

Disrupting White Supremacy: *Testimonios* to Reveal the Experiences of Women of Color in Social Work Doctoral Education

**Cynthia Mackey
Nidia Hernandez
Stephanie Lechuga-Peña
Felicia Mitchell**

Abstract: *Social workers must participate in ongoing anti-racist and culturally attuned approaches to disrupt white supremacy in our profession, institutions, and society. Our social work mission, values, and ethics demand that we engage in social work education, practice, and scholarship that seeks social justice for all people. In line with these expectations, social work doctoral education is tasked with training the next generation of social work scholars by providing doctoral education that is responsive to society's most pressing social problems. While disrupting white supremacy is an aspirational goal, we argue that white supremacy infiltrates social work education, manifests itself in diverse ways over time, often isolating Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC). We use testimonios to explore these issues and describe four BIPOC women's experiences navigating their social work doctoral programs. From these insights, we contend that social work doctoral education continues to uphold white supremacy by promoting Western epistemologies and theories above other equally valid forms of knowledge, including non-Western schools of thought created by and for BIPOC scholars. We provide recommendations for alternative theories and epistemologies for social work curricula and offer implications to support BIPOC students in social work doctoral education.*

Keywords: White supremacy, social work doctoral education, BIPOC, *testimonios*, anti-racism

As outlined in the NASW Code of Ethics (henceforth, the Code), social workers are expected to participate in ongoing anti-racist efforts to disrupt white supremacy in our profession and society. The Code is the driving force of social work, laying out shared values and principles we, as a collective, are taught and expected to adhere to as social workers. At its core, our profession and the Code emphasize the fundamental belief that oppressed and marginalized groups are entitled to equal respect, dignity, and treatment as anyone else, regardless of their socially constructed racial identities (National Association of Social Work [NASW], 2020a). We are called to dismantle oppressive systems, such as white supremacy, in the Code, as follows:

Social workers should act to prevent and eliminate domination of, exploitation of, and discrimination against any person, group, or class on the basis of race, ethnicity, national origin, color, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, age, marital status, political belief, religion, immigration status, or mental or physical ability. (NASW, 2021, ethical standards, Sec.6.04(b))

Cynthia Mackey, MSW, Graduate Student and CSWE MFP fellow, Nidia Hernandez, LCSW, MSW, MPA, Graduate Student and CSWE MFP fellow, Stephanie Lechuga-Peña, PhD, Assistant Professor, and Felicia Mitchell, PhD, School of Social Work at Arizona State University, Phoenix, AZ.

Copyright © 2022 Authors, Vol. 22 No. 2 (Summer 2022), 647-679, DOI: 10.18060/24776



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

The Code is not limited to clients but extends to our conduct with our colleagues and educational spaces, including doctoral education. Thus, as social work doctoral students will be responsible for teaching the next generation of social workers, they play an important role in advancing the spirit of the Code, including dismantling oppressive systems. In academia, the modern-era of white supremacy manifests through whiteness, a social concept that perpetuates systemic racism and ultimately benefits white people (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Cabrera & Franklin, 2016; Feagin, 2006; Kincheloe, 1998; Leonardo, 2009; Omi & Winant, 1994). Following many anti-racist scholars emphasizing the power of language and using literary advocacy to elevate racial inequities within social, economic, and political systems, the authors capitalize BIPOC social identities (such as Black, Women of Color, People of Color, Colonized/Indigenous People, and Students/Faculty of Color) and lower case white and whiteness to adopt this movement (Appiah, 2020). The authors use BIPOC, People of Color and Communities of Color interchangeably. Cabrera and Franklin (2016) offer five core areas in which whiteness is practiced in higher education – *colorblindness*, *epistemologies of ignorance*, *ontological expansiveness*, *property*, and *racial comforts* (see Table 1 for a brief description of each area). These descriptions add to our understanding of how white supremacy is perpetuated, protected, and reinforced by white people and BIPOC alike who engage within white academic spaces and provide an unfair advantage to white scholars over scholars of color. Therefore, while white supremacy is “a sociopolitical economic system of domination” that serves to favor white people and exclude BIPOC (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 30), whiteness are the complex ways in which white supremacy is upheld through the actions, behaviors, and beliefs by those who engage in white spaces that consciously or unconsciously preserve the white experience as the norm (Cabrera & Franklin, 2016). For the remainder of this paper, the authors use BIPOC, People of Color and Communities of Color interchangeably.

We argue that doctoral social work education upholds white supremacy in numerous yet subtle ways throughout policy, practice, and discourse. By not taking an explicit stance against racism, one becomes complicit in perpetuating racism and harming communities, as our social work history demonstrates (Bussey, 2020). Dismantling white supremacy in doctoral education requires honest and direct discussions about race and racism (Davis & Francois, 2021). The absence of these discussions has several implications. First, it creates psychological, emotional, and physical damage to BIPOC scholars by tasking them with managing how to confront racism while also managing their role as a student – an additional burden coined *racial battle fatigue*, that their white peers do not have to endure (Gildersleeve et al., 2011; Rogers et al., 2019; Smith et al., 2011). Second, it fosters an invisible expectation that BIPOC scholars will assume the role of representatives of their communities, calling out racism, taking the leadership role in anti-racist initiatives, and mentoring upcoming Scholars of Color - another burden known as *cultural taxation*, which follows BIPOC scholars throughout their careers (Canton, 2012). Third, the lack of discussion of race and racism in doctoral education creates an illusion that racism does not exist, thus legitimizing white supremacy in schools and making it more difficult for systemic change to occur (Castagno, 2008). Furthermore, a lack of discussion prevents us from preparing future social workers to be culturally responsive to the needs of our racially and ethnically diverse communities, thus impeding our profession from fulfilling our mission statement (Calvo et al., 2018; NASW, 2020b) and being culturally responsive to

the needs of racially and ethnically diverse communities. As highlighted by Dr. Larry Davis (2016), Presidential Plenary Lecturer at the 20th Annual Conference of the Society for Social Work and Research, "...a discussion on race draws attention to the ongoing problems of bias and inequality – especially our own bias and prejudice – which is clearly a more emotional and painful discussion" (p. 398).

White supremacy, however, does not operate in isolation – rather, it is a system through which other forms of oppression, be it social, political, and/or economic, exist (Beliso-De Jesus & Pierre, 2019; Hall, 1980). One notable connection relevant to this paper is the intersection of racial and gender oppression. BIPOC women scholars (students and faculty) are often faced with being doubly harmed through the reinforcement of whiteness and patriarchal systemic norms in academia (Morris, 1993). Their marginalization and oppression can multiply depending on the multiple intersecting inequities BIPOC women experience based on their social identities (e.g., class, sexual orientation, immigration status, etc.; Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989). BIPOC women entering “white spaces” (Anderson, 2015) often find themselves in a sort of performative role to combat the negative stereotypes and tropes that white peers use to question the credibility and value of their nonwhite peers. BIPOC women endure being tokenized, dealing with daily microaggressions, silencing their voice for fear of retaliation, taking on extra workloads, and monitoring their body language and communication styles (Arnold et al., 2016; Azhar & McCutcheon, 2021; Lewis et al., 2016; McLane-Davidson et al., 2018). For BIPOC women, racism and sexism cannot be separated – so doing only “creates a distorted analysis of racism and sexism because the operative conceptions of race and sex become grounded in experiences that actually represent only a subset of a much more complex phenomenon” (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140).

To ensure social work doctoral students exercise good judgment and proficiency in their work, we must deliver a system of support and education that equips students to be culturally attuned throughout their academic journey and imparts a desire for continued learning in their professional careers (NASW, 2020a). Jackson and Samuels (2019) require social workers to be reflexive, recognize and challenge manifestations of power and privilege used against historically oppressed populations, and engage in continuous learning as the meaning of race and culture evolves over space and time. The absence of perspectives from Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) in research and practice often inspires future social work doctoral students of color to pursue their degrees (Cosgrove et al., 2020; Santa-Ramirez, 2021). However, to retain racially and ethnically diverse students, “...institutions need to recognize systemic exclusion and take concrete actions to create structures that will create systemic opportunity for all” (Calvo et al., 2018, p. 266).

Table 1. *Major theoretical components of whiteness and their manifestations in higher education*

Component	Definition	Examples of Manifestations
Whiteness as colorblindness	Racial inequities are masked and therefore unaddressed due to avoidance of labeling whiteness as racism and seeking other possible reasons for inequity to avoid the subject and maintain white supremacy.	Avoiding discussions about racism in the classroom; focusing instead on cultural differences rather than systemic (Bonilla-Silva, 2006); not connecting racially different experiences to racism in research (Harper, 2012).
Whiteness as epistemologies of ignorance	Encompass an attitude of not knowing (ignorance) the harmful effects of racism and falling back on the ignorance to avoid action to redress harms. Commonly described as “ignorance is bliss.”	Distracting energy to address systemic racism by highlighting beliefs of “reverse racism,” regardless of the lack of evidence (Mills, 1997); dismissing the existence of racism if it does not affect the life of White students; limiting associations of racism to radical groups, such as the KKK (Cabrera, 2014a)
Whiteness as ontological expansiveness	White entitlements over space – the belief that all spaces (physical, cultural, linguistic, economic, etc...) are accessible to white people, and they can freely enter and exit any space as they please. Meanwhile, not all these spaces are freely available and accessible to People of Color.	Academic institutions are predominantly white spaces, normalizing whiteness within these systems and sending messages to BIPOC scholars of their minority status in these spaces (Gusa, 2010; Harper & Hurtodo, 2007; Sullivan, 2006).
Whiteness as property	Whiteness is viewed as a commodity. It contains rights, privileges, and protections that give it social value. Laws and policies protect the value of whiteness by excluding nonwhite racial groups from accessing the same privileges and rights, thus normalizing whiteness. Normalizing whiteness makes it seemingly invisible and difficult to challenge.	Racist behaviors on college campuses are controlled in racially diverse settings (such as the classroom) but exposed in predominantly white environments, through racial slurs and racial joke-telling between white peers, examples of white racial bonding (Cabrera, 2014a, 2014b; Lensmire, 2011; Picca & Feagin, 2007). Arguments to undo affirmative action serve to limit access to higher education for People of Color (Santos et al., 2010); disguising property value of whiteness as meritocracy (Guinier, 2015).
Whiteness as assumed racial comfort/safety	Spaces, like the classroom, are presumed to be “safe” spaces, without consideration of the existence of linguistic violence (such as microaggressions) and the long-term damage this causes on students of color (coined racial battle fatigue; Smith et al., 2011).	Avoiding calling out microaggressions out of worry it will make white students uncomfortable, thereby preventing them to work on their “racial selves” (Cabrera et al., 2016; Leonardo & Porter, 2010)

(Cabrera & Franklin, 2016)

In this paper, we discuss the impact of white supremacy and whiteness in social work doctoral education in two ways: 1) we review the literature on doctoral students' experiences of racism in academia, and 2) we analyze personal *testimonios* to explore the consequences of whiteness in social work doctoral education from the views of four BIPOC women in social work - two who are currently doctoral students and two who are faculty in a school of social work at a large public institution. Through our *testimonios*, we highlight the shared experiences of many BIPOC students in doctoral education and examine common Western social work theories used in doctoral education. We then discuss the consequences of excluding alternative theories that speak to race and racism and suggest alternative theories and frameworks that align with the authors' values and experiences as BIPOC women serving BIPOC communities. Finally, we conclude with recommendations to support BIPOC students in social work doctoral education.

Racism and Sexism in Academia

Racism

As Kendi (2019) informs us, the opposite of racist isn't *not racist*, but the act of being anti-racist. To be anti-racist, one must first acknowledge that racism exists and work at understanding how we each are part of the problem and the solution to ending racism. In 2016, the American Academy of Social Work & Social Welfare (AASWSW) announced the Grand Challenges of Social Work. The challenges are progressive and include networks on *Social Responses to a Changing Environment* and *Smart Decarceration*, among others. However, many BIPOC faculty were disappointed that racism was not designated as a stand-alone Grand Challenge nor explicitly included as part of each of the 12 Grand Challenges. Undeterred, BIPOC faculty led by Martell Teasley, Ph.D., MSW, and Michael S. Spencer, Ph.D., MSSW, pushed for the inclusion of a Grand Challenge to address racism. On June 26, 2020, four years after the Grand Challenges were announced, and in the wake of undeniable assaults on Black Americans and anti-racism protests across the U.S., the AASWSW (2020) announced its 13th Grand Challenge – *Eliminate Racism*.

While our profession has been making slow and incremental efforts to address racism through policy recommendations by way of the Grand Challenges, in practice, there remain many disparities. A common challenge among BIPOC doctoral students is the ability to engage in the educational process through unbiased socializing. Socialization is the process of learning academic norms and practices through mentorship (Bieber & Worley, 2006) and participating in academic activities, such as research, teaching, and publication, as a means of preparing students to become ideal candidates for the job market (Petr et al., 2015; Turner & Thompson, 1993). BIPOC doctoral students are at a particular disadvantage and, thus, limited in their ability to successfully engage in the socialization process in academia because traditional academic norms and practices are centered around the white experience (Cabrera & Franklin, 2016; Turner & Thompson, 1993). It can also be challenging for BIPOC doctoral students to find mentorship from a cultural peer or network due to the underrepresentation of BIPOC faculty in the academy. The lack of cultural peers/networks has severe implications for BIPOC scholars in higher education, especially for first-generation students, as these networks play a significant role in the

success of BIPOC students in obtaining a doctoral degree (Gildersleeve et al., 2011; Howard, 2017). For example, Gildersleeve et al. (2011) highlight the importance of peer support networks for Black and Latino/a doctoral students, not simply to form a group of shared identity but to process the racialization that exists within the normative structure of higher education. These networks also serve to identify safe spaces to express frustrations and create supportive networks that can affirm these experiences, champion their accomplishments, and offer strategies to navigate academia based on their shared experiences. For students who lack social capital upon entering academia, meaning they may not have family or friends who have obtained a doctoral degree and can share their experiences, cultural peers/networks are an invaluable and essential resource (Howard, 2017; Ramirez, 2017).

In many cases, the lack of intentional efforts to address racism in academia leaves BIPOC students feeling frustrated and unappreciated. Shotton (2017) revealed the frustrations of American Indian doctoral students expected to carry the role of ambassador of *all* American Indians and having to lead the charge of calling out racism when white students and non-Native faculty perpetuate stereotypes through outdated images of American Indians. Ramirez (2017) also highlights BIPOC students' feelings of frustration over being insufficiently financially supported during their studies and inadequately prepared for their academic careers, including "...teaching, grant-writing and/or qualitative research; insufficient feedback from faculty; lack of courses focused on academic/scholarly writing; and/or poor instruction" (p. 34). Further, their experiences of low expectations from white peers and faculty (Dade et al., 2015; Ramirez, 2017; Shotton, 2017) and the devaluation of their achievements (Gildersleeve et al., 2011; Patton, 2004; Ramirez, 2017; Shotton, 2017) leaves BIPOC students to question if doctoral education is right for them (Dade et al., 2015; Davis & Livingstone, 2016; Gildersleeve et al., 2011).

Sexism

The marginalization of People of Color can be heightened for those with multiple intersecting identities, such as gender and race (Crenshaw, 1989). The intersection of gender and race in academia is critical to understand, as misogynistic and sexist norms are additional barriers for BIPOC women trying to navigate within a system that was initially designed by and for white cis-gender men (Gonzales & Terosky, 2020). In other words, and as evidenced by the 40% of white men and 35% of white women who constitute the majority of all university full-time faculty positions (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018), BIPOC women are less likely to hold power and influence under this system. In social work, most faculty (74.3%) and enrolled students (bachelors, 87%; masters, 85.1%; DSW, 81.2%; PhD 75.3%) are women (Council on Social Work Education [CSWE], 2021). While social work is a female-dominated profession, positions of power and influence are largely reserved for men (McPhail, 2004). BIPOC women in academia continue to have minimal faculty representation nationally (Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group [SSFNRIG], 2017). In social work, there is a much greater representation of full-time white faculty, "...59.5% were white (non-Hispanic), 26.8% were African-American/Black (non-Hispanic), and 7.8% were Hispanic/Latinx" (CSWE, 2020, p. iv). As pointed out in the *Grand Challenge to Eliminate Racism* (Teasley

et al., 2021), the issue here is that “the majority of social workers have historically and continue to identify as white, whereas the majority of those they serve typically identify as Black, Latinx, Indigenous, and other People of Color” (p. 6). These statistics highlight the national need for more representation from Women of Color within academia and the social work profession.

Representation plays a role in ensuring everyone has an opportunity to thrive in academia. In a white, cis-woman dominated space, we risk further harming BIPOC women when we only center white feminism and fail to acknowledge diverse gender experiences and needs (Lugones, 2003). For example, BIPOC women faculty face “unequal standards of having to work harder and prove themselves more” in the academy (Corley, 2020, p. 1). They are often “assumed incompetent, until they prove they are competent” (Mitchell & Miller, 2011, p. 198), as they are expected to handle gender and racial inequities dually (SSFNRIG, 2017). Such unequal standards often leave BIPOC women faculty feeling isolated and pressured to perform at higher levels than their white peers (Turner, 2002). The lack of attention to Women of Color faculty and students' unique needs can also add to the alienation in academic spaces. For example, Rogers et al. (2019) highlight the difficulties Black mothers encountered when trying to combat racist and sexist norms within their institution while also trying to avoid labels intended to demean and discredit (i.e., “angry Black woman” trope). Further, as mothers, the lack of recognition of intersectional experiences of Women of Color forced women to feel as though they had to choose between family or their academic careers (Rogers et al., 2019). Therefore, BIPOC women scholars are often expected to exceed expectations within an unsupportive academic culture through additional unpaid labor.

Racism and Sexism in Social Work

Racist and misogynistic norms prevent BIPOC students from fully participating in the academic experience. BIPOC students regularly encounter micro and macro aggressive behavior in academia (Osanloo et al., 2016), which force them to make the hard decision of either leaving academia or developing coping strategies, such as self-censorship (Ramirez, 2017) and relying on BIPOC peers and faculty within and outside their departments (Lechuga-Peña & Lechuga, 2018; Dade et al., 2015; Gildersleeve et al., 2011; Ramirez, 2017; Williams et al., 2018) to work within these white spaces. However, modern-day white supremacy is a detriment to everyone in higher education. Whiteness limits diversity of thought within academia and therefore prevents the advancement of the social work profession in developing creative solutions that effectively meet the needs of all communities (Calvo et al., 2018). In so doing, it therefore prevents social workers as a collective from reaching our mission to “...enhance human well-being and help meet the basic human needs of *all* people...” (NASW, 2021, para. 1). Thus, exposing and redressing systemic racism within the social work profession cannot be understated. The absence of such actions risks delegitimizing our profession among BIPOC communities by demonstrating through our silence and inactions that “all people” in our mission statement is reserved for white people. As Ortega and Busch-Armendariz (2013) argue, “the presence of racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse people continues to be a thorn in the side of

social work theory, research, and practice... therefore it is not a surprise that much of our knowledge base is tainted by hegemony, although benevolent in nature” (pp. 113-114).

Method

Researcher Positionalities

At the time of this manuscript, the authors were at different points in their careers - two were amidst their second year of course work within a social work doctoral program, and two were early-career social work faculty. This article shares their experiences, whether currently or retrospectively, as BIPOC women and doctoral students. The authors represent a diverse segment of the social work profession. All authors identify as cisgender Women of Color and are pursuing, or graduated with, a Ph.D. from a research 1 (R1) university. Three of the authors are first-generation college graduates, and all authors are first-generation graduate and doctoral students. Two of the authors identify as Chicana, and two identify as mixed-race (Black and South Asian; Black, white, and Indigenous).

***Testimonios* as Personal Narratives**

Drawing on Lechuga-Peña and Lechuga (2018) approach, we first utilized *testimonios* or personal narratives to elucidate the challenges we endure/d during our social work doctoral programs. *Testimonio*, as a methodology, developed from Latin American human rights struggles and gives voice to injustice and resiliency (Pérez Huber & Villanueva, 2019). One of the most notable *testimonios* is that of Rigoberta Menchú, an Indigenous human rights activist from Guatemala, who wrote about her experiences during her country’s civil war (Menchú & Burgos-Debray, 1984). Menchú (Menchú & Burgos-Debray, 1984, p. 1) states, “my story is the story of all poor Guatemalans. My personal experience is the reality of a whole people.” *Testimonios* are used to center marginalized people’s experiences and explore and share their perspectives from their viewpoint (Latina Feminist Group, 2001). Pérez Huber (2010) states *testimonio* “validates and centers the experiential knowledge of People of Color, recognizes the power of collective memory and knowledge, and is guided by the larger goals of transformation and empowerment for Communities of Color” (p. 83).

Like Anzaldúa (2012), who wrote from her own lived experiences, which helped her construct her view of the world, our *testimonios* helped us describe, reflect, and make sense of our experiences as BIPOC social work doctoral students. Collectively, we developed the following three questions to guide our inquiry: (1) “What were your expectations of social work doctoral education before entering your Ph.D. program?” (2) “How did you experience social work doctoral education as a female student of color?”, and (3) “How did you respond to or adjust the mismatch of these two experiences?” These questions were developed based on initial informal conversations about our experiences within social work doctoral education. Once we developed these questions, we each took time to reflect on our own experiences before writing our *testimonios* to share with one another. Next, we read through each other's responses and provided written and verbal feedback on how the responses aligned or deviated from our personal social work doctoral education

experiences. After reviewing each other's *testimonios*, we agreed it was important to share our experiences while maintaining the anonymity of each author's responses. As an alternative to providing our full *testimonios*, as is typically true to the method, we agreed to conduct a thematic analysis and share the collective themes from our *testimonios*. To determine the initial themes, we created a table to capture our combined responses to each question using the "in vivo" coding method, which includes words or short phrases in our own words (Saldaña, 2013). We then met to discuss the themes each of us identified for the questions, and from these discussions, the final themes and subthemes emerged.

Findings

While there may have been differences in our experiences noted in our *testimonios*, we only provide the themes collectively agreed upon for this paper. We identified the following themes and subthemes: Regarding question one, we anticipated meeting "like-minded people" in the social work doctoral program and finding others with shared values. We all had a desire to provide additional resources for our communities, and we all wanted to "learn at a higher level" while acquiring new knowledge. Regarding question two, white supremacy shaped all authors' experiences during our doctoral education and we all agreed that a lack of racial diversity among doctoral students and faculty created an "all-white space." We also shared feelings of "living in two worlds," imposter syndrome, isolation and disconnection, while two authors identified misogyny, and sexism.

Regarding question three, we all agreed there was a mismatch between our expectations and our actual experiences in our respective social work doctoral programs. We attributed this incongruity as contributing to the decline in our mental and physical well-being, disengagement, and use of self-preservation coping strategies. To counter the mismatch, we all sought out theories and approaches to research outside of our respective fields that were more inclusive of BIPOC. We each found meaningful connections to larger national and local networks outside of our school or departments that focused on supporting BIPOC students. We all also found BIPOC faculty to mentor us, whether in our departments or elsewhere. Finally, while we all experienced personal challenges in our doctoral programs, we used our privileges as doctoral students to strategically advocate for ourselves and other BIPOC.

Question 1: What were your expectations of social work doctoral education prior to entering your Ph.D. program?

Working with Like-Minded People

Before starting our respective social work doctoral programs, we were excited and optimistic about potential opportunities to work amongst some of the brightest minds in social work. We imagined we would find others that shared similar values and wanted to make a difference for the most vulnerable populations. As one of us stated, "I was excited about the possibilities of meeting like-minded people that wanted to fight for social justice to dismantle and create better systems for the most vulnerable populations." Another one

of us noted, "I thought social work graduate education would be a utopia where people were like-minded in the pursuit of knowledge and social justice."

Desire to Provide Additional Resources for Our Communities

Our desire to support others and give back to our respective communities was a critical component in our decisions to pursue a doctoral degree in social work. We all believed we could make a more significant impact in our communities if we acquired further education and training tailored to the needs of our communities. This sentiment is reflected in the following responses from two of us,

I had anticipated my doctoral education would be a space where I could develop my research and teaching skills further, centralized on the communities I wished to serve. This included learning theories and research methods that would better serve my community. In my mind, research should always be tailored around what best suits your client/community. I could develop my research and teaching skills further, centralized on the communities I wished to serve.

I loved my work directly with Latinx communities and families and I believed that doctoral education would help me find ways to provide more resources for them, learn how to advocate on a macro level by changing and creating policies that aligned with their needs and create interventions that made a real impact on their lives.

Learning at a Higher Level While Acquiring New Knowledge

To provide better resources and responses to the communities we serve, acquiring further education and access to resources was essential. We all assumed we would receive this in our doctoral programs, "prior to starting the doctoral program my expectations were based on my assumptions of the social work profession, its ethical foundations and the assumed higher level of knowledge that academia held in my first-generation student lens." Similarly, another one of us noted, "I also believed that returning to school would be an agreeable experience, given that I have always been someone who enjoyed a challenge and learning new things."

Question 2: How did you experience social work doctoral education as a female student of color?

This question garnered long reflections from each of us regarding our racial identities in social work doctoral education. However, the intersections of our racial and gender identities were hard to disentangle for two of us. Therefore, we provided the most salient themes that emerged regarding our racial identities, followed by the themes that included the intersections of race and gender and our experiences in social work doctoral education. In our analyses and multiple discussions, we all agreed that these various experiences are/were a manifestation of whiteness, and therefore, white supremacy within academia.

Lack of Racial Diversity Among Doctoral Students and Faculty

One of our main observations was the lack of diversity among our doctoral student cohorts and the faculty within our respective academic institutions. We believed this lack of representation contributed to our social isolation and feelings or experiences of otherness. One of us shared, "the representation of People of Color was even lower at this [referring to Ph.D.] level, which made it challenging for me to learn how to comfortably and safely share my experiences from a cultural lens without seeming annoying or angry to my white peers." As first-generation doctoral students, we all felt isolated by being either the only BIPOC student or one of a few BIPOC students. Additionally, many of our peers were not the first in their family to pursue a doctorate, as was the case for all four authors. This is evidenced by one of our responses,

I was the only person of color in my cohort, and that in itself was a lonely and challenging position. The other members of my cohort, for the most part, split off into cliques or twosomes that I never felt a part of.

"All-white Space"

White dominance was not only represented in a physical context. Our discussions also highlighted the amplification of the dominant white narrative and the suppression and lack of equal consideration of theories that value the ideals of BIPOC communities. As demonstrated in two quotes from two different authors below, the burden was on students of color to speak up on issues of race and ethnicity to ensure there was a diversity of thought and, thus, putting themselves in a vulnerable position,

... these conversations relied heavily on students of color to contribute their thoughts and perspectives and only came up during classes where the discussion was required. Furthermore, these important conversations always appeared to be an afterthought rather than a priority.

When I attempted to speak out against them or share my lens it was countered with commonly dismissive and defensive statements such as invoking the first amendment right, aka freedom of speech, all lives matter, and the ever-popular devil's advocate. The one thing that was obvious was the level of discomfort that my presence and opposition to negative BIPOC rhetoric caused among my white peers.

"Living in Two Worlds"

White supremacy presented itself in our conversations about balancing our community's requests and needs with that of academia. We spoke of our struggles to adapt to white spaces, sometimes noted as "living in two worlds" as described by one of the authors, "I was on a path of living in two worlds that I had to learn to navigate simultaneously – the academic world and that of my family and culture – to find balance in my life." Furthermore, we recognized that our pursuit of academic achievement often conflicted with our BIPOC identity. We frequently encountered moments in which our

communities were misrepresented, and stereotypes were reinforced in classroom settings, as noted in the quote below,

Navigating a predominantly white space such as academia has been something that I have to a certain extent gotten used to throughout my educational experience. As a BIPOC social worker, it is like navigating two worlds. One world seemingly accepts your diversity as it is often dissected in doctoral courses highlighting the stereotypes of my culture (e.g., gangs, poverty, crime, helplessness) under the white savior guise that somehow "they" have the answers and a better understanding of what my people need.

Imposter Syndrome

Navigating a predominantly white space was new to some of us. This culture shock led to various barriers to assimilating to academia due to having to deal with white rhetoric that was not inclusive of BIPOC. The assumption and expectation that we all came into the doctoral program with equitable knowledge, skills, and abilities contributed to the difficulty of adjusting to a new academic environment and its demands. Imposter syndrome was highlighted by all authors, although not meant in its traditional sense. While imposter syndrome implies fear of lacking the appropriate skills, being perceived as lacking, and being exposed to such inadequacies, the authors used this term to describe self-doubt due to the lack of representation in white spaces.

For one of our authors, they described being "the only [BIPOC] in my program at a predominately white, upper social class, exclusive university. Therefore, my imposter syndrome was felt from the start." The absence of BIPOC in leadership and the graduate student body left another author to describe imposter syndrome as "constantly questioning where I fit within a white space, if I belonged, and if this direction was where I wanted to go to achieve my goals and address my community's needs."

Isolation and Disconnection

As a result of the white dominance within our academic experiences, socio-cultural and linguistic isolation was experienced due to having limited access to diverse cultures or BIPOC communities with which we could relate. This also contributed to feelings of disconnection within predominantly white-dominant spaces.

While I was very fortunate to have mentors that supported me and guided me throughout my education, I didn't realize how lonely and isolating my experience would be, not only because I was one of two students of color (the only female of color) in my program and across campus but because I was a first-generation graduate student.

Disconnection surfaced again during discussions surrounding the lack of opportunities and supports for students of color, such as financial resources and network opportunities that could benefit their careers.

It has been my experience that some schools trouble themselves over the first year of funding for doc students, but do not have long-term plans for their retention and funding of an entire degree program. This is problematic for students in general, and students of color in particular, as we are less likely to have the resources and network to secure funding on our own. This was my experience, and I believe that never being funded thoroughly to work with faculty or a research center placed me at a disadvantage. I did not publish as much as some of my peers.

Misogyny and Sexism

The experiences of oppression resulting from the intersections of gender and race were most poignant for two of the authors. In addressing the unique ways in which race shapes the experiences of BIPOC women in academia, two of the author's experiences aligned based on their similar identities. They both identified as Chicana and found it hard to separate their intersectional identities. That is, they centered race, gender, and class while negotiating their place in academia. To provide some context, pursuing higher education as a Chicana is often seen as a radical act due to challenging gendered norms within Chicana culture and societal gender roles for Chicanas (Cuádriz, 2005).

Furthermore, Chicana roles and social expectations have been homogenized by white women. Stevens and Pescatello (1973) characterized Chicanas as devoted, nurturing, passive, and sexually pure, which stereotyped the Chicana women based on colonized ideas of the coined term *marianismo*. These misogynistic perspectives are upheld and perpetuated through patriarchal structures that contributed to the additional barriers for the lived experiences of the two Chicana authors. The following are two examples of their experiences that reflect these social expectations,

As I reflect on my first time teaching independently, as a Woman of Color instructor, I believe I was held to a different standard, my expertise was questioned more and my grading was challenged more often. This class was my introduction to these experiences in the classroom and academia in general. These behaviors from students still continue today now that I am an assistant professor. I thought adding three letters to my name (PhD) would change this, it did not.

Although it is well known that social work is a female dominant profession, male social workers throughout the profession always tend to hold higher-ranking positions. From my perspective this contributed to views that were not necessarily welcoming of feminist theories or more specifically BIPOC feminist epistemologies were not presented as comparable to those that were defined by white males.

Question 3: How did you respond to or adjust the mismatch of these two experiences?

Decline in Mental and Physical Well-Being

The weight of white supremacy had a significant impact on our mental and physical health. One author noted, "The constant advocacy throughout my experience to counter racist and systemic racist beliefs from peers and educators was taxing." In our discussions, we recognized that if we did not speak out on race issues, putting ourselves in a vulnerable position, the perspectives of our communities would not be considered. Relying on students of color to speak on race had repercussions on the student, as described below.

... instead of being present and participating in learning, students of color had to decide to either participate in educating their white peers and thus carry the mental burden and emotional exhaustion that comes with the reactions from their peers, or disengage from the discussion if they did not want to "carry the race torch."

Decline in physical health was also a byproduct of trying to navigate the demanding terrain of academia. Due to the lack of a support network early on, one author shared,

I internalized a lot of the negative experiences (microaggressions) and imposter syndrome feelings I had. Like many graduate students, my mental health declined. During my Ph.D. studies, I was diagnosed with [stress-induced] shingles following the disastrous ending of a faculty relationship that I had originally thought supportive. Later in the program, I was diagnosed with generalized anxiety and PPD [postpartum depression].

Disengagement and Us of Self-Preservation

As articulated in the previous theme, white supremacy in academia manifests in multiple ways and, unfortunately, takes a mental toll on students of color. Left to their discretion, BIPOC students often have to be selective in deciding when they want to advocate for their community within this environment or disengage for mental and emotional safety.

I have learned to sit, engage in grounding exercises such as drinking water and engaging in mindfulness exercises to avoid the pitfall of always having to clap back. It is a skill to consistently find a balance to avoid the burnout that students of color face when having to sit through false narratives against Communities of Color that are based on white lenses that have yet to engage with the communities they critique or research from a privileged distance.

The decision to disengage does not come easy. It often comes with feelings of guilt that you are perpetuating or condoning racist rhetoric within academia. Because of the scarcity of BIPOC in these environments, the authors felt that racial advocacy was often on them.

I experienced classes where I had to intentionally disengage in discussions as a means of protecting myself because the burden of constantly speaking out on issues of race/ethnicity and culture were too much to bear and were impacting my mental well-being. Those days were often the worst for me because while I was disengaging as a coping mechanism, I was still experiencing the guilt of not speaking out on behalf of my community and allowing stereotypes and oppressive ideologies to exist.

Seeking Outside Theories and Approaches in our Research

As a form of resistance to a system built on white supremacy, we sought theories and epistemologies that applied to BIPOC in our research rather than utilizing the common theories based on white western perspectives. This pursuit required more resources from us,

I found if I needed to find theories and epistemologies that made sense for my community, I had to go the extra lengths to find it. I had to seek authors and experts outside of the school of social work. I put a lot of work into learning and researching authors who were representative of my community. I found myself ... working with less resources at my disposal in order to keep up with my peers.

Despite the extra effort, finding theories that represented our communities helped cement the necessity for diverse perspectives in academia. As one of us noted,

... discovering critical theories, such as CRT, LatCrit and Chicana feminism, and learning research methods that focused and centered community voices; I realized there was a place for me in the academy and I deserved to be here. It is my form of resistance.

Connecting to Larger Networks Outside of Our School or Department

Seeking out meaningful networks that supported underrepresented BIPOC students was crucial to our ability to endure the isolation of academia. We frequently searched for support and mentorship through student groups, national fellowships, and family and friends. While these networks provided reassurances that we could succeed in academia despite its demands and challenges, some of us also sought mental health support to supplement our self-care needs, as highlighted in the commentary below.

I was faced with the choice of withdrawing or continuing to stand my ground and keep my eye on the proverbial prize of attaining my doctoral education to be able to advocate and engage in social justice research. I chose the latter and sought individual therapy and began to network with BIPOC faculty and allies that could support me in navigating this white space.

Mentorship from BIPOC Faculty

Seeking mentorship from Faculty of Color and other supportive spaces was an essential strategy used by all authors. One author noted, "I have reached out for more support from Faculty and Students of Color within and outside of my program, participating in groups that are specifically tailored for Students and Faculty of Color. This has provided some comfort." Mentorship offered guidance on "navigating this white space" and affirming their place within the social work profession. Recognizing the scarcity of Faculty of Color, two of the authors currently in leadership positions ensure they offer safe spaces and collaboration opportunities to current and future generations of BIPOC scholars to reduce the weight of white supremacy and its impact on BIPOC academic achievements. As one author stated,

I find brown spaces in the academy or create them, i.e. Women Faculty of Color Caucus, writing and conducting research with BIPOC colleagues and students. I also make time for my students of color and ensure I provide mentorship to my doctoral students of color.

Strategically Advocate for Ourselves and Other BIPOC

When we decide to speak up on issues of race, we recognize we put our careers at risk, a concern our white peers do not have to experience. However, the decision to speak up and resist the system is less about our comforts and protections and more about making room for future generations of BIPOC scholars to ensure BIPOC representation and influence in research, policy, and practice, as noted in the two quotes below,

I am also fully aware that to be bold is putting myself at risk of losing opportunities to work with certain teams because I am unwilling to be complacent to a system of oppression. This could even impact my opportunities to obtain a professorship in certain universities down the road. But while it is exhausting to be a Woman of Color calling out racism and discrimination in a male and European-centric environment, I believe it to be more harmful not only to myself but to Communities of Color more generally to be silent and conform to the traditional norms of academic culture.

While I was Ph.D. student, I promised myself that if I was ever in a faculty position I would stay true to myself by advocating for Communities of Color, teaching critical theories outside of social work while writing and pushing our field to use more critical theories, not only writing and publishing in academic journals but accessible formats for communities and finally using alternative research methods to truly capture people's experiences. Additionally, I find brown spaces in the academy or create them, write and conduct research with BIPOC colleagues and students, centering their voices and experiences. Finally, I make time for my students of color and ensure I provide mentorship to doctoral students of color.

Discussion

Social work is founded on the belief that all people, including the most vulnerable and oppressed, have a right to individual and community well-being (NASW, 2021). Social workers are tasked with ensuring this right is met through practice, advocacy, and policy reforms (Bishop et al., 2018; NASW, 2021). Although there is no singular definition of well-being, we align with a more holistic focus that is mindful of factors affecting perceptions of individual self-worth (Case & Hunter, 2012) in combination with the "...social, economic, environmental, cultural, and political conditions identified by individuals and their communities..." (Wiseman & Brasher, 2008, p. 358) within the measures of this construct. Thus, the academic conditions, including representation of diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds, worldviews, and practices, play a role in the overall perception of health and well-being among doctoral Students of Color. As a profession, we publicly defend our values and ethical principles. However, we privately reinforce white supremacy by purposely ignoring factors that threaten BIPOC doctoral students' well-being, thereby suggesting a willful denial of equal opportunity to their academic achievements. By extension, we risk harming BIPOC communities by inadequately equipping doctoral graduates across the profession with theories and epistemologies that enrich understanding of what systems and practices contribute to their oppression and offer ways to build trusting partnerships to address these social injustices.

Using *testimonios* or personal narratives of four Women of Color in the academy to document our experiences, we provided insight into the various ways in which white supremacy manifests within social work doctoral education. Using three guiding questions, we detailed our high regard for professional practice, our shared commitment to the Code that embodies social justice, and a desire to increase our knowledge base to serve our communities. To our disappointment, contradictions between our expectations and realities of social work doctoral education surfaced when we identified shared feelings of isolation and disconnectedness as we attempted to navigate a system that was undoubtedly designed for and by white membership. Our stories demonstrated how doctoral social work education often lacks content on non-western ideology; maintains a clear underrepresentation of BIPOC students and faculty; excludes intentional and meaningful discussions of race; and ultimately leads to questions of personal inadequacy resulting from this exclusive environment that upholds white supremacy. As a result of these experiences, we endured mental and physical health declines, sometimes simultaneously, during our struggle to find balance within the academic system. We also intentionally disengaged for self-preservation and strategically advocated for ourselves and other BIPOC when appropriate. To cope with these experiences, we found alternative theories and perspectives outside of social work that speaks to our worldviews and the communities we work with; we sought out national, local, and academic organizations that support BIPOC students and relied on mentorship from BIPOC faculty.

Unfortunately, our shared experiences are not unique to doctoral education. Ghose et al. (2018) examined barriers to recruitment and retention of BIPOC doctoral students. Their work advocated for mechanisms to address racism, financial constraints, limited representation among academic leadership, and the lack of mentorship to create an

equitable environment for BIPOC students. Similar experiences have been described by social work Students and Faculty Scholars of Color. Tijerina and Deepak (2014) noted perceived structural barriers among Latinx MSW students limited their desire to pursue doctoral studies, recognizing the institutional culture within academia as isolating, unsupportive, and culturally insensitive. Many of the prevalent social work theories commonly taught in social work education have been criticized for centering a white-dominant, Western perspective and inadvertently raising the risk of harm among BIPOC communities. These theories often prioritize cost-effectiveness over client-centered approaches (Dominelli, 1996) and pursue politically correct, outcome-driven, and individualistic solutions, thereby supporting a neoliberal agenda that is not conducive to BIPOC communities (Dominelli, 1996; Gray, 2011). They also fail to address racism within the profession, inhibiting meaningful partnerships with BIPOC communities (Wakefield, 1996). The cultural competency framework, popular within many social work schools, has been criticized for lacking cultural humility and reflexive practice within its framework, minimizing the unique needs of People of Color by attempting to equalize all forms of oppression and subsequently promoting colorblindness and a lack of accountability within the profession (Abrams & Molo, 2009; Fisher-Borne, 2014; Jackson & Samuels, 2019; Schiele, 2007). Furthermore, the lack of guidance and support on race and diversity discussions often leads to their inclusion as a single add-on course rather than integrated throughout the curricula (Ortiz & Jani, 2010). To this end, we provide inclusive theoretical frameworks and perspectives and implications for supporting BIPOC students in social work doctoral education (see Table 2).

Alternative Theoretical Perspectives for Social Work Doctoral Education

There is a mismatch in instruction on the best ways to serve Communities of Color when only Western theoretical perspectives are centered. Prioritizing theories designed from a white lens reinforces white supremacy in social work and doctoral social work education and consequently produces an exclusionary and hostile environment for doctoral Students of Color. If social work is genuinely committed to anti-racist practice, we must disclose (publicly acknowledge the existence), denounce (disprove of its power and authority), and dismantle (completely eradicate) white supremacy in our profession and doctoral education. Centering BIPOC voices through alternative theories and epistemologies in social work doctoral education is essential to ensure the inclusion of Latinx, Indigenous and Afrocentric ways of knowing and honors knowledge produced by non-European scholars (Maglalang et al., 2021). So doing challenges myths and stereotypes about BIPOC that currently occupy space in academia by elevating our voices and perspectives. While many theories center the experiences of BIPOC, we share theoretical frameworks and perspectives that resonate with us to ground our work. These include Critical Race Theory (CRT), Latina/o Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), TribalCrit, Indigenist Stress-Coping Model, Intersectionality, and Black and Chicana Feminism.

Table 2. *Core Tenets of Seven Alternative Theories*

Theory	Main Concepts/Tenets	Focus of Theory	Contributing Authors
Black Feminist Thought (BFT)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Matrix of domination • Lived experience as a criterion of meaning • Use of dialogue in assessing knowledge claims • Ethics of caring • Ethics of personal accountability 	<p>Rooted in critical social theory & Afrocentric feminism, BFT recognizes complex intersecting oppressions of gender, race, & class, & impacts experiences of oppression & the shared wisdom that provide context to Black women’s standpoint. It advocates for the recognition of Black ways of knowing & knowledge production, grounded in lived experiences, expressed & validated through community dialogues, self-expression, & accountability.</p>	<p>Collins, 1998, 2000</p>
Chicana Feminism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited opportunities for higher education • School pushout • Counter-narrative • Critique of misogyny & homophobia • Health care • Bilingual education • Immigration reform • Prison reform • Welfare • U.S. policies in Central America 	<p>A feminist theory that centers the experiences of Indigenous-Mexican women who live in the United States. Chicana feminism uncovers the effects of colonization that continue to influence border politics. Further, it challenges dominant narratives rooted in machismo, racism, classism, & heterosexism. Mexican & American identities are interconnected & cannot be separated.</p>	<p>Anzaldúa, 2012; Garcia, 1989</p>
Critical Race Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism as the norm • Value of storytelling • Critique of liberalism • Recognizing power & privilege • Critique of whiteness • Integrating anti-racist discourse • Legitimizing race scholarship • Globalized understanding of race • Interest convergence 	<p>Highlights how white supremacy is maintained & the oppression of People of Color continues as the understanding of racism & political dimensions change over time. Initially developed under the Black/white binary, centering race & racism.</p>	<p>Brown & Jackson, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 2013; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Razack & Jeffery, 2002</p>
Indigenist Stress-Coping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Native women’s health outcomes • Life stressors, including historical trauma, discrimination, traumatic life events, physical/sexual assaults, abuse • Culture as a stress buffer (identity attitudes, enculturation, spiritual coping, traditional health practices) 	<p>The indigenist perspective provides a more comprehensive understanding of women’s health. It recognizes the role of colonization, poverty, geography, racism, & discrimination on women’s physical & mental health outcomes. Furthermore, culture can play a significant role in serving as a buffer to life stressors.</p>	<p>Walters & Simoni, 2002</p>

Theory	Main Concepts/Tenets	Focus of Theory	Contributing Authors
Intersectionality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognizes multiple intersecting identities existing within groups • Identities are interconnected & cannot be separated • Power, privilege, & oppression can all be experienced • Acknowledges complexity • Connected to social justice/transformation initiatives 	<p>Recognizes that individuals & communities can simultaneously experience oppression & privilege based on the multiple intersecting identities, which vary across context & time.</p>	<p>Crenshaw, 1989, 2005; Patterson et al., 2016; Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006</p>
Latina/o Critical Race Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intersectionality • Nativity • Generational status • Language • Socioeconomic status • Gender • Sexuality 	<p>Follows many of the tenets of CRT, however, enhances it further by challenging the Black/white racial binary, including perspectives of the Latinx community with multiple intersecting identities and, therefore, multiple dimensions of oppression.</p>	<p>Delgado Bernal, 2002; Fernández, 2002; Kiehne, 2016; Lechuga-Peña & Lechuga, 2018; Moldonado & Moldonado, 2012; Solórzano, 2013; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001;</p>
TribalCrit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Colonization is endemic to society • U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, white supremacy, & a desire for material gain • Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political & racialized natures of our identities • Sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, & self-identification • Culture, knowledge, & power through an Indigenous lens • Governmental & educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in assimilation • Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, & visions are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples • Stories are real & legitimate sources of data & ways of being • Theory & practice scholars must work together for social change 	<p>Emerged from CRT & follows many of the tenets, including storytelling. However, enhances CRT to include perspectives of First Nations people.</p>	<p>Brayboy, 2005</p>

Critical Race, Latino Critical Race Theory, and Tribal Critical Race Theory

CRT explains how white supremacy and the oppression of People of Color has been created and maintained in America while also providing ways to change it (Brown & Jackson, 2013, p. 12). Using CRT techniques, such as chronicles, storytelling, and counter-narratives to document the oppression BIPOC face allows for critical reflection and the opportunity for dialogue to learn more about these experiences (Ladson-Billings, 2013; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). While the initial focus of CRT was to demonstrate how white supremacy and the oppression of People of Color is created and maintained in America, the white/Black binary served to increase the invisibility of other groups of color and reproduced racism and oppression in other ways. In response to this Black/white binary, Latinx and Indigenous scholars recognized these gaps and responded by developing new forms of Critical Race Theory such as LatCrit and Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit).

Two of the authors use LatCrit in their research as it provides the lens to examine experiences unique to the Latinx community, including ethnicity, language, and culture. LatCrit supports researchers to better articulate Latinx individuals' experiences, specifically through a more focused examination of the unique forms of oppression they encounter (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Fernández, 2002; Moldonado & Moldonado, 2012; Solórzano, 2013; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001;). One of the authors ground their work in TribalCrit, which examines the multifaceted relationship between American Indians and the federal government in the United States and centering the pervasiveness of colonization and imperialism asserted in U.S. policies intended to normalize white settler colonial norms for materialistic gain (Brayboy, 2005). Thus, the authors use CRT and its extensions to understand how systemic racism and historical context continue to impact the lives of BIPOC and educate and transform the relationship between race, racism, and power in society.

Indigenist Stress-Coping Model

When considering theoretical models developed in part by social workers, the "indigenist" stress-coping model of American Indian women's health provides a stress-coping paradigm that situates American Indian women's health within the broader context of their status as a Colonized People (Walters & Simoni, 2002). Walters and Simoni (2002) recognize that American Indian women's health is not solely a consequence of their genetics, culture, or lifestyle, but rather their physical and mental health is a response to their sociodemographic contexts that often include poverty, racism, and discrimination that influence their health outcomes. Converse to many mainstream theories that focus on pathology, the Indigest Stress-Coping model highlights protective or buffering factors to build upon the strengths and resilience of Native women (Walters & Simoni, 2002). For one author, focusing on protective factors rather than pathology is essential to effectively understanding and responding to health inequities in Indigenous communities.

Intersectionality, Black Feminist Thought, and Chicana Feminism

Crenshaw (1989) initially coined the term "intersectionality" (p. 141) to help explain the oppression that African American women experience. While the concept has existed in feminist scholarship, intersectionality has been used as an all-inclusive term to refer to the multiple identities that coexist (or intersect), creating simultaneous experiences of oppression and privilege within the context of space and time (Crenshaw, 2005; Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006). Recognizing multifaceted identities expands our understanding of diversity within groups, thus challenging homogenous discourses. Intersectionality and other theories that recognize multiple positionalities and privilege, such as Black feminist thought and Chicana feminism, counteract the dominant "elite white male" positionality and positivistic lens that dominates academia and silences other perspectives (Patterson et al., 2016).

Black feminist thought challenges the homogeneous assumptions of the Black community and recognizes the collective wisdom of Black women's standpoint that stems from their shared experiences of oppression based on their gender, class, and African descent encountered within spaces that they live and work and dating as far back as slavery (Collins, 1989; Harding, 2004). Chicana feminism examines and elevates the critical need to address how structures of racism, capitalism, and patriarchy impact Latinx communities and Chicanas more specifically (Anzaldúa, 2012; Garcia, 1989). Each of these theories are used by the authors in solidarity with community to challenge historical and political practices used to silence, discredit, exploit, and reduce Women of Color by centering their lived experiences, ways of knowing and understanding, and forms of expression (Anzaldúa, 2012; Collins, 2000).

These theoretical frameworks and perspectives offer insight into the worldviews of BIPOC communities, recognizing the historical and generational oppression that have shaped their experiences and interactions with systems that have promoted white supremacy. Understanding these contexts and continuing dialogue about their lasting effects in BIPOC communities is necessary for social work doctoral education to prevent further injustices caused by academia and graduates from the profession. We recommend including theories like these that represent BIPOC in social work doctoral education, not as a singular course, but embedded throughout the curricula, as an effort to dismantle white supremacy at the doctoral level. We also recommend removing contradictions of inclusivity within the profession and ensuring all doctoral students are sufficiently equipped with resources to guide their collaborative efforts with Communities of Color. Although not an exhaustive list, theories that speak to BIPOC experiences should be embedded within social work doctoral education to dismantle white supremacy. This inclusion will further the Code's principle of ensuring students have a knowledge base sensitive to the social, historical, and cultural needs of the populations they aim to support.

Implications for Supporting BIPOC Students in Social Work Doctoral Education

It is important to understand the factors that provide some insight into why BIPOC students choose their doctoral programs. While research on BIPOC students' college choice processes has been well studied, more recent studies have examined the factors influencing BIPOC students' selection of their graduate programs, several of which were the same factors that helped determine which doctoral programs we, the authors, attended. For example, Barr et al. (2007) found that Latino and African American students selected the school they attended based on their perceived quality of the interpersonal environment and sense of inclusion. Additionally, Ramirez (2013) examined the Latino/a graduate school choice processes of doctoral students and found students chose their program based on the following five factors; (a) a desire to stay close to home, (b) to study with faculty at a particular institution, (c) financial considerations, (d) campus climate concerns, and (e) circumscribed choices (p. 27; i.e., it was the only program that accepted them). Regardless of the program BIPOC students choose, we argue that BIPOC students are still forced to navigate within an academic system that supports and maintains white supremacy, and in our case, within social work doctoral education. To this end, we offer the following implications for supporting BIPOC students in social work doctoral education.

First, a physical and mental space for BIPOC students in social work programs, such as CSWE's Minority Fellowship Program and student organizations for BIPOC students within our institutions, was an essential means of coping with white supremacy for each of us. McLane-Davison et al. (2018) detail the development of a collaborative community as a means to create a safe space where BIPOC doctoral students, administrators, and faculty can find support, feel empowered, and reaffirm their value within academia. This validation and support assist in cultivating a culture of inclusion.

Second, mentorship, particularly from Faculty of Color, was essential in our academic journey. Mentorship is a critical component for student success, particularly for underrepresented students (Lechuga-Peña & Lechuga, 2018). In their review of social work doctoral education over the last four decades, Chin et al. (2018) noted some schools' efforts towards addressing diversity needs, particularly for BIPOC doctoral students. Their report highlighted critical areas that needed improvement to ensure BIPOC doctoral students were prepared for the job market, including mentorship, more extensive support networks, promoting critical reflexivity, increasing financial support, and a clear understanding of post-graduation processes. Additionally, Chin et al. (2018) raised concern that few studies have thoroughly examined and discussed methods to address racial and ethnic diversity disparities within Schools of Social Work.

Third, while social work education has typically followed a cultural competency framework, as we noted earlier, the consolidation of all forms of oppression tends to minimize the unique and pressing concerns of BIPOC students (Abrams & Molo, 2009; Schiele, 2007). Jackson and Samuels (2019) highlight the word 'competence,' which implies that social workers can become an expert in a cultural experience or perspective other than their own by merely studying it. Alternatively, they propose a culturally attuned

framework that offers a more critical examination of power, privilege, and oppression, centers intersectionality and multidimensionality to address complexities of disadvantage, and advocates for more accountability of social workers to recognize and work to dismantle structures that foster oppression, such as racism (Jackson & Samuels, 2019). Incorporating alternative non-Western theories and epistemologies is a step towards the goals of this framework.

Finally, we recommend further recruitment and retention of BIPOC doctoral students and faculty as this underrepresentation was frequently highlighted throughout our findings. Increasing representation in the classroom and within curricula fosters a space of inclusion and makes it easier to have shared conversations about race and racism in education, and subsequently reduces the burden of racial battle fatigue (Arnold et al., 2016; Hubain et al., 2016). Similarly, increasing diversity and creating a supportive culture for Faculty of Color reduces burnout caused by cultural taxation (SSFNRIG, 2017). Recruitment and retention emphasize the need to consider the needs of BIPOC students and faculty to be successful throughout the course of their academic journey.

Limitations

This paper speaks to the lived experiences of four BIPOC women and their lived experiences navigating their social work doctoral program. Given the small sample size and engagement at a select number of Schools of Social Work, we recognize that our *testimonios* cannot be generalized across the social work profession or representative of all BIPOC scholars. However, our experiences reflect the collective scholarship on anti-racism in social work education, particularly from the lens of Women of Color. Furthermore, they enforce the need for more examination of modern-day white supremacy within the social work doctoral education and the intentional efforts to create culturally attuned academic spaces for BIPOC scholars with multiple intersecting identities.

Conclusion

While the NASW (2021) Code of Ethics does not explicitly condemn white supremacy, its mission, values, and principles encourage a professional practice that pursues equality and social justice for all society's members, with a particular focus on vulnerable populations. We argue that white supremacy manifests itself in BIPOC social work doctoral students' experiences and cannot be dismantled if we only elevate theories and epistemologies developed from a white, western perspective. The unbalanced attention to these theories contradicts the social work profession's vision of an inclusive profession that prepares its students to work in diverse communities impacted by systemic oppression. It is essential to find ways to support BIPOC social work doctoral students and create a more inclusive space in the academy.

References

- Abrams, L., & Molo, J. (2009). Critical race theory and the cultural competence dilemma in social work education. *Journal of Social Work Education, 45*(2), 245-261.
<https://doi.org/10.5175/JSWE.2009.200700109>

- American Academy of Social Work and Social Welfare [AASWSW]. (2020, June 26). *Announcing the grand challenge to eliminate racism*. Grand Challenges for Social Work. <https://grandchallengesforsocialwork.org/grand-challenges-for-social-work/announcing-the-grand-challenge-to-eliminate-racism/>
- Anderson, E. (2015). "The white space." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1(1), 10-21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649214561306>
- Anzaldúa, G. (2012). *Borderlands: La FRONTERA. The new Mestiza* (4th ed., 25th anniversary). Aunt Lute Books.
- Appiah, K. (2020, June 18). The case for capitalizing the B in Black. *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/time-to-capitalize-blackand-white/613159/>
- Arnold, N. W., Crawford, E. R., & Khalifa, M. (2016). Psychological heuristics and faculty of color: Racial battle fatigue and tenure/promotion. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 87(6), 890-919. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2016.11780891>
- Author 3. (2018).
- Azhar, S., & McCutcheon, K. (2021). How racism against BIPOC women faculty operates in social work academia. *Advances in Social Work*, 21(2/3), 396-420. <https://doi.org/10.18060/24118>
- Barr, D. A., Wanat, S., & Gonzalez, M. (2007). Racial and ethnic differences in students' selection of a doctoral program to attend from those offering admission: The case of biomedical sciences. *Journal of Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering*, 13, 23-36. <https://doi.org/10.1615/JWomenMinorScienEng.v13.i1.20>
- Beliso-De Jesus, A., & Pierre, J. (2019). Special edition: Anthropology of white supremacy. *American Anthropologist*, 122(1), 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13351>
- Bieber, J., & Worley, L. (2006). Conceptualizing the academic life: Graduate students' perspectives. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 77(6), 1009-1035. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2006.0046>
- Bishop, L., Coombs, A., Domaguin, D., Hernandez, N., Higgs, E., McGhee, T., Trevino-Hartman, A., & West-Cahill, A. (2018). Developing policy and management leaders: Eight social work policy fellows share their experiences, case studies, and recommendations for leadership development. *Human Service Organizations, Management, Leadership & Governance*, 42(3), 245-250. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23303131.2018.1471647>
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the Persistence of racial inequality in the United States* (2nd ed.). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Brayboy, B. M. J. (2005). Toward a Tribal Critical Race theory in education. *The Urban Review*, 37(5), 425-46. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-005-0018-y>

- Brown, K., & Jackson, D. (2013). The history and conceptual elements of critical race theory. In M. Lynn & A. Dixson (Eds.), *Handbook of critical race theory in education* (pp. 9-22). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203155721>
- Bussey, S. R. (2020). Imperialism through virtuous helping: Baldwin's innocence and implications for clinical social work practice. *Journal of Progressive Human Services, 31*(3), 192-209. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10428232.2019.1617016>
- Cabrera, N. L. (2014a). Exposing Whiteness in higher education: White male college students minimizing racism, claiming victimization, and recreating White supremacy. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education, 17*(1), 30-55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2012.725040>
- Cabrera, N. L. (2014b). But we're not laughing: White male college students' racial joking and what this says about "post-racial" discourse. *Journal of College Student Development, 55*(1), 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2014.0007>
- Cabrera, N., & Franklin, J. (2016). Whiteness in higher education: The invisible missing link in diversity and racial analyses: Whiteness in higher education. *ASHE Higher Education Report, 42*(6), 7-125. <https://doi.org/10.1002/aehe.20116>
- Cabrera, N. L., Watson, J. S., & Franklin, J. D. (2016). Racial arrested development: A critical Whiteness analysis of the campus ecology. *Journal of College Student Development, 57*(2), 119-134. <https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2016.0014>
- Calvo, R., Ortiz, L., Villa, P., & Baek, K. (2018). A call for action: Latinxs in social work education. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 38*(3), 263-276. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08841233.2018.1466587>
- Canton, C. (2012). The "cultural taxation" of faculty of color in the academy. *California Faculty Magazine*. https://www.calfac.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/cultural_taxation_cfmagfall2013.pdf
- Case, A. D., & Hunter, C. D. (2012). Counterspaces: A unit of analysis for understanding the role of settings in marginalized individuals' adaptive responses to oppression. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 50*(1), 257-270. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-012-9497-7>
- Castagno, A. (2008). "I don't want to hear that!": Legitimizing whiteness through silence in schools. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 39*(3), 314-333. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1492.2008.00024.x>
- Chin, M., Hawkins, J., Krings, A., Peguero-Spencer, C., & Gutierrez, L. (2018). Investigating diversity in social work doctoral education in the United States. *Journal of Social Work Education, 54*(4), 762-775. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10437797.2018.1503127>
- Collins, P. (1989). The social construction of Black feminist thought. *Signs Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 14*(4), 745-773. <https://doi.org/10.1086/494543>

- Collins, P. H. (1998). *Fighting words: Black women and the search for justice*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Collins, P. (2000). *Black Feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Corley, J. (2020, June 27). Where are the women of color in academia? *Forbes Magazine*. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jacquelyncorley/2020/06/27/where-are-the-women-of-color-in-academia/?sh=7989f0406401>
- Cosgrove, D., Kramer, C., Mountz, S., & Lee, E. (2020). The role of identity in motivating and shaping the experiences of social work participatory action research scholars. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work*, 35(4), 552-571. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109920913331>
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of anti-discrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and anti-racist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989, 139-169. <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8/>
- Crenshaw, K. (2005). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color (1994). In R. K. Bergen, J. L. Edleson, & C. M. Renzetti (Eds.), *Violence against women: Classic papers* (pp. 282-313). Pearson Education New Zealand.
- Council on Social Work Education [CSWE]. (2020). *2019 statistics on social work education in the United States*. <https://www.cswe.org/research-statistics/research-briefs-and-publications/2019-annual-statistics-on-social-work-education-in-the-united-states/>
- CSWE. (2021). *2020 Statistics on social work education in the United States*. <https://www.cswe.org/getattachment/4eca6dcf-2183-4276-a1ba-a8128bf5ea64/2020-Annual-Statistics-On-Social-Work-Education-in-the-United-States.pdf?lang=en-US>
- Cuádras, G. H. (2005). Chicanas and higher education: Three decades of literature and thought. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 4(3), 215-234. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1538192705276547>
- Dade, K., Tartakov, C., Hargrave, C., & Leigh, P. (2015). Assessing the impact of racism on Black faculty in White academe: A collective case study of African American female faculty. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 39(2), 134-146. https://urgescience.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/33/2021/03/Assessing-the-Impact-of-Racism-on-Black-Faculty-in-White-Academe_A-Collective-Case-Study.pdf
- Davis, A., & Livingstone, A. (2016). Sharing the stories of racism in doctoral education: The anti-racism project. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work*, 36(2), 197-215. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08841233.2016.1147521>
- Davis, C., & Francois, S. (2021). "All skinfolk ain't kinfolk": Engaging with racial identity and racism-based trauma in social work curricula. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work*, 41(3), 209-229. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08841233.2016.1147521>

- Davis, L. (2016). Race: America's grand challenge. *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research*, 7(2), 395-403. <https://doi.org/10.1086/686296>
- Delgado Bernal, D. (2002). Critical race theory, Latino critical theory, and critical raced-gendered epistemologies: Recognizing students of color as holders and creators of knowledge. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 105-126. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040200800107>
- DiAngelo, R. (2018). *White fragility: Why it's so hard for White people to talk about racism*. Beacon Press.
- Dominelli, L. (1996). De-professionalizing social work: Anti-oppressive practices, competencies and postmodernism. *British Journal of Social Work*, 26, 153-175. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.bjsw.a011077>
- Feagin, J. R. (2006). *Systemic racism: A theory of oppression*. Routledge.
- Fernández, L. (2002). Telling stories about school: Using critical race and Latino critical theories to document Latina/Latino education and resistance. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 45-65. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040200800104>
- Fisher-Borne, M. (2014). From mastery to accountability: Cultural humility as an alternative to cultural competence. *Social Work Education*, 34(2), 165-181. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2014.977244>
- Garcia, A. (1989). The development of Chicana feminist discourse, 1970-1980. *Gender & Society*, 3(2), 217-238. <https://doi.org/10.1177/089124389003002004>
- Ghose, T., Ali S., & Keo-Meier, B. (2018). Diversity in social work doctoral programs: Mapping the road ahead. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 28(3), 265-271. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049731517710725>
- Gildersleeve, R., Croom, N., & Vasquez, P. (2011). "Am I going crazy?!": A critical race analysis of doctoral education. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 44, 93-114. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2011.539472>
- Gonzales, L. D., & Terosky, A. L. (2020). On their own terms: Women's pathways into and through academe. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 13(3), 274-287. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000128>
- Gray, M. (2011). Back to basics: A critique of the strengths perspective in social work. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services*, 92, 5-11. <https://doi.org/10.1606/1044-3894.4054>
- Guinier, L. (2015). *The tyranny of meritocracy: Democratizing higher education in America*. Beacon Press.
- Gusa, D. L. (2010). White institutional presence: The impact of Whiteness on campus climate. *Harvard Educational Review*, 80, 464-490. <https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.80.4.p5j483825u110002>

- Hall, S. (1980). Race, articulation, and societies structured in dominance. In UNESCO (Ed.), *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism* (pp. 305- 343). UNESCO.
<https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478002413>
- Harding, S. (2004). *The feminist standpoint theory reader: Intellectual and political controversies*. Routledge.
- Harper, S. R. (2012). Race without racism: How higher education researchers minimize racist institutional norms. *Review of Higher Education*, 36(1), 9-29.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2012.0047>
- Harper, S. R., & Hurtado, S. (2007). Nine themes in campus racial climates and implications for institutional transformation. In S. R. Harper & L. D. Patton (Eds.), *New directions for student services: No. 120. Responding to the realities of race on campus* (pp. 7-24). Jossey-Bass.
- Howard, S. (2017). Black first-generation social work doctoral students. *Journal of Teaching Social Work*, 37(5), 513-527.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08841233.2017.1370431>
- Hubain, B. S., Allen, E. L., Harris, J. C., & Linder, C. (2016). Counter-stories as representations of the racialized experiences of students of color in higher education and student affairs graduate preparation programs. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 29(7), 946-963.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2016.1174894>
- Jackson, K. F., & Samuels, G. M. (2019). *Multiracial cultural attunement*. NASW Press.
- Kendi, I. (2019). *How to be an anti-racist*. One World.
- Kiehne, E. (2016). Latino critical perspective in social work. *Social Work*, 61(2), 119-126. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/sww001>
- Kincheloe, J. (1998). *White reign: Deploying whiteness in America*. St. Martin's Press.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2013). Critical race theory-what it is not! In M. Lynn & A. D. Dixson (Eds.), *Handbook of critical race theory in education* (pp. 34-47). Routledge.
- Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record*, 97(1), 47-48.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/016146819509700104>
- Latina Feminist Group. (2001). *Telling to live: Latina feminist testimonios*. Duke University Press.
- Lechuga-Peña, S., & Lechuga, C. (2018). Xicanisma/o and education: Counter storytelling and narratives to inform Latina/o student success. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work*, 33(3), 300-316. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109917747633>
- Leonardo, Z. (2009). *Race, whiteness, and education*. Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203880371>

- Leonardo, Z., & Porter, R. K. (2010). Pedagogy of fear: Toward a Fanonian theory of “safety” in race dialogues. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*, 13(2), 139-157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2010.482898>
- Lensmire, T. J. (2011). Laughing white men. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 27(3), 102-116. <https://journal.jctonline.org/index.php/jct/article/view/274>
- Lewis, J., Mendenhall, R., Harwood, S., & Huntt, M. (2016). “Ain’t I a woman?”: Perceived gendered racial microaggressions experienced by Black women. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 44(5), 758-780. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000016641193>
- Lugones, M. (2003). *Pilgrimages = Peregrinajes: Theorizing coalition against multiple oppressions*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing.
- Maglalang, D., Sangalang, C., Mitchell, F. M., Lechuga-Peña, S., & Nakaoka, S. (2021). The movement for ethnic studies: A tool of resistance and self-determination for social work education. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 1-14, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10437797.2021.1963895>
- McLane-Davison, D., Quinn, C., Hardy, K., & Smith, R. (2018). The power of sum: An accountability sistah circle. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 54(1), 18-32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10437797.2017.1336139>
- McPhail, B. A. (2004). Setting the record straight: Social work is not a female-dominated profession. *Social Work*, 49(2), 323-326. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/49.2.323>
- Menchú, R., & Burgos-Debray, E. (1984). *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú : Testimonio*. Casa de las Américas.
- Mills, C. W. (1997). *The racial contract*. Cornell University Press.
- Mitchell, N. A., & Miller, J. J. (2011). The unwritten rules of the academy: A balancing act for women of color. In Jean-Marie & B. Lloyd-Jones (Eds.), *Women of color in higher education: Changing directions and new perspectives* (Diversity in Higher Education, Vol. 10, pp. 193-218). Emerald Group Publishing Limited, Bingley. [https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-3644\(2011\)0000010013](https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-3644(2011)0000010013)
- Moldonado, A., & Moldonado, R. Y. (2012). Still afraid of our brown faces, educated Latinos, narratives, and critical race theory - Recordando a Derrick Bell. *Power Play: A Journal of Educational Justice*, 4(1), 237-246.
- Morris, J. (1993). Interacting oppressions: Teaching social work content on women of color. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 29(1), 99-110. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10437797.1993.10778802>
- National Association of Social Workers [NASW]. (2020a). *NASW code of ethics*. <https://www.socialworkers.org/About/Ethics/Code-of-Ethics/Code-of-Ethics-English>
- NASW. (2020b, August 21). Social workers must help dismantle systems of oppression and fight racism within social work profession. <https://www.socialworkers.org/News/News-Releases/ID/2219/Social-Workers-Must->

- [Help-Dismantle-Systems-of-Oppression-and-Fight-Racism-Within-Social%20-Work-Profession](#)
- NASW. (2021). *Highlighted revisions to the Code of Ethics*.
<https://www.socialworkers.org/About/Ethics/Code-of-Ethics/Highlighted-Revisions-to-the-Code-of-Ethics>
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2018). *Characteristics of postsecondary faculty*. <https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator/csc>
- Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States*. Routledge.
- Ortega, D. M., & Busch-Amendariz, N. (2013). Benevolent hegemony. *Affilia* 28(2), 113-115. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109913485710>
- Ortiz, L., & Jani, J. (2010). Critical race theory: A transformational model for teaching diversity. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 46(2), 175-193.
<https://doi.org/10.5175/JSWE.2010.200900070>
- Osanloo, A., Boske, C. & Newcomb, W. (2016). Deconstructing macroaggressions, microaggressions, and structural racism in education: Developing a conceptual model for the intersection of social justice practice and intercultural education. *International Journal of Organizational Theory and Development*, 4(1), 1-18.
- Patterson, A., Kinloch, V., Burkhard, T., Randall, R., & Howard, A. (2016). Black feminist thought as methodology: Examining intergenerational lived experiences of Black women. *Departures in Critical Qualitative Research*, 5(3), 55-76.
<https://doi.org/10.1525/dcqr.2016.5.3.55>
- Patton, T. (2004). Reflections of a Black woman professor: Racism and sexism in academia. *Howard Journal of Communication*, 15(3), 185-200.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10646170490483629>
- Pérez Huber, L., & Villanueva, B. (2019). Testimonio. In P. Atkinson, S. Delamont, A. Cernat, J. W. Sakshaug, & R. A. Williams (Eds.), *SAGE research methods Foundations*. <https://www.doi.org/10.4135/9781526421036782944>
- Pérez Huber, L. (2010). Using Latina/o Critical Race Theory and racist nativism to explore intersectionality in the educational experiences of undocumented Chicana college students. *Educational Foundations (Ann Arbor, Mich.)*, 24(1-2), 77-96.
- Petr, C., Harrington, D., Kim, K., Black, B., Cunningham-Williams, R., & Bently, K. (2015). Quality indicators and expected outcomes for social work PhD programs: Perceptions of social work students, faculty, and administrators. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 51(1), 648-667. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10437797.2015.1076272>
- Phoenix, A., & Pattynama, P. (2006). Intersectionality. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13(3), 187-192. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506806065751>
- Picca, L. H., & Feagin, J. R. (2007). *Two-faced racism: Whites in the backstage and frontstage*. Routledge.

- Ramirez, E. (2013). Examining Latinos/as' graduate school choice process: An intersectionality perspective. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 12(1), 23-36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1538192712452147>
- Ramirez, E. (2017). Unequal socialization: Interrogating the Chicano/Latino(a) doctoral education experience. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 10, 25-38. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000028>
- Razack, N., & Jeffery, D. (2002). Critical race discourse and tenets for social work. *Canadian Social Work Review*, 19(2), 257-271.
- Rogers, J., McLean, A., & Mentor, M. (2019). A seat at the table: Womanist narratives of Black mothers in doctoral programs. *Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education*, 18, 87-108. <https://doi.org/10.31390/taboo.18.1.07>
- Saldaña, J. (2013). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. SAGE Publications.
- Santa-Ramirez, S. (2021). Sink or swim: The mentoring experiences of Latinx PhD students with faculty of color. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 15(1), 124-134. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000335>
- Santos, J. L., Cabrera, N. L., & Fosnacht, K. J. (2010). Is "race-neutral" really race-neutral?: Adverse impact towards underrepresented minorities in the U.C. System. *Journal of Higher Education*, 81(6), 675-701. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2010.11779074>
- Schiele, J. (2007). Implications of the equality-of-oppressions paradigm for curriculum content on people of color. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 43(1), 83-100. <https://doi.org/10.5175/JSWE.2007.200400478>
- Shotton, H. (2017). "I thought you'd call her White Feather": Native women and racial microaggressions in doctoral education. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 56, 32-54. <https://doi.org/10.5749/jamerindeduc.56.1.0032>
- Smith, W. A., Hung, M., & Franklin, J. D. (2011). Racial battle fatigue and the miseducation of the Black men: Racial microaggressions, societal problems, environmental stress. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 80(1), 63-82.
- Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group [SSFNRIG]. (2017). The burden of invisible work in academia: Social inequalities and time use in five university departments. *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, 39(39), 228-245.
- Solórzano, D. G. (2013). Critical race theory's intellectual roots: My email epistolary with Derrick Bell. In M. Lynn & A. D. Dixson (Eds.), *Handbook of critical race theory in education* (pp. 48-65). Taylor & Francis.
- Solórzano, D., & Delgado Bernal, D. (2001). Examining transformational resistance through a critical race and Latcrit theory framework: Chicana and Chicano students in an urban context. *Urban Education*, 36(3), 308-342. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085901363002>

- Stevens, E. P., & Pescatello, A. (1973). *Marianismo: The other face of machismo in Latin America*. University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Sullivan, S. (2006). *Revealing Whiteness: The unconscious habits of racial privilege*. Indiana University Press.
- Teasley, M., McCarter, S., Woo., B., Conner, L., Spencer, M., & Green, T. (2021). *The grand challenge to eliminate racism*. Grand Challenge for Social Work Initiative. <https://grandchallengesforsocialwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Eliminate-Racism-Concept-Paper.pdf>
- Tijerina, M., & Deepak, A. (2014). Mexican American social workers' perceptions of doctoral education and academia. *Journal of Social Work Education, 50*(1), 365-378. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10437797.2014.885277>
- Turner, C. (2002). Women of color in academe: Living with multiple marginality." *The Journal of higher education (Columbus), 73*(1), 74-93. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2002.0013>
- Turner, C., & Thompson, J. (1993). Socializing women doctoral students: Minority and majority experiences. *The Review of Higher Education, 16*(3), 355-370. <https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.1993.0017>
- Wakefield, J. (1996). Does social work need the eco-systems perspective? Part 2: Does the perspective save social work from incoherence? *The Social Service Review, 70*(2), 183-213. <https://doi.org/10.1086/604179>
- Walters, K. L., & Simoni, J. M. (2002). Reconceptualizing Native women's health: An "indigenist" stress-coping model. *American Journal of Public Health, 92*(4), 520-524. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.92.4.520>
- Williams, M., Burnett, T., Carroll, T., & Harris, C. (2018). Mentoring, managing, and helping: A critical race analysis of socialization in doctoral education. *Journal of College Student Retention: Research, Theory, & Practice, 20*(2), 253-278. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1521025116657834>
- Wiseman, J., & Brasher, K. (2008). Community well-being in an unwell world: Trends, challenges, and possibilities. *Journal of Public Health Policy, 29*(1), 353-366. <https://doi.org/10.1057/jphp.2008.16>

Author note: Address correspondence to Cynthia Mackey, School of Social Work, Arizona State University, Phoenix, AZ, 85004. Email: cynthia.m.mackey@asu.edu