable body of literature has conceptually linked power evasion CBRI with these outcomes, as CBRI serves to legitimize the racial

status quo and minimizes the importance of racial and cultural diversity (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Neville et al., 2013). The present study found that, for diversity openness, the effect for power evasion was significant and negative, whereas for color evasion, it was significant and positive. Notably, diversity openness was the only outcome in our meta-analysis for which the effect for color evasion was significant. In line with our hypotheses, color evasion was linked to more superficially egalitarian attitudes, such as openness, support, and celebration for diversity (Apfelbaum et al., 2008; Mekawi et al., 2020). However, our findings suggest that counseling psychologists could work to help individuals challenge their own or others' power evasion beliefs as one way to work toward eradicating structural racism (Miller et al., 2018). Counseling psychologists should examine the impact of CBRI on client outcomes as well as explore CBRI endorsement among counseling trainees and work to address how CBRI may manifest in the curriculum, recruitment, and policies of training sites.

Our meta-analysis also examined CBRI's associations with empathy, distinguishing between empathy toward BIPOC groups and general empathy not specific to social groups. Our finding that CBRI was significantly related to racial/ethnocultural, but not general, empathy highlights the ways in which CBRI attitudes may differ from traditional, more explicit racism (Bäckström & Björklund, 2007). Endorsement of CBRI allows individuals to avoid empathy by blaming People of Color for their lower social status in society (Neville et al., 2013; Tettegah, 2016). Again, most studies that examined empathy in the current meta-analysis were composed of majority White samples. Thus, one implication of this finding is that it may be particularly important to examine and target the dominant groups' concern for BIPOC and ability to take their perspectives. Furthermore, future studies should document the impact of low racial/ethnocultural empathy among White individuals on contextual-level factors (e.g., the racial makeup—particularly the representation of Black individuals—or practices within the institution) and use these data to implement policy changes to promote racial justice in a variety of systems.

Limitations

Although there are strengths of the meta-analysis, the present study is not without limitations. First, all data included in the final meta-analysis were cross-sectional, and thus we cannot make conclusions about the causality or direction of effects. We also sought to conduct various moderator analyses in the present study, but we were limited by the lack of effects per moderator category. For example, we were only able to test differences in whether attitudes were or were not targeted toward Black people with a handful of outcomes (i.e., racial prejudice, legitimizing ideologies, and racial social justice attitudes). Some of our findings point to nonsignificant effects for Black-specific measures but suggest some significant effects for non-Black-specific measures (i.e., legitimizing ideologies, racial social justice attitudes). However, it is important to note that measures coded as Black-specific included attitudes targeted toward Black people but did not necessarily measure anti-Blackness. Furthermore, we were unable to systematically examine how racial composition of samples, as well as specific sample type (e.g., youth, university students, adult community samples, helping professionals), may affect relationships between CBRI and outcomes in our meta-analysis. Another limitation in the

present study is that we analyzed racial composition dichotomously (e.g., White/majority White vs. BIPOC/majority BIPOC samples), which glosses over important differences among BIPOC. Also of note, most studies were conducted with predominantly White samples, which impacts the generalizability of our results.

Future Directions for Research and Practice

Our findings highlight several avenues for future research and practice in counseling psychology to focus on the role of CBRI in sustaining and perpetuating anti-Blackness and systemic racism (see Table 8, for a summary, as well as additional directions for research and practice). First, evidence that the effect for prejudice against Black individuals was stronger than prejudice against non-Black POC highlights the specific relevance of CBRI, and particularly power evasion, to anti-Blackness. Centering Black individuals in discussions about dismantling systemic racism may hold promise as a strategy to liberate all POC, whereas a focus on People of Color more broadly may neglect the particularly pernicious impact of racism and its denial on Black individuals. To prepare counseling psychologists to help dismantle anti-Blackness through research and practice, we must transform the curriculum by specifically incorporating Black studies and Black psychology content to increase knowledge about the root causes of anti-Blackness as well as the strengths and resilience of People of African descent. Furthermore, the field would benefit from the development of a measure specifically designed to assess anti-Black CBRI to further identify dimensions of anti-Black structural racism.

Second, our divergent findings for color versus power evasion highlight the critical need to distinguish conceptualizations of CBRI as either the avoidance of race and "color" or the denial and minimization of structural racism (Mekawi et al., 2020). More psychometric work is needed for this distinction to advance theories of CBRI. For example, further reliability evidence is needed for power and color evasion measures. Although most measures in our meta-analysis had Cronbach's α coefficients above .70, a few had lower estimates, and several measures were based on one item and thus reliability could not be estimated (see Supplemental Table 1). Furthermore, although our results suggest that color evasion may promote superficially egalitarian attitudes such as greater openness to diversity, power evasion may maintain racial oppression by providing victim-blaming explanations for systemic inequality. The more that BIPOC are blamed for racial disparities, the less likely it is for White individuals and institutions to take responsibility for the continued effects of systemic racism. Compared to color evasion, there may be more resistance to power evasion because acknowledgment of systemic racism represents a greater conflict with deeply held beliefs and necessitates more meaningful change (e.g., dismantling power structures vs. superficial changes to language). Psychology researchers and educators have an obligation to clearly operationalize and assess power evasion as distinct from color evasion because not doing so will continue to create confusion and misinformation in the field about the link between CBRI and racism-related outcomes. Additionally, it is necessary to increase our understanding of the development and consequences of color evasion and power evasion using longitudinal and experimental methods. Thus far, experimental work suggests color evasion can garner higher racial attitude bias (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004) and lower ability to detect and accurately report

instances of racial discrimination (Apfelbaum et al., 2010). Relatively less work, however, has examined the direct consequences of power evasion, which is important given the negative potential consequences highlighted in our results.

Third, CBRI's associations with legitimizing ideologies highlight how endorsing power evasion beliefs may stagnate efforts to dismantle racial inequality at the structural level. In understanding forces that maintain racial inequality, Wilson (2009) emphasized the roles of social acts (i.e., discriminatory behaviors of individuals) and social processes (i.e., policies and practices that serve to marginalize racial groups). Consistent with Jones (Association for Psychological Science, 2020), individual-level ideologies such as CBRI have implications for both the social acts and social processes identified by Wilson (2009). For example, redlining, which refers to the practice of financial institutions systematically denying economic resources to certain areas based on race or socioeconomic status (Hillier, 2003) is a social process associated with maintaining institutional racism. Nevertheless, the underlying policies were developed by individual people and importantly, efforts to dismantle this system (e.g., fair housing legislation) can only be developed by individual people. Similarly, processes underlying cultural racism (e.g., Eurocentric curriculum design; Powell, 2000) are developed by individuals and can be dismantled by individuals working collectively. However, the desire to address any of these social processes is predicated on the naming of racism as a problem. Without acknowledgment and understanding of racism—and even worse, with the denial of it—it is unlikely for individuals to take collective action to eradicate both the social acts and social processes undergirding racism.

To further illustrate the need to consider CBRI in relation to institutional policies and social processes, Doane (2017) discussed how CBRI provides an ideological tool kit to defend the use of “nonracist” counterarguments to policies that aim to redress racial inequality. For example, White and Dache (2020) demonstrated how the endorsement of CBRI within higher education institutions contributed to financial aid policies that did not support the needs of underrepresented students of color. Counseling psychologists can name and evaluate racial colorblind policies and practices within training programs and document the ways they create and maintain racial inequality for students (e.g., the use of Graduate Record Examination scores in admissions). Based on these analyses, counseling psychologists can work to implement color-conscious policies that promote racial equity (e.g., holistically reviewing applicants with consideration of their structural advantages and disadvantages; Galán et al., 2020).

Fourth, our findings highlight the relevance of CBRI in counseling settings. Our results support the idea that denial of structural racism may impede clinicians' multicultural competencies and racial/ethnic empathy. Indeed, refusing to acknowledge the continued roles of race and racism is antithetical to many of the fundamental tenants of multiculturalism guidelines, including Guideline 5, which states that, “Psychologists aspire to recognize and understand historical and contemporary experiences with power, privilege, and oppression” (APA, 2017, p. 4). This highlights the importance of incorporating antiracist curriculum in all training programs for clinicians (Buchanan & Wiklund, 2020). It is not enough to simply require trainees to have exposure to diversity content. Counseling psychology programs must specifically help trainees develop systemic racism consciousness and structural

competencies, or the awareness of how structures shape lived experiences and the building of activist–advocate skills to create larger structural changes (Ali & Sichel, 2014; APA, 2021; Doane, 2017). Furthermore, developing a structural awareness of anti-Blackness must be incorporated into these efforts.

Finally, our results demonstrated that greater power evasion beliefs were associated with lower frequency of and intentions toward engagement in social justice behaviors. Scholars should further investigate CBRI's link with actual engagement in social justice behaviors, particularly actions that aim to address anti-Black racism, as well as employ longitudinal approaches to study the outcomes or impacts of social justice behaviors. Counseling psychology programs should provide curricular and applied opportunities for students to engage in antiracism action, such as community-based research, participatory action research, and political advocacy (Bowleg, 2021). Such curriculum that critically examines systems of oppression and integrates antiracist work as part of research and training (Buchanan & Wiklund, 2020; Callahan et al., 2021) is necessary for transformative institutional change (Griffith et al., 2007). In their roles as consultants, counseling psychologists could also support organizations in developing social justice-oriented missions, adopting targeted social justice agendas for specific social issues, and helping to evaluate their progress and impact.

Conclusion

Taken together, these meta-analytic results support the assertion that endorsing power evasion CBRI is associated with a host of attitudinal and behavioral outcomes antithetical to racial justice. These results emphasize the insufficiency of mere waves of recognition of racial inequities in response to widely publicized instances of anti-Black violence, and, instead, highlight the need for steadfast commitment to antiracism across contexts and levels of analysis. We argue that psychological literature can help inform interdisciplinary efforts to dismantle systems of anti-Black racial oppression and other forms of racial inequities by identifying pathways in which individuals come to understand and challenge racism. As highlighted by the words of Ida B. Wells-Barnett and James Baldwin, such steadfast commitment to antiracism is contingent on first recognizing and naming the realities of systemic racism.

References

- References of studies included in the meta-analysis are listed in Supplemental Materials.
- Agadullina, E. R., & Lovakov, A. V. (2018). Are people more prejudiced towards groups that are perceived as coherent? A meta-analysis of the relationship between out-group entitativity and prejudice. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 57*, 703–731. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12256>
- Ali, A., & Sichel, C. E. (2014). Structural competency as a framework for training in counseling psychology. *The Counseling Psychologist, 42*, 901–918. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000014550320>
- American Psychological Association. (2017). *Multicultural guidelines*. <http://www.apa.org/about/policy/multicultural-guidelines.pdf>
- American Psychological Association (APA). (2021). *Role of psychology and APA in dismantling systemic racism against People of Color in U.S. Resolution adopted by the APA Council of Representatives on October 29, 2021*. <https://www.apa.org/about/policy/dismantling-systemic-racism>

- Apfelbaum, E. P., Pauker, K., Sommers, S. R., & Ambady, N. (2010). In blind pursuit of racial equality? *Psychological Science*, 21(11), 1587–1592. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797610384741>
- Apfelbaum, E. P., Sommers, S. R., & Norton, M. I. (2008). Seeing race and seeming racist? Evaluating strategic colorblindness in social interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95(4), 918–932. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0011990>
- Association for Psychological Science. (2020). *Under the vortex: A psychologist's views of racism and inequity with Dr. James Jones* [Audio podcast episode]. <https://www.psychologicalscience.org/news/james-jones-inequality.html>
- Awad, G., & Jackson, K. M. (2016). The measurement of color-blind racial ideology. In H. A. Neville, M. E. Gallardo, & D. W. Sue (Eds.), *The myth of racial color blindness: Manifestations, dynamics, and impact* (pp. 141–156). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/14754-009>
- Awad, G. H., Cokley, K., & Ravitch, J. (2005). Attitudes toward affirmative action: A Comparison of color-blind versus modern racist attitudes. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35(7), 1384–1399. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2005.tb02175.x>
- Bäckström, M., & Björklund, F. (2007). Structural modeling of generalized prejudice: The role of social dominance, authoritarianism, and empathy. *Journal of Individual Differences*, 28(1), 10–17. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1614-0001.28.1.10>
- Blackmon, S. K. M., Neville, H. A., & Jones Thomas, A. (2019). Ideology matters: College students' emotional reactions to the killing of Trayvon Martin. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 47(6), 909–937. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000019893089>
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2020). Color-blind racism in pandemic times. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649220941024>
- Bonnett, A. (2005). *Anti-racism*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203976098>
- Borenstein, M., Hedges, L. V., Higgins, J. P., & Rothstein, H. R. (2009). *Introduction to meta-analysis*. Wiley. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470743386>
- Bowleg, L. (2021). “The master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house”: Ten critical lessons for Black and other health equity researchers of color. *Health Education and Behavior*, 48, 237–249. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10901981211007402>
- Buchanan, N. T., & Wiklund, L. O. (2020). Why clinical science must change or die: Integrating intersectionality and social justice. *Women and Therapy*, 43(3–4), 309–329. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2020.1729470>
- Burkard, A. W., & Knox, S. (2004). Effect of therapist color-blindness on empathy and attributions in cross-cultural counseling. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 51(4), 387–397. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.51.4.387>
- Buttner, E. H., Lowe, K. B., & Billings-Harris, L. (2007). Impact of leader racial attitude on ratings of causes and solutions for an employee of color shortage. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 73(2), 129–144. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-006-9178-2>
- Callahan, J. L., Bell, D. J., Davila, J., Johnson, S. L., Strauman, T. J., & Yee, C. M. (2021). Inviting ASPPB to address systemic bias and racism: Reply to Turner et al. (2021). *American Psychologist*, 76(1), 167–168. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000801>
- Campbell, E. (2014). Using critical race theory to measure “racial competency” among social workers. *Journal of Sociology and Social Work*, 2(2), 73–86.
- Case, K. A. (2007). Raising white privilege awareness and reducing racial prejudice: Assessing diversity course effectiveness. *Faculty Forum*, 34(4), 231–235. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00986280701700250>
- Chao, R. C.-L., Wei, M., Good, G. E., & Flores, L. Y. (2011). Race/ethnicity, color-blind racial attitudes, and multicultural counseling competence: The moderating effects of multicultural counseling training. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 58(1), 72–82. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022091>
- Daughtry, K. A., Earnshaw, V., Palkovitz, R., & Trask, B. (2020). You blind? What, you can't see that? The impact of colorblind attitude on young adults' activist behavior against racial injustice and racism in the U.S. *Journal of African American Studies*, 24(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12111-019-09445-7>
- Davis, M. H. (1983). Measuring individual differences in empathy: Evidence for a multidimensional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 44, 113–126.
- Del Re, A. C., & Hoyt, W. T. (2012). *MAC: Meta-analysis with correlations*. R package version 1.1.
- Doane, A. (2017). Beyond color-blindness: (Re) Theorizing racial ideology. *Sociological Perspectives*, 60, 975–991. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0731121417719697>
- Domenech Rodríguez, M. M., Phelps, P. B., & Tarp, H. C. (2019). Baseline cultural competence in physician assistant students. *PLOS ONE*, 14(4), Article e0215910. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0215910>
- Dumas, M. J. (2016). Against the dark: Antiracism in education policy and discourse. *Theory into Practice*, 55, 11–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2016.1116852>
- Egger, M., Davey Smith, G., Schneider, M., & Minder, C. (1997). Bias in meta-analysis detected by a simple, graphical test. *British Medical Journal*, 315, 629–634. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.315.7109.629>
- Ferguson, C. J., & Brannick, M. T. (2012). Publication bias in psychological science: Prevalence, methods for identifying and controlling, and implications for the use of meta-analyses. *Psychological Methods*, 17(1), 120–128. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0024445>
- Fisher, Z., & Tipton, E. (2015). *robumeta: An R-package for robust variance estimation in meta-analysis*. R package version 1.1.
- Fisher, Z., Tipton, E., & Zhipeng, H. (2017). *Package “robumeta”: Robust variance meta-regression*. <https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/robumeta/ta/robumeta.pdf>
- Frankenberg, R. (1993). *White women, race matters: The social construction of whiteness*. University of Minnesota Press. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203973431>
- Galán, C. A., Bekele, B., Boness, C., Bowdring, M., Call, C., Hails, K., McPhee, J., Mendes, S. H., Moses, J., Northrup, J., Rupert, P., Savell, S., Sequeira, S., Tervo-Clemmens, B., Tung, I., Vanwoerden, S., Womack, S., & Yilmaz, B. (2020). Editorial: A call to action for an antiracist clinical science. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, 50, 12–57. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15374416.2020.1860066>
- Garcia, N. M., López, N., & Vélez, V. N. (2018). QuantCrit: Rectifying quantitative methods through critical race theory. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 21(2), 149–157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2017.1377675>
- Griffith, D. M., Mason, M., Yonas, M., Eng, E., Jeffries, V., Plihcik, S., & Parks, B. (2007). Dismantling institutional racism: Theory and action. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 39(3–4), 381–392. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-007-9117-0>
- Gurin, P., Nagda, B. A., & Zúñiga, X. (2013). *Dialogue across difference: Practice, theory, and research on intergroup dialogue*. Russell Sage.
- Hedges, L. V., Tipton, E., & Johnson, M. C. (2010). Robust variance estimation in meta-regression with dependent effect size estimates. *Research Synthesis Methods*, 1, 39–65. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jrsm.5>
- Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O. (2002). The symbolic racism 2000 scale. *Political Psychology*, 23(2), 253–282.
- Hillier, A. E. (2003). Redlining and the home owners' loan corporation. *Journal of Urban History*, 29(4), 394–420. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144203029004002>
- Hurtado, S. (2005). The next generation of diversity and intergroup relations research. *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(3), 595–610.

- Jones, J. (1997). *Can America be color blind? Research findings suggest not; even well intentioned people are influenced by racial bias* (pp. 1013–1027). American Psychological Association.
- Katz, I., & Hass, G. (1988). Racial ambivalence and American value conflict: Correlational and priming studies of dual cognitive structures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 55(6), 893–905.
- Kay, A. C., & Jost, J. T. (2003). System justification scale [Database record]. *APA PsycTests*. <https://doi.org/10.1037/t22834-000>
- Keyser, V., Gamst, G., Meyers, L. S., Der-Karabetian, A., & Morrow, G. (2014). Predictors of self-perceived cultural competence among children's mental health providers. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 20(3), 324–335. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035762>
- Kleiman, S., Spanierman, L. B., & Smith, N. G. (2015). Translating oppression: Understanding how sexual minority status is associated with White men's racial attitudes. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 16(4), 404–415. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038797>
- Knowles, E. D., Lowery, B. S., Hogan, C. M., & Chow, R. M. (2009). On the malleability of ideology: Motivated construals of color blindness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(4), 857–869. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013595>
- Kteily, N. S., Sheehy-Skeffington, J., & Ho, A. K. (2017). Hierarchy in the eye of the beholder: (Anti-)egalitarianism shapes perceived levels of social inequality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 112(1), 136–159. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000097>
- Kunst, J. R., Thomsen, L., Sam, D. L., & Berry, J. W. (2015). "We are in this together" common group identity predicts majority members' active acculturation efforts to integrate immigrants. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 41(10), 1438–1453. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167215599349>
- Lanzoni, S. (2018). *Empathy: A history*. Yale University Press.
- Leslie, L. M., Bono, J. E., Kim, Y. S., & Beaver, G. R. (2020). On melting pots and salad bowls: A meta-analysis of the effects of identity-blind and identity-conscious diversity ideologies. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 105(5), 453–471. <https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000446>
- Levin, S., Matthews, M., Guimond, S., Sidanius, J., Pratto, F., Kteily, N., Pitpitan, E. V., & Dover, T. (2012). Assimilation, multiculturalism, and colorblindness: Mediated and moderated relationships between social dominance orientation and prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(1), 207–212. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2011.06.019>
- Lewis, J. A., Neville, H. A., & Spanierman, L. B. (2012). Examining the influence of campus diversity experiences and color-blind racial ideology on students' social justice attitudes. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, 49(2), 119–136. <https://doi.org/10.1515/jsarp-2012-6291>
- Lin, M. H., Kwan, V. S. Y., Cheung, A., & Fiske, S. T. (2005). Stereotype content model explains prejudice for an envied outgroup: Scale of anti-Asian American stereotypes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31(1), 34–47. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167204271320>
- Lipkus, I. (1991). The construction and preliminary validation of a global belief in a just world scale and the exploratory analysis of the multidimensional belief in a just world scale. *Personality Individual Differences*, 12(11), 1171–1178.
- Mallinckrodt, B., Miles, J. R., Bhaskar, T., Chery, N., Choi, G., & Sung, M. R. (2014). Developing a comprehensive scale to assess college multicultural programming. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 61(1), 133–145. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035214>
- Markowicz, J. A. (2009). *Intergroup contact experience in dialogues on race groups: Does empathy and an informational identity style help explain prejudice reduction?* [Doctoral dissertation]. Pennsylvania State University. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.
- McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the Modern Racism Scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 91–125). Academic Press.
- Mekawi, Y., Todd, N. R., Yi, J., & Blevins, E. J. (2020). Distinguishing "I don't see color" from "Racism is a thing of the past": Psychological correlates of avoiding race and denying racism. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 67(3), 288–302. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000427>
- Miller, M. J., Keum, B. T., Thai, C. J., Lu, Y., Truong, N. N., Huh, G. A., Li, X., Yeung, J. G., & Ahn, L. H. (2018). Practice recommendations for addressing racism: A content analysis of the counseling psychology literature. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 65(6), 669–680. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000306>
- Miller, M. J., Sendrowitz, K., Connacher, C., Blanco, S., de la Peña, C. M., Bernardi, S., & Morere, L. (2009). College students' social justice interest and commitment: A social-cognitive perspective. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 56(4), 495–507. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0017220>
- Milojev, P., Sengupta, N. K., & Sibley, C. G. (2014). Majority group opposition to minority political entitlements: The social dominance paradox. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 39, 82–92. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2013.10.001>
- Miville, M. L., Gelso, C. J., Pannu, R., Liu, W., Touradji, P., Holloway, P., & Furtres, J. (1999). Appreciating similarities and valuing differences: The Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 46, 291–307. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.46.3.291>
- Neville, H., Spanierman, L., & Doan, B.-T. (2006). Exploring the association between color-blind racial ideology and multicultural counseling competencies. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 12(2), 275–290. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.12.2.275>
- Neville, H. A., Awad, G. H., Brooks, J. E., Flores, M. P., & Bluemel, J. (2013). Color-blind racial ideology: Theory, training, and measurement implications in psychology. *American Psychologist*, 68, 455–466. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033282>
- Neville, H. A., Lilly, R. L., Duran, G., Lee, R. M., & Browne, L. (2000). Construction and initial validation of the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS). *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 47(1), 59–70. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.47.1.59>
- Okah, E., Thomas, J., Westby, A., & Cunningham, B. (2021). Colorblind racial ideology and physician use of race in medical decision-making. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40615-021-01141-1>
- Patterson, C. A., Papa, L. A., Reveles, A. K., & Domenech Rodríguez, M. M. (2018). Undergraduate student change in cultural competence: Impact of a multicultural psychology course. *Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in Psychology*, 4(2), 81–92. <https://doi.org/10.1037/std0000108>
- Patterson, C. H. (1996). Multicultural counseling: From diversity to universality. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 74, 227–231. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6676.1996.tb01856.x>
- Peng, P., Barnes, M., Wang, C., Wang, W., Li, S., Swanson, H. L., Lee, D., & Tao, S. (2018). A meta-analysis on the relation between reading and working memory. *Psychological Bulletin*, 144(1), 48–76. <https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000124>
- Pieterse, A. L., Utsey, S. O., & Miller, M. J. (2016). Development and initial validation of the anti-racism behavioral inventory (ARBI). *Counseling Psychology Quarterly*, 29(4), 356–381. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09515070.2015.1101534>
- Plaut, V. C., Thomas, K. M., & Goren, M. J. (2009). Is multiculturalism or color blindness better for minorities? *Psychological Science*, 20(4), 444–446. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2009.02318.x>
- Ponterotto, J. G., Gretchen, D., Utsey, S. O., Rieger, B. P., & Austin, R. (2002). A revision of the multicultural counseling awareness scale. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 30(3), 153–180. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2002.tb00489.x>
- Poteat, V. P., & Spanierman, L. B. (2012). Modern racism attitudes among white students: The role of dominance and authoritarianism and the mediating effects of racial color-blindness. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 152(6), 758–774. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2012.700966>

- Powell, R. (2000). Overcoming cultural racism: The promise of multicultural education. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 2(3), 8–14. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327892MCP0203_03
- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67(4), 741–763. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.67.4.741>
- Presseau, C., Luu, L. P., Inman, A. G., & DeBlaere, C. (2019). Trainee social justice advocacy: Investigating the roles of training factors and multicultural competence. *Counseling Psychology Quarterly*, 32(2), 260–274. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09515070.2018.1476837>
- Quintana, S. M., & Minami, T. (2006). Guidelines for meta-analysis of counseling psychology research. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 34, 839–877. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000006286991>
- Richeson, J. A., & Nussbaum, R. J. (2004). The impact of multiculturalism versus color-blindness on racial bias. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 40(3), 417–423. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2003.09.002>
- Rosenthal, L., & Levy, S. R. (2010). The colorblind, multicultural, and polycultural ideological approaches to improving intergroup attitudes and relations. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 4, 215–246. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-2409.2010.01022.x>
- Rosenthal, L., Levy, S. R., & Moss, I. (2012). Polyculturalism and openness about criticizing one's culture: Implications for sexual prejudice. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 15(2), 149–165. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430211412801>
- Rosenthal, R. (1979). The “file drawer problem” and tolerance for null results. *Psychological Bulletin*, 86(3), 638–641. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.86.3.638>
- Schwarzenthall, M., Juang, L. P., Schachner, M. K., & van de Vijver, F. J. (2019). A multimodal measure of cultural intelligence for adolescents growing up in culturally diverse societies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 72, 109–121. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.07.007>
- See, Y. H. M., Lim, A. W. Q., & Pauketat, J. V. (2020). Values predict willingness to interact with immigrants: The role of cultural ideology and multicultural acquisition. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 51(1), 3–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022119883018>
- Singh, A. A., Appling, B., & Trepal, H. (2020). Using the multicultural and social justice counseling competencies to decolonize counseling practice: The important roles of theory, power, and action. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 98(3), 261–271. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcad.12321>
- Spanierman, L. B., Oh, E., Heppner, P. P., Neville, H. A., Mobley, M., Wright, C. V., Dillon, F. R., & Navarro, R. (2011). The multicultural teaching competency scale: Development and initial validation. *Urban Education*, 46(3), 440–464. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085910377442>
- Sparkman, D. J., Eidelman, S., Dueweke, A. R., Marin, M. S., & Dominguez, B. (2019). Open to diversity: Openness to experience predicts beliefs in multiculturalism and colorblindness through perspective taking. *Journal of Individual Differences*, 40(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1614-0001/a000270>
- Sue, D. W., Sue, D., Neville, H. A., & Brown, L. S. (2019). *Counseling the culturally diverse* (8th ed.). Wiley.
- Tabron, L. A. (2019). I pulled up a seat at the table: My journey engaging in critical quantitative inquiry. In K. K. Strunk & L. A. Locke (Eds.), *Research methods for social justice and equity in education* (pp. 275–282). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-05900-2_23
- Tettegah, S. Y. (2016). The good, the bad, and the ugly: Color-blind racial ideology and lack of empathy. In H. A. Neville, M. E. Gallardo, & D. W. Sue (Eds.), *The myth of racial colorblindness: Manifestations, dynamics, and impact* (pp. 175–190). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/14754-011>
- Thomas, D., & Horowitz, J. M. (2020, September). *Support for Black lives matter has decreased since June but remains strong among Black Americans*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/09/16/support-for-black-lives-matter-has-decreased-since-june-but-remains-strong-among-black-americans/>
- Tipton, E. (2015). Small sample adjustments for robust variance estimation with meta-regression. *Psychological Methods*, 20(3), 375–393. <https://doi.org/10.1037/met0000011>
- Torres-Harding, S. R., Siers, B., & Olson, B. D. (2012). Development and psychometric evaluation of the social justice scale (SJS). *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 50, 77–88.
- Wang, Y. W., Davidson, M. M., Yakushko, O. F., Savoy, H. B., Tan, J. A., & Bleier, J. K. (2003). The scale of ethnocultural empathy: Development, validation, and reliability. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 50(2), 221–234. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.50.2.221>
- White, J. A., & Dache, A. (2020). “A lot of inner-city kids”: How financial aid policies and practices reflect the social field of color-blind racism at a community college urban campus. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 44(1), 15–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10668926.2019.1649220>
- Whitley, B. E., Jr., & Webster, G. D. (2019). The relationships of intergroup ideologies to ethnic prejudice: A meta-analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 23(3), 207–237. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868318761423>
- Wilcox, M. M., Gale, M. M., McLaughlin, K. L., Squyres, E., Burish, E. C., & Khojasteh, J. (2021). Development and initial validation of the Multicultural Training and Education Questionnaire. *Training and Education in Professional Psychology*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1037/tep0000344>
- Wilson, W. J. (2009). Toward a framework for understanding forces that contribute to or reinforce racial inequality. *Race and Social Problems*, 1(1), 3–11. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-009-9004-4>
- Yi, J., & Todd, N. R. (2021). Internalized model minority myth among Asian Americans: Links to anti-Black attitudes and opposition to affirmative action. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 27, 569–578. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000448>
- Young, J. L., & Young, J. (2022). Underrepresentation in gifted education revisited: The promise of single-group summaries and meta-analytic QuantCrit. *Gifted Child Quarterly*, 66(2), 136–138. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00169862211039731>

Received March 1, 2021

Revision received March 6, 2022

Accepted April 5, 2022 ■