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Articles

The Impact of Curiosity on Counselors' Social Justice Identity

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Abstract

The role of counselors has expanded to emphasize social justice principles and community action, encouraging social justice to become infused with counselor's professional identity. As a result, counselor educators are examining strategies for promoting the social justice identity of students and new professionals. Curiosity has been positioned as theoretically related to the concept of social justice. The current study investigated the relationship between counselor curiosity with social justice identity across three domains (self-efficacy, interest, and commitment) in a sample of 124 counselors and counselor trainees. Results indicated that three types of curiosity (specific, diversive, and competence) predicted each domain of social justice identity. Strategies to incorporate counselor curiosity into social justice pedagogy are discussed.

The Impact of Curiosity on Counselors' Social Justice Identity

Community-based action and social justice advocacy approaches are growing as critical elements of a counselor's role (Constantine et al., 2007). Mental health professionals recognized the growing need for counselors to advocate for diverse clientele through social action, which called for an extension beyond the previously established Multicultural Counseling Competencies (MCC; Sue, Arrendondo, McDavis, 1992). The updated Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC) outlines a multilevel framework on attitudes and beliefs, knowledge, skills, and a newly added competency in action (Ratts, et al., 2015). Thus, social justice has become a distinct responsibility and a required competency in the counseling profession (Kiselica & Robinson, 2001; Ratts, 2009; Ratts, Singh, Nassar-McMillan, Butler, & McCullough, 2016; Sue & Sue, 2013), and has been recognized as the "fifth force" of counseling (Ratts, 2009, p. 161).

Consequently, scholars seek to examine the factors that promote social justice interest and action. Several research studies have identified factors that predict social justice attitudes or identity, including political ideology (Parikh, Ceballos, & Post, 2012), problem-solving skills (Nilsson & Schmidt, 2005), spirituality (Prior & Quinn, 2012), collectivistic attitudes (Autin, Duffy, & Allan, 2017), and confidence (Briodo & Reason, 2005). These factors can influence how counselor educators identify and implement social justice pedagogy and training into coursework and experiences. Additionally, Caldwell and Vera (2010) identified critical incidents for cultivating a social justice orientation that included social justice training, immersive or experiential exercises, mentorship, and exposure to injustice. Thus, strategies for enhancing social justice training in counselor education can incorporate both individual predictors and training factors. More than 50 years ago, philosopher-educator Paulo Freire argued that critical curiosity, which he conceptualized as an eagerness to learn about and develop an understanding of the world, was related to developing a deeper understanding of social issues (Freire, 1970). Despite these historical connections between these two constructs, the relationship between curiosity and social justice identity within the field of counseling has not been investigated. Therefore, the current study seeks to understand how the specific characteristic of curiosity might predict and inform social justice identity of counselors.

Social Justice Identity

Social justice identity is described as the fusion or internalization of social justice principles with one's own life (Krathwohl, Bloom, & Masia, 1964). Social justice identity goes beyond a general understanding of social justice; counselors prioritize social justice domains as an important part of one's personal and professional identities (Dollarhide, Clevenger, Dogan, & Edwards, 2016). Domains of social justice identity include self-efficacy, interest, and commitment to social justice (Miller et al., 2009). Miller and colleagues (2009) defined social justice self-efficacy as a specific set of beliefs regarding one's perceived ability to perform social justice tasks across domains. Social justice interest refers to the pattern of likes or dislikes that a person holds toward social justice activities, while social justice commitment is related to the domain-specific social justice goals that one intends to pursue (Lent & Brown, 2006). Counselors with a social justice identity not only understand fundamental components of social justice, they infuse social justice principles with their personal and professional values.

The development of social justice identity requires having the tools necessary to critically examine and act within oppressive systems (Adams & Bell, 2016). The skills needed to identify and examine social justice issues can be cognitively complex (Reason & Davis, 2005) and require students to be able to engage in a high level of perspective taking, self-reflection, and critical thinking (Rios, Trent, & Castaneda, 2003). Bishop (2002) outlined a six-step process for social justice identity development that starts with recognizing oppression in society prior to acquiring the skills for action. Each step is characterized by recognizing and filling the current gaps in knowledge, perspectives, and worldviews to infuse social justice into one's identity.

Social Justice Identity in Counselor Education

Counselor educators have developed pedagogical approaches that support this identity development. For instance, Dollarhide and colleagues (2016) suggested incorporating experiences in affective, behavioral, cognitive, and contextual domains, rather than focusing on specific cultural competencies, to promote social justice identity development. Further, the underlying motivations may be particularly important for fostering social justice identity in the classroom. Thus, the inclusion of specific motivational factors included in social justice training is linked to increased participation and interest in social justice activities, such as highlighting connections with the oppressed, self-interest, moral foundations, responsibility, and passion (Caldwell & Vera, 2010; Edwards, 2006). These motivational factors emphasize students' individual purpose, meaning, and reasons for engaging in social justice work, rather than maintaining fixed training or lecturing based in standardized knowledge and competencies (Broido & Reason, 2005). Additionally, counselor educators incorporate social justice into their pedagogy by challenging limited perspectives, incorporating experiential exercises, and increasing students' interest and self-efficacy in advocacy through discussion, self-reflection, sociological context, and exposure to injustices (Constantine et al., 2007; Mayhew & Fernandez, 2007; Miller & Sendrowitz, 2011; Odegard & Vereen, 2010; Vera & Speight, 2003). However, many counselor education programs only address social justice in specific courses or trainings (Pieterse et al., 2009), and social justice can become an ascribed lesson or desired competency with barriers for growth and infusion into one's identity.

Despite an emergence of guidelines, programming, and training opportunities in social justice education, additional focused research may expand the understanding of why some students are more apt to become effective social justice advocates. Such research can inform strategies for counselor educators to infuse social justice more holistically into the program and incorporating facilitators of social justice identity into classroom environments. As a strengths-based profession, one strategy of interest is identifying and honing specific counselor characteristics that promote the development of social justice identity. Most counselors join the profession with a sense of compassion, a desire to help others, and genuine curiosity about others' stories (Allan, Owens, & Douglass, 2019; Ding, Laux, Salyers, & Kozelka, 2017). Research has yet to address how fostering students' curiosity may motivate counselors to engage in social justice during and after their education. Curiosity motivates people to explore and learn new ideas and new topics. Therefore, curiosity may also be a key motivational element of counselors exploring, learning, and engaging in new worldviews, systems, and social justice action.

Curiosity

Curiosity has been broadly defined as the desire to acquire new information and knowledge (Litman & Spielberger, 2003). Philosopher and psychologist Williams James (1899) described curiosity as the deep desire to understand what you do not. Curiosity stimulates exploratory behavior, discovery, and problem-solving that allows individuals to adapt and grow in new and unique situations (Litman & Spielberger, 2003). Curiosity has a role in development, learning, decision-making, motivation, and social interactions (Kang et al., 2009; Renner, 2006), impacting nearly all domains of human functioning (Reio, Petrosko, Wiswell, & Thongsukmag, 2006). Since curiosity is conceptualized in numerous ways, research has given way to various dimensions of curiosity, including perceptual or sensory (curiosity of stimuli), epistemic (curiosity of knowledge), diversive (intellectual exploration of novel stimuli), competence (a need to seek information in order to feel competent), problem solving or feelings of deprivation (not having access to information and having the desire to answer a question), that describe the different ways curiosity can manifest (Reio et al., 2006).

Everyone experiences moments of curiosity, but the frequency and intensity of such moments may denote a character trait that is a stable component of one's personality (Litman & Silva, 2006). Curiosity has been conceptualized as both a personality trait and a motivational or emotional state (Litman, 2005). Although curiosity can vary in intensity based on situational stimuli, many people have a dispositional tendency to engage in exploration regardless of the stimulus (Grossnickle, 2016). Thus, curiosity can be an individual strength to

be harnessed, as well as a state that can be encouraged and stimulated (Litman, 2005; Reio & Callahan, 2004).

Curiosity and Counseling

Kashdan and Roberts' (2004) research on interpersonal curiosity provides several insights into how curiosity fits in the counseling field. Curiosity promotes exploration and approach behaviors, in response to unfamiliar and meaningful environmental cues. This is particularly useful in social interactions, where curiosity can broaden one's attention of verbal and nonverbal patterns and stimulate a desire to learn more about the person and their perspectives (Kashdan & Roberts, 2004). In fact, curious people tend to readily observe and be more attentive to the people with whom they interact (Kashdan et al., 2012), and are more willing to tolerate deviations from the expected (Langer, 1992). Thus, curious people have greater sensitivity to the context and are more likely to effectively regulate their emotions and sustain resilience (Kashdan et al., 2012). Curious people are more likely to capitalize on opportunities and situations that foster intimacy and closeness, create conversations that are more interesting and enjoyable (Kashdan, McKnight, Fincham, & Rose, 2011), and have nondefensive and nonjudgmental attitudes (Kashdan et al., 2012). Further, curious individuals' preference for growth over safety, openness over closure, and complexity over simplicity (Vitterso, Soholt, Hetland, Thoreson, & Roysamb, 2010) aligns well with the mission of social justice.

Freire's beliefs about curiosity fit with this conceptualization. He hypothesized that when individuals adopt a stance of "critical curiosity" (Freire & Macedo, 1995, p. 385) about the world around them, it helps raise their critical consciousness. They begin to engage in the problems of the world around them in ways that become personally meaningful. Freire believed that curiosity helps people both gain an understanding of and ultimately challenge the systems of oppression (Freire, 1998). Importantly, he believed that although some types of curiosity are innate to the individual, this critical curiosity, which he likened to an epistemic or universal curiosity (simply put, the urge to know more about the world around the self), could be fostered through specific, intentional educational strategies (Freire, 1998).

Counselors may be naturally curious, but they also receive extensive training in developing a stance of unconditional positive regard and respectful curiosity (Dyche & Zayas, 1995). This curious stance is the foundation for the formation of the unique counseling relationship and enhances rapport and trust within this relationship (McEvoy, Baker, Plant, Hylton, & Mansell, 2013). One of the central aims of counseling is to create a space that allows new types of conversations to take place (Mason, 1993), and this is possible when counselors adopt a humble, curious, and respectful approach (Roy-Chowdhury, 2006). Further, an attitude of curiosity facilitates the breakdown of assumptions and demonstrates a willingness and interest to understand the individual and their unique perspective (Bansal, 2016). This has important implications in the development of counselor's social justice identity. Research has demonstrated that curiosity is linked to other pertinent traits, including openness to experience (Woo et al., 2014), tolerance of uncertainty (Litman, 2010), intrinsic motivation (Kashdan et al., 2018), and taking initiative (Kashdan & Silva, 2008), all of which are associated with multicultural and social justice counseling. In fact, the less curious we are, the more likely we are to jump to conclusions and reach premature certainty about situations and people (Stewart et al., 1991). Kashdan and colleagues (2013) found that certain types of curious people, described as the problem-solvers and the fascinated, were less likely to engage in relational or interpersonal aggression. Curiosity, then, is a tool for practicing cultural humility (Mosher et al., 2017) and engaging in culturally responsive conversations (Bansal, 2016).

Curiosity in Counselor Education

Counselor educators already use curiosity to facilitate epistemological development (Granello, 2002). Encouraging counselors-in-training to embrace uncertainty, explore topics of interest, and identify multiple perspectives assists in moving students out of a dualistic mindset (Wilkinson & Dewell, 2019). In fact, research shows that when people are genuinely curious about something, they learn more and better (Engel, 2013), and curiosity enhances learning by motivating individuals to engage in deeper critical thinking (Pluck & Johnson,

2011). Lowenstein's (1994) information gap theory posits that students' curiosity increases as students get closer to resolving a gap in information. The examination of information gaps paired with a supportive, stimulating environment is the driving force behind student curiosity (Pluck & Johnson, 2011). Counselor educators can harness this curiosity by probing, communicating the value of knowledge, and breaking information gaps into smaller, manageable learning tasks, where research suggests that curiosity is maximized (Reio et al., 2006).

Curiosity can be nurtured in a similar manner to enhance social justice identity development. Following Bishop's (2002) social justice identity development process, curiosity about social justice may be stimulated through identifying informational gaps in worldviews, knowledge, and skills, and providing students flexibility to explore such gaps in the classroom. Curiosity is both a learnable skill and disciplined habit (Jacobs, 2015), but curiosity should be cultivated in a purposeful manner. That is, curiosity towards specific topics or goals can promote more sustained interest and attention to such topics. For social justice awareness and orientation, Jacobs (2015) posits that student curiosity can be stimulated through providing challenges, purpose, and/or variety in the classroom and should not be bound by course designation or subject matter. Despite these suggestions, there is no current research that examines curiosity as a predictor of counselors' social justice self-efficacy, interest, and commitment. Further, it is unclear what form of curiosity (e.g., diverse, epistemic, competence, problem solving) is stimulated in the suggested various pedagogical strategies, and what dimensions of curiosity might be most useful in promoting counselor social justice interest and identity. Curiosity has clear benefits to classroom learning through increasing engagement and motivation in the classroom, however it is unclear if the impact of curiosity expands to predict the elements of sustained social justice identity.

The Present Study

The current study arose from a desire to understand potential strategies that can help foster social justice identity development in counselor education programs and social justice trainings. As a strengths-based profession, we sought to understand how curiosity is related to social justice identity. This study examined the association between various dimensions of curiosity and the components of social justice identity. We sought to answer the following research questions:

1) Does curiosity predict social justice identity?
2) What components of curiosity (e.g., specific to counseling, diverse, competence, intolerance, and problem solving) predict social justice identity?
3) What components of social justice identity (self-efficacy, interest, and commitment) are most influenced by curiosity?

We hypothesize that all five domains of curiosity positively predict social justice self-efficacy, interest, and commitment.

Method

Data Collection

The university's Institutional Review Board approved the present study. Members of the research team provided physical copies of the survey for interested participants at national clinical mental health and school counseling conferences. A member of the research team approached potential participants in an area of the conference reserved for conversing and networking. The researcher recited a prewritten script regarding the study to inform conference attendees of the study. Surveys took approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. Upon completion, participants returned completed surveys to a member of the research team, where surveys were stored in a file case.

Participants

The research team recruited from two national clinical mental health and school counseling conferences

that had a total of over 4,000 attendees. Eligibility criteria for this study included (1) 18 years of age or older, and (2) association with the counseling field (e.g., Counselor Educator, professional counselor, masters or doctoral student, retired from counseling profession). Surveys were distributed to approximately 140 participants at both conferences. Although 4,000 attendees were at these conferences, the research team was physically unable to meet every person at the conferences. Therefore, the research team recruited from a common area of the conference reserved for networking to identify potential participants. Of the 140 surveys distributed, 124 completed surveys were returned to the research team. A total sample size of 124 participants returned completed surveys to the research team and were used for analysis, which was appropriate for the current study, post-hoc power (1–β error prob) = 0.92.

Instrument

Curiosity. Participants were administered two curiosity measures: the Epistemic Curiosity Scale (ECS; Litman & Spielberger, 2003) and the Curiosity as a Feeling of Deprivation Scale (CFDS; Litman & Jimerson, 2004). The content of the 10-item ECS inquired about interest in acquiring new knowledge and in cognitively processing information related to a variety of stimuli. The content of the 15-item CFDS reflects feelings of uncertainty and tension that motivates information-seeking and problem-solving behavior. These two measures are often used together because one (ECS) frames curiosity as the desire to obtain new information to stimulate positive feelings or interests while the other (CFDS) frames curiosity as the desire to reduce the undesirable state of information deprivation (Litman, Crowson, & Kolinski, 2010). Together, these scales resulted in a 25-item curiosity instrument used for the present study.

ECS subscales. The ECS included two subscales, which were ECS-Specific (ECS-S) and ECS-Diversive (ECS-D). The ECS-S included 5 items that measure curiosity about a particular stimulus (Litman & Spielberger, 2003). In the original scale, the items had primarily mathematical or mechanical concerns. For the present study, this specific stimulus was modified to focus on curiosity in counseling. In the original ECS, ECS-S items included "I enjoy new kinds of arithmetic problems and imagining solutions" and "I am interested in discovering how things work." The research team modified the language to represent curiosity specific to the field of counseling. These were transformed to "I enjoy facing new kinds of problems or challenges in counseling and imagining solutions" and "I am interested in discovering why and how change happens in counseling." Participants rated their agreement with these items on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 6 = *strongly agree*). Because of the modifications to the original instrument, the researchers ran a pilot of the entire instrument with the original ECS-S scale as well as the modified ECS-S to determine internal consistency. The pilot study had 28 cases. For the ECS-S pilot, with the original (mechanical/mathematical) questions, $\alpha = 0.52$. With the modified (counseling) questions, $\alpha = 0.62$. In addition to determining overall subscale internal consistency, individual items were assessed to determine whether the Cronbach's alpha of the subscale increased if an individual item was deleted from the subscale. In no case did the alpha coefficient increase with the removal of one of the scale items. The present study suggested internal consistency for ECS-S to be $\alpha = 0.69$.

The ECS-D included 5 items that involved general exploration of one's experiences or surroundings related to curiosity (Litman & Spielberger, 2003). ECS-D items included "I enjoy learning about subjects which are unfamiliar to me" and "It is fascinating to learn new information." Participants rated their agreement with these items on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 6 = *strongly agree*). The present study suggested internal consistency for ECS-D to be $\alpha = 0.73$ ($\alpha = 0.84$ for the pilot study).

CFDS subscales. The CFDS consists of three subscales, which are 5-items each. The three subscales include (1) the need to feel Competent (CFDS-C), (2) Intolerance experienced when information is inaccessible or inadequate (CFDS-I), and (3) a sense of urgency to Problem Solve (CFDS-PS). CFDS-C items included "If I read something that puzzles or confuses me, I keep reading or learning until I understand it better" and "I do not like the feeling of not knowing, which helps motivate me to try and learn about complex topics." CFDS-I items included "It troubles me if there doesn't seem to be a reasonable solution to a problem" and "I

enjoy carefully analyzing and evaluating ideas and theories, looking for other ways of seeing things." CFDS-PS items included "I can spend hours on a problem, and I sometimes can't rest until I come up with an answer or solution" and "I become frustrated if I can't figure out a problem, so I work harder to solve it." Participants rated their agreement with these items on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 6 = *strongly agree*). Internal consistency in the original article was reported for each subscale, CFDS-C α = 0.64, CFDS-I α = 0.68, CFDS-PS α = 0.78. The present study suggested internal consistency for the subscales, CFDS-C α = 0.56, CFDS-I α = 0.65, CFDS-PS α = 0.70. (For the pilot study, CFDS-C α = 0.77, CFDS-I α = 0.69, CFDS-PS α = 0.79).

Social justice identity. Participants completed the Social Inquiry Questionnaire (SIQ; Miller et al., 2009). The SIQ is an instrument designed to measure people's social justice identities as defined by five constructs. The present study utilized three of the social justice identity constructs: self-efficacy, interest, and commitment, which amounts to a total of 33 items.

Self-efficacy. This domain is measured using a subscale of 20 items. Self-efficacy is defined as an individual's perceived ability to engage in social justice advocacy behaviors across a variety of domains (e.g., inter/intrapersonal, community). Items for self-efficacy were prompted with the statement "How much confidence do you have in your ability to" and items included "respond to social injustice (e.g., discrimination, racism, religious intolerance) with nonviolent actions" and "examine your own worldview, biases, and prejudicial attitudes after witnessing or hearing about social injustice." Participants rated these items on a 10-point Likert scale (0 = *no confidence at all*, 9 = *complete confidence*).

Interest. This domain is measured using a subscale of 9 items. Interest is defined as the pattern of likes, dislikes, and indifferences regarding social justice advocacy activities. Items for interest were prompted with the statement "How much interest do you have in" and items included "volunteering your time at a community agency (e.g., Big Brother/Big Sister, volunteering at a homeless shelter)" and "reading about social issues (e.g., racism, oppression, inequality)." Participants rated these items on a 10-point Likert scale (0 = *very low interest*, 9 = *very high interest*).

Commitment. This domain is measured using a subscale of 4 items. Commitment is defined as an individual's choice-content goals or intentions to engage in social justice advocacy in the future. Items for commitment were prompted with the statement "How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements" and items included "In the future, I intend to engage in social justice activities" and "I think engaging in social justice activities is a realistic goal for me." Participants rated these items on a 10-point Likert scale (0 = *strongly disagree*, 9 = *strongly agree*).

The internal consistency was calculated for each subscale of the SIQ in the current sample. Results indicated acceptable to high reliability (Kline, 2000) for self-efficacy (α = 0.95), interest (α = 0.83), and commitment (α = 0.92). These alpha scores are comparable to the original study with the SIQ that included undergraduate students as participants: self-efficacy (α = 0.94), interest (α = 0.90), and commitment (α = 0.93).

Data Analysis

The research team manually entered responses into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences 25 (SPSS; IBM Corp, 2017) for analysis. Linear regression was used to determine if five curiosity factors (e.g., specific to counseling, diversive, competence, intolerance, and problem solving) were significant predictors of three social justice identity components (e.g., self-efficacy, interest, commitment). Several linear regressions were performed; predictors and outcomes were added separately into fifteen (five predictors, three outcomes) linear regressions to determine the unique variance that each curiosity subscale added into the model. The research team was interested to determine which unique factors of curiosity were significant in predicting specific factors of social justice identity. Thus, several regression analyses were used rather than analyses that would consider each variable set as defined by these multiple variables (e.g., canonical correlation analysis). As explained previously, curiosity and social justice identity are defined by multiple constructs. To answer the study's research question, the researchers considered how these variables contribute separately to a significant association between curiosity and social justice identity rather than identify which variables defined "curiosity"

and "social justice identity" as done previously. Future research may consider the use of data analyses that aim to define curiosity and social justice identity as unique variable sets.

Results

Sample Characteristics

Participants identified as female (83.7%, $n = 103$), male (15.4%, $n = 19$), and trans male/trans man (0.8%, $n = 1$). Most participants identified as Caucasian (65.3%, $n = 81$), with 19.4% ($n = 24$) identifying as Black or African American, 7.3% ($n = 9$) identifying as Latinx, 3.2% ($n = 4$) identifying as Asian or Asian American, 2.4% ($n = 3$) identifying as bi/multiracial, and 2.4% ($n = 3$) indicating that their identity was not listed. Participants were on average 38.36 years of age ($SD = 11.15$, range = 22-72). Most participants indicated that they held a current counseling license or certification (78.9%, $n = 97$). Participants primarily specialized in school counseling (65.8%, $n = 77$), with 27.4% ($n = 32$) in clinical or community mental health, 2.6% ($n = 3$) in marriage and family therapy, 1.7% ($n = 2$) rehabilitation counseling, and 2.6% ($n = 3$) indicating that their specialization was not listed as an option.

Participants were able to indicate two current areas of practice in counseling. Most participants reported that their primary practice was as a practicing counselor (58.6%, $n = 72$), with 14.6% ($n = 18$) in a counseling masters program, 13% ($n = 16$) working as a Counselor Educator, 5.7% ($n = 7$) in a counseling doctoral program, 1.6% ($n = 2$) retired from counseling work, and 6.5% ($n = 8$) indicating their practice was not listed. Most commonly, participants reported their second area of practice to be as a practicing counselor (40%, $n = 18$), 15.6% ($n = 7$) in a counseling masters program, 15.6% ($n = 7$) working as a Counselor Educator, 13.3% ($n = 6$) in a counseling doctoral program, and 15.6% ($n = 7$) indicating that their area of practice was not listed as an option.

Table 1. Correlations

	Diversive	Specific	Problem Solve	Competence	Intolerance	SJ Self Efficacy	SJ Interest
Diversive	—						
Specific	.57**	—					
Problem Solve	.37**	.27**	—				
Competence	.50**	.41**	.43**	—			
Intolerance	.18	.24**	.62**	.56**	—		
SJ Self Efficacy	.32**	.30**	.15	.21*	.12	—	
SJ Interest	.43**	.37**	.11	.23*	.07	.53**	—
SJ Commitment	.29**	.36**	.08	.27**	.08	.56**	.71**

Note: **$p < 0.01$, *$p < .05$

Curiosity as a Predictor of Social Justice Identity

Intercorrelations for variables of interest are reported in Table 1 Measures of curiosity significantly predicted social justice identity concepts (see Table 2). The regression model with ECS-Specific as a predictor was statistically significant for social justice self-efficacy, $R^2 = 0.09$, $F(1,114) = 11.03$, $p = .001$, interest, $R^2 = 0.13$, $F(1,115) = 17.80$, $p < .001$, and commitment, $R^2 = 0.13$, $F(1,120) = 18.13$, $p < .001$. Effect sizes were calculated for the significant predictions (Cohen, 1988). ECS-Specific resulted in a small to medium effect size for self-efficacy (Cohen's $F^2 = 0.10$), a medium effect size for interest (Cohen's $F^2 = 0.15$), and a medium effect size for commitment (Cohen's $F^2 = 0.15$). For every one-point increase in ECS-Specific curiosity, participants were expected to have higher social justice self-efficacy ($\beta = 0.80$, $p = .001$), interest ($\beta = 0.98$, $p < .001$), and commitment ($\beta = 1.28$, p

< .001). Thus, as curiosity of counseling increased, participants were expected to have higher social justice self-efficacy, interest, and commitment.

The regression model with ECS-Diversive as a predictor was statistically significant for social justice self-efficacy, $R^2 = 0.10$, $F(1,113) = 13.05$, $p < .001$, interest, $R^2 = 0.18$, $F(1,114) = 25.21$, $p < .001$, and commitment, $R^2 = 0.08$, $F(1,119) = 10.97$, $p = .001$. Effect sizes were calculated for the significant predictions (Cohen, 1988). ECS-Diversive resulted in a small to medium effect size for self-efficacy (Cohen's $F^2 = 0.12$), a medium to large effect size for interest (Cohen's $F^2 = 0.22$), and a small to medium effect size for commitment (Cohen's $F^2 = 0.09$). For every one-point increase in ECS-Diversive curiosity, participants were expected to have higher social justice self-efficacy ($\beta = 0.82$, $p < .001$), interest ($\beta = 1.09$, $p < .001$), and commitment ($\beta = 0.99$, $p = .001$). Thus, as general curiosity of experiences and surroundings increased, participants were expected to have higher social justice self-efficacy, interest, and commitment.

The regression model with CFDS-Competence as a predictor was statistically significant for social justice self-efficacy, $R^2 = 0.04$, $F(1,112) = 4.94$, $p = .028$, interest, $R^2 = 0.06$, $F(1,113) = 6.53$, $p = .012$, and commitment, $R^2 = 0.07$, $F(1,118) = 9.49$, $p = .003$. Effect sizes were calculated for the significant predictions (Cohen, 1988). CFDS-C resulted in a small effect size for self-efficacy (Cohen's $F^2 = 0.04$), a small effect size for interest (Cohen's $F^2 = 0.06$), and a small to medium effect size for commitment (Cohen's $F^2 = 0.08$). For every one-point increase in CFDS-C curiosity, participants were expected to have higher social justice self-efficacy ($\beta = 0.47$, $p = .028$), interest ($\beta = 0.53$, $p = .012$), and commitment ($\beta = 0.84$, $p = .003$). Thus, as the need to feel competent as a motivator of curiosity increased, participants were expected to have higher social justice self-efficacy, interest, and commitment.

Table 2. Curiosity as a significant predictor of social justice identity

	R^2	F^2	β
ECS-S			
Self-efficacy	0.09	0.10	0.80***
Interest	0.13	0.15	0.98****
Commitment	0.13	0.15	1.28****
ECS-D			
Self-efficacy	0.10	0.12	0.82****
Interest	0.18	0.22	1.09****
Commitment	0.08	0.09	0.99***
CFDS-Competence			
Self-efficacy	0.04	0.04	0.47*
Interest	0.06	0.06	0.53*
Commitment	0.07	0.08	0.84**

*Note: * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p = .001, **** p < .001*

There were two curiosity variables that did not yield statistically significant results for any of the outcome variables. The first was intolerance [self-efficacy $R^2 = 0.014$, $p = .207$; interest $R^2 = -0.004$, $p = .467$; commitment $R^2 = -0.002$, $p = .395$]. The second was problem solving [self-efficacy $R^2 = 0.014$, $p = .106$; interest $R^2 = 0.004$, $p = .221$; commitment $R^2 = -0.001$, $p = .365$].

Discussion and Implications

The results provided support for our hypothesis that greater curiosity would predict stronger social justice identity, although only certain types of curiosity were statistically associated with social justice identity. Three of the five subscales within the two curiosity measures were significant predictors of all three subcomponents of social justice identity (self-efficacy, interest, and commitment). Specifically, both subscales of the ECS, Specific and Diverse curiosity, were associated with higher self-efficacy, interest, and commitment to social justice principles. That is, counselors with both a generalized sense of curiosity and individuals motivated by a specific, detailed exploration of counseling predicted higher levels of social justice identity. Only the Competence subscale of the CFDS positively predicted social justice identity. The need to feel competent, and thus seek information, increased one's level of social justice identity. These significant predictors align easily with the multicultural and social justice counseling competencies already taught in counselor education, placing curiosity as a potential contender for improving pedagogical strategies of social justice education.

The intolerance and problem-solving subscales of curiosity did not predict any dimension of social justice identity. Intolerance to lack of access to information and a sense of urgency to problem-solve are not characteristics that typically occur in counseling process; however it was predicted that these dimensions aligned with the leadership and action orientation of social justice work. Although we thought these dimensions of curiosity would predict social justice identity, it may be that people who cannot tolerate a lack of information and are urgent to problem-solve are less likely for social justice motivation to be sustained. Social justice advocacy requires endurance and sustained effort despite barriers, and people who are intolerant to not having all of the information or need to solve problems quickly may be burned out easily and not have social justice fully incorporated into one's identity. Additionally, the lack of significant results for these predictors may be due to the limited diversity of the sample. Future research should explore these constructs further to determine if the results are replicated in more diverse samples.

Counselor educators are tasked with training new professionals in advocacy and social action through increasing students' self-efficacy, interest, and commitment to social justice work. As counselors expand their roles, new and innovative strategies for fostering social justice identity must be explored and incorporated into counselor education pedagogy. This study demonstrates that counselors' curiosity helps predict social justice identity, suggesting the possibility that including strategies that stimulate counselors' curiosity may enhance social justice training and education. Curiosity is linked to improved learning more broadly, but this study suggests that it may be beneficial to intentionally select pedagogical strategies for social justice education that enhance student or counselor curiosity. The three predictive subcomponents of curiosity align easily with common characteristics of counseling professionals (Allan, Owens, & Douglass, 2019), and curiosity is likely a common strength present in counseling training programs. Counselor educators, and more generally graduate instructors, already use effective strategies to foster epistemological development by modeling and scaffolding student curiosity (Sinha, Bai, & Cassel, 2017), but counselor educators may promote social justice identity development by using strategies that foster purposeful curiosity in social justice issues. Further, these strategies can be readily fused with various social justice pedagogical strategies, allowing student curiosity to be applied to case studies, self and group reflection, sociological and power discussions, and service-learning and immersion projects (Caldwell & Vera, 2010; Goodman et al., 2004; Kumagai & Lypson, 2009; Mayhew & Fernandez, 2007). Thus, using strategies found to increase student curiosity generally or towards social justice issues may assist students in perceiving the value, purpose, and/or relatedness of social justice more than other pedagogical approaches (Jacobs, 2015).

Previous research on curiosity demonstrated curiosity's influence on learning, motivation, and social interactions (e.g., Kang et al., 2009; Renner, 2006). This research extends the importance of harnessing students' curiosity in counseling work and facilitating culturally responsive conversations and relationships (Bansal, 2016), making it of keen interest to counselor educators and trainers of social justice. It appears that fostering

curiosity in the classroom not only assists in the development of students' epistemological development but may also influence the development of students' social justice identity. Using pedagogical theories and strategies that increase curiosity in targeted topics, such as Lowenstein's (1994) information gap theory, Jacobs' (2015) use of challenge, purpose, or variety in curiosity-based exercises, and Pluck and colleagues' (2011) suggestion of inquiry-based teaching approaches, may be useful in the context of social justice education. Creating a classroom environment that fosters curiosity through student-directed engagement, scaffolding, and topic flexibility may be more useful in in combination with critical incidents and training exercises previously found to be effective in developing social justice identity. These strategies foster both critical and creative thinking skills that are associated to student curiosity by examining and addressing social justice issues while using strategies that enhance curiosity (Seymour, Kinn, & Sutherland, 2003).

Further, the specific dimensions of curiosity found to be significant predictors in this study can be tailored in pedagogical strategies to increase effectiveness. The specific and diverse curiosity of students can be fostered specifically by encouraging multiple perspectives and identifying information gaps across the affective, cognitive, behavioral, and contextual domains of social justice identity development (Dollarhide et al., 2016). These specific types of curiosity can be further enhanced by introducing variety in the discussion topic, the perspectives used, and the manner in which discussions are facilitated (Jacobs, 2014; Kashdan & Fincham, 2004). On the other hand, competence-focused curiosity may be fostered through intentional and individualized student goal setting. Students who develop goals that challenge their interest and skill level in social justice are more likely to sustain their curiosity for longer periods of time (Jacobs, 2015). Kumagai and Lypson (2009) suggest that the development of pragmatic goals can maintain continued engagement in social justice classrooms, as long as the established goals promote genuine curiosity and challenge in students.

A focus on curiosity may be particularly helpful for students struggling to understand and adopt social justice principles during a counseling education program. Although most new counselors enter their training programs in a dualistic mindset (Granello, 2002; Granello, 2010), some students struggle to move out of dualistic thinking even with the help of counselor educators. In terms of social justice identity development, these students may maintain belief systems that fail to acknowledge worldviews outside of their own, making it difficult to recognize and take action in the face of societal inequities and oppression. Students struggling to manage conflicting belief systems may benefit from less focus on learning the specifics of multiculturalism initially and more on strategies and interventions that foster any type of curiosity that promotes social justice identity.

Lastly, social justice identity is developed over the course of a career (Adams & Bell, 2016), yet social justice education still typically occurs within the confines of a multicultural counseling course (Collins et al., 2015). As students and new professionals expand their roles to include social justice and advocacy work, counselor educators must also expand the breadth and depth of social justice training. As counselors graduate and enter the workforce, intentional goals, opportunities for continued education, and maintaining a curious stance may sustain interest and commitment to social justice issues outside of the training environment (Jacobs, 2015), making it more likely for counselors to adopt social justice into their identity.

This study has limitations to consider. Most notably, there is potential for reverse relationship between curiosity and social justice identity. Although this study provides evidence that certain dimensions of curiosity predict social justice identity, previous research has identified that discussing the importance of a specific topic, like social justice work, maintains curiosity (Jacobs, 2014; Kashdan & Fincham, 2004). As people with social justice identities will be more likely to discuss the importance of social justice, sustained curiosity may be a byproduct of stronger social justice identity. Further, curiosity and social justice identity may have a bidirectional or feedback relationship not explored in this study. Regardless of the directionality of the variables, counselor educators know that it can be difficult to teach difficult and challenging social justice concepts. Freire (1998) believed that epistemic curiosity, which was related to social justice identity in this study, could be taught through intentional and specific strategies. Thus, it may be that intentionally enhancing this type of curiosity among counseling students could help raise their willingness to engage in a social justice identity, although this was

not investigated in this research study. Future research should confirm the relationships through experimental research designs or the inclusion of more covariates that potentially influence the direction and strength of the relationships.

A second limitation was that the sample size consisted of mostly White female counseling professionals attending two different conferences. Although both conferences where data was collected are widely attended by counseling professionals, the cost of conference attendance and travel may limit a large range of counselors from attending and thus participating in the study. Further, the lack of diversity in the sample may impact the generalizability of the results. This study's participants may not have the same contributing factors to the development of social justice identity. For example, lived experiences of injustice may not predict social justice identity for White counselors but may for counselors of color. For White female counselors, curiosity predicted social justice identity, but future research should replicate this study with a diverse sample. Third, social justice is a frequent topic of discussion and research area for counselors; therefore, there is a high potential for social desirability in participants' answers of their self-efficacy, interest, and commitment of social justice identity. Lastly, curiosity that measured curiosity of counseling specifically (ECS-S) was measured using a piloted instrument that combined multiple subscales related to different forms of curiosity. Although the ECS-S curiosity subscale was piloted with a group of counseling students and found acceptable internal consistency, this scale with the use of counseling language has not been validated in larger samples.

Conclusion

As counselors' roles expand and incorporate social justice and community-based action, the training and education must also expand. The social justice identity development of counselors may start in the classroom, but the pedagogical strategies utilized by counselor educators are critical in fostering lifelong self-efficacy, interest, and commitment to social justice. Among other counselor strengths, curiosity can be harnessed in counseling session, counselor education classrooms, and within communities to motivate counselors for the social justice work that is crucial to the field and the clientele we serve.

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The Counselors for Social Justice (CSJ) Code of Ethics[1,2]

Abstract

Part 1 of this article features the Counselors for Social Justice (CSJ) Code of Ethics formally endorsed in 2010 and revised in 2020. The ethical standards for practice, advocacy, assessment and diagnosis, supervision, research, and professional relationships, including consultation are outlined. In Part 2, following the presentation of the Code of Ethics, the mission and goals of CSJ as well as the process, and the development of the CSJ Code of Ethics are described.

Keywords: social justice, ethics, standards

Counselors for Social Justice (CSJ) acknowledges the systemic barriers within our society and profession that impact clients, students, counselors, schools, families, and communities. We use personal and collective activism as a vehicle to address disparities through collaboration with communities, schools, mental health practitioners, and other service providers, as well as involvement in political, regulatory, and legislative processes. Our mission is to incorporate social justice advocacy into our roles as clinicians, supervisors, educators, and researchers by: 1) building relationships within the schools and communities in which we work; 2) addressing institutional and educational barriers at all levels; 3) uplifting marginalized and minoritized voices; and 4) producing anti-racist and anti-oppressive research and theory that address inequities and promote social change.

To provide more specific direction on how to accomplish these goals, Jane Goodman, then President of the American Counseling Association, established a task force on advocacy competence. This task force initially outlined a set of advocacy competencies that were formally endorsed by the American Counseling Association Governing Council in 2003. The standards were revised in 2018 (Lewis, Arnold, House, & Toporek, 2003; Toporek & Daniels, 2018). The competencies specify six domains of advocacy intervention: empowerment, client advocacy, community collaboration, systems advocacy, collective action, and social/political advocacy. The development and formal endorsement of these competencies represent a roadmap that requires counselors to acquire new knowledge and skills that are necessary to foster client/student self-advocacy as well as enabling counselors to effectively advocate with and for clients/students in a broad range of institutional and community settings. In addition, the 2016 Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (Ratts, et. al., 2016) provide additional insights into ways that social justice counselors should practice as professionals and has been infused into this revised document.

Part 1: Counselors for Social Justice Code of Ethics

The Counselors for Social Justice's (CSJ) initial Code of Ethics was developed by the 2009 – 2010 Counselors for Social Justice (CSJ) Ethics Committee in collaboration with CSJ membership and formally endorsed by the CSJ Board of Directors in September, 2010. The CSJ code of ethics were revised in 2020 by the Code of Ethics Task Force. The CSJ Code of Ethics identifies a set of guiding ethical principles that are particularly relevant for the work professional counselors do from a social justice perspective. By specifying action steps in the content of this code, the following information helps to clarify how social justice-oriented counselors can transition ethical intent to ethical practice.

The CSJ Code of Ethics

CSJ recognizes the commitment of its members to the ACA Code of Ethics (2014). Consequently, this document is not meant to supplant the ACA Code but rather to clarify for the membership of CSJ the application and expansion of the ACA Code of Ethics from a social justice orientation. Consequently, the CSJ Code of Ethics is designed to serve five main purposes:

◆*The CSJ Code of Ethics clarifies the nature of the ethical responsibilities CSJ members strive to follow in their professional practices.*

◆*The CSJ Code helps to operationalize the mission of the CSJ.*

◆*The Code defines best practices and ethical behavior for CSJ members.*

◆*The Code serves as a resource for CSJ members to refer when determining a course of action that best promotes the values of the organization.*

◆*The Code is designed to assist social justice-oriented counselors in ethical decision making.*

The CSJ Code of Ethics delineates seven guiding ethical principles and applies those principles to five dimensions of counseling and social justice advocacy practice: counseling practice/advocacy; assessment and diagnosis; supervision, training and teaching; research; and consultation and professional relationships.

Guiding Principles for the Ethical Code

CSJ members are dedicated to recognizing and supporting diversity when implementing culturally sensitive helping strategies that are aimed at enhancing the development, dignity, potential, empowerment, and uniqueness of all individuals within their social-cultural environments. The five guiding principles that underlie the CSJ Code of Ethics are anchored in the following seven core values.

Social justice. Social justice requires that CSJ professionals recognize historical, social, and political inequities in the treatment of people from non-dominant groups and work to remove such inequities at the individual, institutional and societal levels. Such efforts require social justice minded counselors to be ever vigilant of the various injustices and different types of oppression that contribute to people's mental health problems as these professionals work to create an equitable and fair social system as defined by the community being supported.

Social action. A primary reason for the establishment of CSJ was to confront issues of social injustice. This professional organization is thus grounded in the belief that it is not enough for counselors to simply become aware and knowledgeable of the ways that social injustices undermine people's mental health and well-being. They are also responsible for using this awareness and knowledge to implement actions that are intentionally designed to ameliorate various injustices that adversely impact diverse client populations as defined by those diverse populations. Although many mental health organizations recognize social justice as a value, few mental health organizations explicitly state that one of their main goals is to confront social injustice as a key professional value.

CSJ professionals are ethically committed to identify social injustice; educate professionals in schools, colleges, institutions, and communities about the adverse impact of such injustice and take action to eradicate injustices through advocacy. The needs of the client community, as defined by the client community, is paramount; it is important that all social justice actions be in concert with the goals and desires of the oppressed and underserved or marginalized community. Furthermore, the CSJ Code of Ethics is based in the realization that activism is a part of the social justice-oriented counselor's personal and professional identity development (Roysircar, 2009).

Eradication of all forms of abuse and oppression. This principle affirms the importance of confronting social ills that lead to abuse, neglect, exclusion, and oppression of individuals and marginalized groups in schools, organizations, and communities. It involves increasing awareness and knowledge of social justice issues through advocacy and social actions that address mental and physical health issues and crises that people experience as a result of oppression. When operating from this ethical principle, mental health professionals demonstrate their willingness to accept the responsibility of working to eradicate all forms of injustice and oppression that clients in diverse and marginalized populations encounter in their lives.

Dignity and worth of all persons. This principle requires CSJ professionals to be aware of and understand their own worldview (beliefs, values, and assumptions) and cultural/racial identities as well as the multiple identities of their clients/students that are impacted by various social-cultural-contextual factors. It also underscores one's ethical commitment to convey respect for the dignity and worth of clients/students in culturally sensitive and responsive ways. This ethical commitment is specifically manifested in the respectful manner that social justice-oriented counselors collaborate with their clients/students when developing goals and strategies for counseling, education, and supervision in culturally relevant and responsive ways. Collaborating with students regarding the goals of their classes is another important idea that implicitly signals our commitment to democratic principles in holistic ways.

It is also vital that social justice counselors hold a strengths-based view of historically oppressed populations, rather than a deficit narrative of such populations. CSJ counselors should affirm the resilience and innate creativity and vitality of historically minoritized populations in order to reject colonizing narratives that problematize and vilify communities' attempts to survive and thrive.

The principle of dignity and worth of all persons includes ethical responsibilities associated with the

selection and use of evaluation and assessment strategies. In short, these responsibilities require social justice-oriented counselors to be knowledgeable of the evaluation and assessment strategies that have been developed for use with the specific cultural groups that their clients/students identify. It is particularly important for social justice-oriented counselors to be knowledgeable of the limits and cultural biases associated with different testing protocols and methods that are currently used in the profession. This ethical responsibility also requires counselors to assess their clients' cultural identity and make diagnoses that are congruent with the worldview and values of the client's cultural group rather than making more general diagnoses based on culturally-biased interpretations of presenting symptoms (Sue, Sue, Neville & Smith, 2019). More specifically, it is important for CSJ professionals to understand and address the weakness of the data collection processes that are used to promote the Empirically Supported Therapies (EST) that represent professional forms of institutional racism and oppression. Furthermore, the ethical principle related to the dignity and worth of all persons includes the use of evidence-based therapeutic approaches that are valid for the client and their cultural group as well as maintaining confidential counseling records according to state and federal mandates.

Embracing diversity. This ethical principle addresses the importance of accurately identifying the strengths and challenges of culturally-diverse clients/students as well as the communities in which they are situated. It requires counseling professionals and social justice advocates to commit themselves to a process of life-long learning that enables them to address their implicit and explicit personal/cultural biases. In situations where social justice oriented counselors believe their personal/cultural biases may be detrimental in the helping process, they agree to discuss these issues with their supervisors and refer clients to an appropriate mental health provider when appropriate.

Integrity and competence. All CSJ professionals must act with integrity and work to achieve competence in all their roles as counselors, educators, advocates, and community members. This implies not going beyond their training/education and commits them to continue education and professional development activities to learn ways to more effectively confront issues of oppression and social injustice at the micro and the macro level. These professionals are active in the counseling profession, their local communities, and in addressing social injustices that are global in nature.

Being antiracist and promoting racial equity. All CSJ professionals must understand the history of racism in the United States and how it is manifested in the mental health professions (Anderson, 2016; DiAngelo, 2018, Sue, 2015). Counselors are committed to being mindful of their own implicit and explicit biases, understanding mental health and populations-of-color, and actively work to recognize the invisibility of whiteness and ethnocentric monoculturalism within the mental health professions (Sue, Sue, Neville & Smith, 2019; Sue, 2015).

The following sections of the CSJ Code of Ethics outline the parameters of ethical practice and behavior in five areas: Counseling Practice/Advocacy, Assessment and Diagnosis, Supervision, Training and Teaching, Research, and Professional Relationships and Consultation.

Code A: Counseling Practice/Advocacy

Among the ethical responsibilities of CSJ professionals who provide counseling services to culturally diverse clients are respect the dignity and promote welfare of the persons they serve (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, A.1.a). In counseling practice, this includes being aware of clients' worldviews, cultural/racial identity, intersectionality of their identities, and the impact of the historical, social-cultural contexts in which they live and work. When working in counseling situations, CSJ professionals recognize the power and privilege hierarchies that exist in their clients' environments as a result of historical and current social-political conditions.

CSJ professionals recognize that not all problems clients/students experience are the result of intra-psychic factors, but many often emerge from and are sustained by factors in the environment in which they live. Laws, institutional policies and procedures, structural arrangements and social environments that are unjust

and oppressive can lead to situational and chronic developmental, social, and emotional problems that clients/students experience. CSJ professionals assume the ethical responsibility to address these factors by providing counseling and advocacy services either with or on behalf of the clients/students with whom they work.

A.1 Practice. CSJ counseling professionals "do not condone or engage in discrimination based on age, culture, disability, ethnicity, race, religion/spirituality, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, marital status/partnership, language preference, socioeconomic status, or any basis proscribed by law . . . in a manner that has a negative impact on [clients/students]" (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, C.5, p. 9). CSJ professionals understand that *who a person is, i.e., intersectionality* (e.g. cultural worldview, primary group culture and the culture of the United States, identity development level, gender, sexual orientation, age, ability, sociopolitical status and socioeconomic experience), always informs how one uses what one knows.

These counseling practitioners recognize that the socializing influence of professional organizations can predispose them to a particular view of what is considered to be normal, desirable and healthy. Consequently, to avoid harm to their clients, social justice-oriented practitioners must take steps to become aware of their own values, attitudes, beliefs, and assumptions and avoid imposing them (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, A.4.b) in ethnocentric, unintentionally racist, and other potentially damaging ways when working with culturally different persons (e.g., clients, students and/or research participants).

CSJ professionals have the ethical responsibility to become aware of personal values, moral beliefs, stereotypes, prejudices, and racist attitudes or behaviors that would prevent them from providing competent and ethical services to clients/students. They are responsible for remediating these barriers, and if unable to do so, to avoid entering into or continuing counseling relationships that could result in client/student harm.

CSJ professional do not abandon clients/students, but refer them to professionals who can provide ethical, supportive, and culturally responsive services (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, A.11.a). In addition, they are responsible to assist colleagues or supervisors in recognizing their own professional impairment in this regard and seek consultation and assistance when warranted and interventions when appropriate to prevent harm to clients/students (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, C.2.g).

CSJ counseling professionals recognize that clients/students have the freedom and responsibility to choose whether to enter into or remain in a counseling or mentoring relationship. They further recognize they have an obligation to assure that clients/students understand the nature and purpose of the counseling or mentoring process, and the rights and responsibilities of both the client/student and the counselor (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, A.2). They communicate information in developmentally and culturally appropriate ways, using clear language when discussing informed consent.

When clients/students have difficulty understanding the language used by the counselor, it is the counselor's responsibility to provide qualified interpretation and/or translation services to assure client/student understanding (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, A.2.c). With client/student consent, CSJ professionals collaborate with others in the client's/student's support system (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, A.1.d), including those providing indigenous helping practices.

A.2. Advocacy. CSJ counseling professionals, when appropriate, advocate at individual, group, institutional, and societal levels to address barriers and obstacles that inhibit access and/or clients'/students' development (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, A.7.a). They explain to clients/students their social justice orientation and the boundaries of advocacy in which they can engage to support client/student development and resolution of the client's/student's concerns.

CSJ professionals obtain client/student consent prior to engaging in advocacy efforts on behalf of clients/students (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, A.7.b). CSJ professionals work collaboratively with clients/students to develop goals and strategies for counseling (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, A.1.c) and advocacy efforts that are culturally respectful, sensitive and relevant. These professionals affirm the historical, social, and political inequities related to clients'/students' experiences and facilitate increased awareness of the relationship of these

inequities to client/student issues.

It is the ethical responsibility of CSJ professionals to support client/student self-advocacy in an effort to address these inequities. It is also important that CSJ professionals be prepared to take social action themselves to help remove these inequities and create more equitable institutional, community/ social systems.

A.2.a. Direct individual client/student empowerment interventions. In the context of individual counseling, when CSJ professionals and their clients/students recognize that either internalized oppression or external barriers negatively impact client/student well-being, CSJ professionals have the ethical responsibility to support client/student empowerment. According to Lewis et al., (2002), this may be accomplished by seeking to:

a) *identify strengths and resources of clients and students;*
b) *identify the individual, social, political, economic, and cultural factors that affect the client/student;*
c) *recognize the signs indicating that an individual's behaviors and concerns reflect responses to systemic or internalized oppression;*
d) *help the client/student identify the external barriers that affect his or her development;*
e) *train students and clients in self-advocacy skills;*
f) *help students and clients develop self-advocacy action plans;*
g) *assist students and clients in carrying out action plans.*

A.2.b. Individual client/student advocacy interventions. When CSJ professionals "become aware of external factors that act as barriers to an individual's development," (Lewis et al., 2002, p. 2) particularly "when individuals or vulnerable groups lack access to needed services" (Lewis et al., 2002, p. 2), consider the benefits that can be derived from implementing social justice advocacy services and discuss such interventions with their clients/students. These interventions include the ability to:

a) *negotiate relevant services and education systems on behalf of clients and students;*
b) *help clients and students gain access to needed resources;*
c) *identify barriers to the well-being of individuals and vulnerable groups;*
d) *develop an initial plan of action for confronting these barriers;*
e) *identify potential allies for confronting the barriers;*
f) *carrying out the plan of action.* (Lewis et al., 2002).

A.2.c. Community advocacy interventions. When CSJ professionals become aware of environmental factors that impinge upon the development of groups of clients/students, they assume the role of ally to promote collaboration toward the development of advocacy plans to address the injustices experienced by client/student groups. These professionals collaborate with organizations or client/student groups by displaying the ability to:

a) *alert community or school groups with common concerns related to the issue;*
b) *develop alliances with groups working for change;*
c) *use effective listening skills to gain an understanding of the group's goals;*
d) *identify the strengths and resources that the group members bring to the process of systemic change;*
e) *communicate recognition of and respect for these strengths and resources;*
f) *identify and offer the skills that the counselor can bring to the collaboration;*
g) *assess the effect of counselor's interaction with the community.* (Lewis, et al., 2002).

A.2.d. Systems advocacy interventions. When CSJ professionals identify systemic factors that act as barriers to client/student development, they exert systems-change leadership at the school or community level by displaying the ability (Lewis et al., 2002) to:

a) *identify environmental factors impinging on students' or clients' development;*
b) *provide and interpret data to show the urgency for change;*
c) *in collaboration with other stakeholders, develop a vision to guide change;*

  d) analyze the sources of political power and social influence within the system;
  e) develop a step-by-step plan for implementing the change process and dealing with probable responses to change;
  f) recognize and deal with resistance;
  g) assess the effect of counselor's advocacy efforts on the system and it constituents (para. 4).

A.2.e. Public information advocacy interventions. CSJ professionals inform the public about the impact of oppression on healthy development as well as factors protective of such development by displaying the ability (Lewis et al., 2002) to:

  a) prepare [and disseminate] written and multi-media materials that provide clear explanations of the role of specific environmental factors in human development;
  b) communicate information in ways that are ethical and appropriate for the target population;
  c) identify and collaborate with other professionals who are involved in disseminating public information;
  d) assess the influence of public information efforts undertaken by the counselor(para.5).

A.2.f. Social/political advocacy interventions. CSJ professionals act as change agents in the systems that negatively affect their clients/students by displaying the ability to:

  a) distinguish those problems that can best be resolved through social/political action (Lewis et al., 2002, para. 6);
  b) maintain open dialogue with communities and clients to ensure that the social/political advocacy is consistent with the initial goals (Lewis et al.,2002, para. 6);
  c) seek out avenues and existing alliances for change;
  d) join with allies to prepare data to support change and lobby legislators and policy decision-makers.

Code B: Assessment and Diagnosis

CSJ professionals take the client's/student's personal, social, and cultural context into account when conducting assessments and developing a diagnosis (Ibrahim & Arredondo, 1986). The instruments used must be relevant for the specific client/student and the counseling process. The assessment and diagnostic activities must promote the wellbeing and empowerment of the client/student within his or her context.

Diagnosis must be relevant to the client's/student's cultural-social context, taking into account the sociopolitical history and current conditions within which the client/student lives and works (Lonner & Ibrahim, 2008). CSJ professionals develop and use appropriate educational, psychological, and career assessment instruments. They only use culturally-valid and reliable instruments and assessment strategies that they have had training in and develop new culturally-valid and reliable instruments if they are trained in test development.

B.1.a. *Assessment and diagnosis.* CSJ professionals use assessment measures that are useful in developing accurate diagnoses and treatment plans that are designed to empower clients/students by assisting them in acquiring new knowledge and skills that enable clients/students to effectively address environmental challenges in general and social injustices in particular. These measures include methods to assess:

  a) clients'/students' cultural/racial and gender identity development, level of acculturation, and the impact of privilege-oppression, and
  b) their educational, psychological, and career strengths and needs to facilitate the counseling process using a culturally responsive and ethical approach to helping (Lonner & Ibrahim, 2008). CSJ professionals recognize that the statements in this section apply to both quantitative and qualitative measures.

The ACA Code takes a strong position on the cultural ramifications of labeling clients with an inappropriate diagnosis or as having pathology (2014, E.5.c). Eriksen and Kress (2005) challenge traditional notions of what abnormal behavior is and who decides the criteria that determine whether or not a client has a mental disorder. They note that inappropriately diagnosing a client can have a negative impact on client wellbeing. Such inappropriate diagnoses can lead many women and people from marginalized communities to

feel disempowered and/or to experience harmful thoughts and feelings about themselves and others. The 2014 ACA Code of Ethics addresses this issue in Standard E.5.c which directs counselors to "recognize historical and social prejudices in the misdiagnosis and pathologizing of certain individuals and groups and the role of mental health professionals in perpetuating these prejudices through diagnosis and treatment" (p. 11).

B.1.b. *Clients'/students' welfare and empowerment.* CSJ professionals keep the welfare and empowerment of clients/student as a primary goal when conducting assessments. These professionals recognize that their role is to empower clients/students and increase their resilience through counseling, advocacy, teaching, consultation, and forensic evaluations.

CSJ professionals are cautious in using assessments, especially tests that are not designed for the specific cultural group the client/student represents. These professionals also make every effort to avoid the misuse of assessment information and ensure the privacy and confidentiality of test results. If assessments and diagnoses might lead to negative client/student consequences, CSJ professionals may choose to not conduct such an assessment and refrain from providing a diagnostic label that may potentially lead to harmful consequences for the client/student.

CSJ professionals respect the client's/student's right to know the results of assessments made of them, the interpretations generated from such assessments, and the basis for counselors' conclusions and recommendations. When assessments are done in a socially just manner (i.e., by addressing the above stated ethical guidelines), the results and conclusions are drawn collaboratively with clients/students by involving them in the assessment process to arrive at more accurate conclusions about the results and diagnoses.

B.2. *Recognition of historical, social, and cultural oppressions.* CSJ professionals recognize the impact of socio-historical and cultural oppressions and the effect they have had intergenerationally on historically oppressed groups (Ibrahim & Ohnishi, 2001). In using assessment data and making diagnoses based on such data, CSJ professionals are sensitive to clients'/students' context and the current oppressions and exclusions they face in their lives. They inform clients/students that, upon receiving their permission, counselors can advocate with their clients/students' and are able to use assessment strategies to enhance clients'/students' ability to advocate for themselves in familial, work, and other social-cultural environments.

For example, in conducting forensic evaluations, CSJ professionals can develop a case study based that is based on their clients'/students' experiences and their response to the oppressions and injustices they experience in oppressive environments. In this context, cultural assessments listed above in B.1.a may be most helpful in advocating for the client/student.

CSJ professionals take action to prevent others from misusing the information these evaluation techniques provide, and advocate for assessments and diagnoses to be conducted in socially just and culturally sensitive ways. These professionals advocate for this issues in their professional associations, conduct research on acceptable use of psychological tests, and educate other persons in the counseling profession and the communities where they work about the misuse of assessment data and misdiagnoses of historically oppressed groups (ACA, 2014, E.8; ACA, 2014, E.5.c).

B.3.a. *Integrity and competence.* CSJ professionals are mandated to maintain their integrity and competence on issues of assessment and diagnosis, as they conduct assessments, teach, or provide consultations about methods of assessment and diagnoses.

They are encouraged to seek continuing education and peer supervision when confronted with unique situations that merit additional knowledge and training in assessment, diagnosis, and client vulnerability in these domains.

Code C: Supervision, Training and Teaching

CSJ professionals who are counselor educators have theoretical, practice, and pedagogical competence regarding a social justice orientation in counseling and the role of the counselor as client/student and

community/systems advocate. These professionals endorse a multiple- perspectives approach to training that assures voice to the diversity represented by their counselors-in-training. Furthermore, counselor educators focus on a strengths-based view (recognizing the resilience) of historically oppressed populations in their teaching, supervision and training.

C.1. *Counselor supervision and client/student welfare.* CSJ professionals recognize that the primary obligation of counseling supervisors is to monitor the services provided by other counselors and counselors-in-training. Counseling supervisors monitor client welfare and supervisee clinical performance and professional development. These obligations are met by meeting with supervisees on a regular basis to review case notes, samples of clinical work, or live observations (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, F.1. a). They also integrate a social justice lens by being aware of the clients' and supervisees' worldview, cultural/racial identity, and the social-cultural context in which clients/students live and work.

Counseling supervisors recognize the historical, social and political inequities in the treatment of people, in policies and procedures in schools, organizations, and communities. Supervisors are pro-active in teaching their supervisees to identify social justice issues in their client cases. Furthermore, supervisors model and support an active stance supervisees take when educating other persons in schools, colleges, professional institutions/organizations, and communities regarding the importance of advocating for the eradication of social injustices that adversely impact the lives of their clients and other people in the community.

Counseling supervisors inform their supervisees of the impact of inequity and social ills on clients' mental and physical health and the crises that result from the perpetuation of different types of inequity, exclusion, racism, sexism, homophobia, ageism, ableism, religious bigotry, and other oppressive behaviors in society. To eradicate all forms of abuse and oppression, counseling supervisors and practitioners must be willing to confront injustice and support advocacy for equity in human lives. In striving to achieve these goals, counseling supervisors support the dignity and worth of supervisees and their clients by continuously increasing awareness, knowledge and skills when working with supervisees and clients alike from a culturally-responsive counseling perspective.

C.2. *Counselor supervision competence.* Prior to offering supervision services, counselors are trained in supervision methods and techniques (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, F. 2. a) that are inclusive of multicultural and diversity issues as well as social justice counseling and advocacy issues. Counseling supervisors, operating from a social justice perspective, engage in continuing education that increases their skills in delivering culturally responsive and socially just supervision and counseling services.

To provide competent services in the aforementioned areas, supervisors must have an understanding of how privilege and oppression have created hierarchies in society. Socially just and culturally responsive supervisors recognize their biases and work to educate themselves to address them. When counseling supervisors become aware of biases that they or their supervisees are unable to manage, a referral to another appropriate counseling supervisor or practitioner must be provided.

To fully embrace diversity, counseling supervisors must explore their own level of privilege and oppression. They must also recognize and acknowledge supervisees' and clients' strengths and challenges, and provide advocacy services that are intentionally designed to create an equitable environment for supervision in a society in which all can thrive and realize their human potential.

C.3. **Supervisory relationships and responsibilities.** Counseling supervisors operating from a social justice perspective are aware of the power differential in their relationships with supervisees. Supervisors have an ethical and professional responsibility to do no harm to supervisees. (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, F.3.a).

To help counselors translate a social justice orientation from a theoretical and moral imperative to ethical practice, it is helpful to operationalize various aspects of the ACA Code of Ethics (2014) from a social justice perspective by incorporating the ACA/AMCD Multicultural and Social Justice Competencies for Counselors (Ratts et al., 2016).

Doing so will (a) provide counseling professionals with clear statements regarding the nature of their

ethical responsibilities from a social justice perspective; (b) expand the mission of the counseling profession by articulating ethical standards from a social justice perspective; (c) delineate a set of social justice values that counselors are encouraged to adhere when they are involved in ethical decision-making; (d) establish principles that define ethical behavior and best practices for counselors who operate from a social justice perspective; (e) serve as guidelines to assist members in constructing a professional course of action that will best serve those utilizing counseling services; and, (f) serve as the basis for processing of ethical complaints and inquiries initiated against counselors who fail to implement professional services from a social justice counseling and advocacy perspective.

C.4. Responsibilities of counselor educators. CSJ professionals who are counselor educators are responsible for developing, implementing and supervising education programs that demonstrate commitment to multicultural/diversity competence. Similarly, these professionals validate the oppressions faced by clients/students, including institutional and systematic barriers that create mental health issues, and assume responsibility to prepare trainees to identify and pursue the types of ethical social justice counseling and advocacy that are necessary to address injustices in their work. They are knowledgeable of the Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (Ratts et al., 2016) and Advocacy Competencies (Lewis et al., 2002; Ratts et al., 2016). Competencies endorsed by the American Counseling Association, require counselors, educators, supervisors, & researchers are skilled in applying that knowledge, and act as role models for advocacy action.

Counselor educators operating from a social justice perspective recognize and appreciate diverse cultural and types of abilities students bring to the training experience and support diverse students' wellbeing and academic performance. They provide prospective trainees with information about the social justice orientation within the training program and about the program's expectations for counselors-in-training to embrace that orientation as well as the responsibilities a social justice counseling professional addresses when providing counseling and advocacy services in the field. CSJ professionals, who are counselor educators, are committed to recruiting and retaining a diverse faculty and student body. In addition, social justice counselor educators commit to bringing various diverse voices, experts, practitioners, and researchers into the counseling curriculum in order to diversify the training narrative of the profession.

C.4.a Infusing social justice counseling and Advocacy Competencies in the curriculum. CSJ professionals who are counselor educators make counselors-in-training aware of their counseling and advocacy responsibilities. They do this by not only assuring that multicultural/diversity issues are infused but that both theoretical and practice content related to the advocacy competencies (Lewis et al., 2002) are represented throughout counselor education curriculum.

These professionals help to develop and implement education and training programs that integrate knowledge of client/student and community/social advocacy with supervision practice. The also help to guarantee that field placements provide counselors-in-training with the opportunity to work with diverse clientele in order to apply and further develop their skills in client/student and community/social advocacy as outlined in the Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies and the Advocacy Competencies (Lewis et al., 2002; Ratts et al., 2016; Sue et al., 1992).

C.4.b Self growth experiences, CSJ professionals who are counselor educators work collaboratively with counselors-in-training to assure that training goals maximize trainees' strengths that emerge from their diverse backgrounds and experiences. Counseling faculty operating from a social justice perspective assure that both curricular and extracurricular experiences are available to trainees that challenge them to recognize their own potential for unintentionally perpetuating oppression through stereotyping, prejudice, privilege, racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, or other forms of oppression related to different group memberships such as age, religion, disability or immigrant status.

C.5. Responsibility of counselors-in-training. CSJ counselors-in-training have a responsibility to understand the multicultural and social justice competencies (Lewis et al., 2002; Ratts et al., 2016; Sue et al.,

1992) endorsed by the American Counseling Association and to recognize that they have the same obligation to clients/students as those required by ACA and CSJ professionals (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, F.5.a). These counselors-in-training understand the privileges that they have as a result of their education and training. CSJ counselors-in-training reframe from offering and providing counseling services when stereotypes or prejudices they hold toward certain client groups are likely to harm a client/student or others. They are alert to the signs of such impairment, notify counseling faculty or supervisors when they are unable to effectively provide services, and seek assistance in arranging an appropriate referral. Counselors-in-training who aspire to operate from a social justice perspective seek appropriate professional assistance to overcome problems that interfere with their ability to provide counseling and advocacy services to others in ways that follow the ACA and CSJ Code of Ethics.

C.6. Evaluation and remediation of counselors-in-training, CSJ professionals who are counselor educators clearly state to trainees prior to and throughout the training program that they are expected to:

a) *meet expectations set forth in the Advocacy and Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (Lewis et al., 2002; Ratts et al., 2016; Sue et al., 1992), and*

b) *provide ongoing evidence of their progress towards mastery of these competencies throughout their* training program (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014).

When aware that the inability of a trainee to achieve multicultural and advocacy competence can impede counseling performance, CSJ professionals who are counselor educators seek consultation to determine the need to dismiss or refer trainees for remedial assistance, assist them in securing remedial assistance when needed, assure them they have timely recourse to decisions, and provide them with due process according to the institutional policies and procedures (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, F.6.a).

C.7. Roles and relationships between counselor educators and counselors-in-training, CSJ professionals who are counselor educators are aware of the power differential in the relationship between faculty and trainees. They are aware of the potential to oppress, and consequently take steps to assure that their advisory and pedagogical practices are inclusive and that their expectations for trainees are not influenced by stereotypes or prejudices. When a conflict arises between a counselor educators and a student advisee, CSJ professionals ensure that the students' rights and privileges are not violated and that the student has an advocate and mentor to support their growth and development during the conflict resolution process (Ratts & Hutchins, 2009).

Code D: Research

CSJ professionals have a responsibility to respond to the mission, vision and goals of CSJ by identifying topics for research that correspond to the principles supported by CSJ. CSJ professionals recognize the importance of conducting research based on the establishedstandards of the counseling profession (ACA Ethical Code, 2014) and particularly emphasize the rights of research participants, the importance of informed consent, protection of research participants' confidentiality and identity, and the provision of research information in a language that is understandable to the participant.

These professionals do so by taking into consideration the linguistic diversity present in the United States and the educational, social class, and cognitive ability level of research participants. Considering the imperatives of social justice counseling and advocacy, the research must be designed in collaboration with the constituents it will benefit (ACA Ethical Code, 2014; Ibrahim & Cameron, 2004). The results of research must be accurately presented to, approved by, and used for the benefit of the persons in the communities that are involved in research endeavors.

D.1.a. Protection of research participants. When conducting research, especially with participants from historically oppressed and marginalized cultural groups, it is important to include representatives from the specific cultural group in the planning, approval, and execution of the research and analysis of the research results (Ibrahim & Helms, 2008; Ibrahim & Cameron, 2004). In conducting research, Glosoff and Kocet (2006)

note that researchers must be aware of cultural meanings of confidentiality and privacy and how these issues may be viewed differently depending on the cultural worldview of the research participants (ACA Code 2014, G.2.a).

The complexities in conducting research are further accentuated when dealing with sensitive information. Yick (2007) recommends that ethical questions about autonomy, informed consent, confidentiality, limits to confidentiality and protecting participants' safety and reducing distress need to be on the forefront when planning research projects among culturally diverse groups.

D.1.b. Designing and executing a research study. When CSJ professionals conduct research they need to observe the guidelines of the appropriate Institutional Review Board (IRB). If they are not affiliated with an organization, and do not have access to IRB guidelines, they need to involve a professional in the research planning process who can help them address all the necessary safeguards required by an IRB in terms of protection of human subjects (ACA 2014, G.1.a).

To ensure historical social oppressions and beliefs are not perpetuated in research, CSJ professionals should conduct a mapping process when designing a study to understand the cultural worldview of a community or cultural group under study and avoid imposing mainstream assumptions (Ibrahim & Cameron, 2004; Ibrahim & Helms, 2008). Additionally, when analyzing research results, representatives of the community under study need to be involved in determining the meaning of such results. The focus of all research conducted among persons in diverse cultural communities must benefit these communities and not in support of the research status quo (Ibrahim & Helms, 2008; Ibrahim & Cameron, 2004).

D.1.c. Publishing research results. CSJ professionals are encouraged to observe the guidelines of the ACA Code (2014) in ensuring integrity and competence in presenting research data that protects the confidentiality of the research participants and ensures that social justice and equity are critical factors that are addressed when presenting research results. Researchers must evaluate their work relative to oppressive deficit narratives and "othering" persons from historically oppressed populations; if found, social justice researchers will remove such damaging language and replace it with strengths-based language and assumptions. In addition, researchers are responsible for stating the implications of their studies for future research and to do so in ways that are intended to benefit the persons and communities who participate in their research endeavors. It is also important to adhere to those ethical guidelines that describe researchers' responsibilities as they relate to publishing the results of their research (ACA Ethical Code, 2014, G.4.a.).

Code E: Professional Relationships and Consultation

CSJ professionals recognize the importance of forming collaborative relationships withcolleagues and accept the responsibility to promote the core values of CSJ in their interactions with colleagues in the profession and related disciplines. In addition, they recognize that it is their responsibility to be proactive in establishing collaborative alliances with representatives of oppressed client groups in order to partner in the planning and implementation of social justice advocacy interventions.

E.1. Relationships with colleagues. When interacting with colleagues, CSJ professionals work to strengthen interdisciplinary relationships by promoting a process that considers multiple perspectives on the process to best serve clients (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, D.1.a). If needed, they actively seek out alliances to pursue consultation and advocacy interventions at the institutional, community and societal levels to ameliorate the adverse impact of various social injustices among culturally-diverse clients and/or client groups. They accept the responsibility to promote interest in social justice and diversity issues among colleagues, produce and disseminate scholarship on the impact of oppression on human development, and provide mutual support for colleagues involved in social justice activities (Toporek, Lewis & Crethar, 2009). CSJ professionals recognize that when they encounter colleagues who are practicing or teaching from an ethnocentric perspective that has the potential to create harm for clients/students, they have the responsibility to address the concern with the

individual and to pursue other avenues if needed to try to assure client/student wellbeing (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, D.1.d.).

CSJ professionals are respectful of counseling approaches that differ from their own, especially indigenous helping practices, and seek to establish relationships with individuals providing such services in the communities where CSJ professionals work. CSJ professionals also work to identify social justice issues and educate other colleagues and professionals in schools, colleges, institutions, and local, national, and international communities as part of their advocacy efforts to eradicate social injustices.

E.2. Consultation. When providing consultation, CSJ professionals are careful to consider the worldview and sociopolitical experience of individual consultees or client groups. Particular care is taken in this area when CSJ professionals strive to understand the definition of specific problems, the goals for change, and the predicted consequences of counseling and advocacy interventions from the perspective of culturally different persons and communities that participate in such consultation endeavors. The hierarchical nature of the traditional consultation relationship is recognized and care is taken to encourage consultee growth in a manner consistent with the consultee's cultural frame of reference. This includes providing support for self-advocacy or engaging in advocacy on behalf of the client (with permission from the client) as collaboratively determined during the course of the consultation relationship.

E.3. Relationship with client and community groups. CSJ professionals strive to develop channels of communication and increase collaborative working relationships with representatives of oppressed client groups. They do so to:

a) *enhance the effectiveness of services provided to people in such groups, and*

b) *to form new alliances for social justice advocacy interventions. CSJ professionals also work to develop relations with colleagues from other disciplines, not only to address social conditions that contribute to clients'/students' problems, but to also identify conditions requiring social justice advocacy through intra- and/or inter-professional collaboration.*

E4. Employer policies. If CSJ professionals become aware of unjust/oppressive policies or procedures in the agency or institution where they are employed, they have the responsibility to collaborate with others in the organization to exercise systems advocacy interventions designed to effect changes in those policies/ procedures. This could involve conducting research or analyzing data in order to enhance client group advocacy efforts by identifying issues and building a rationale for action. When such policies are potentially disruptive or damaging to clients or may limit the effectiveness of services provided and change cannot be affected, counselors take appropriate further action. Such action may include referral to appropriate certification, accreditation, state licensure organizations, complaints filed with appropriate civil rights and social justice organizations, or voluntary termination of employment (ACA Code of Ethics, 2014, D.1.g).

E.5 Responsibilities to the profession. CSJ professionals actively participate in local, state, and national associations that foster the development and improvement of social justice counseling and advocacy to promote the inclusion of the CSJ's core values in the policies and practices of those organizations.

Part II: Background and Development Process of the CSJ Code of Ethics

As the demographic transformation in the United States continues, persons from non-White cultural backgrounds have become more commonplace on counselor caseloads. Not only are mental health professionals being challenged to respect and adjust their professional practices to respond to cultural differences, they are increasingly being called upon to address social injustices experienced by clients and students in other marginalized and oppressed groups as well (Martin & Midgely, 2006; National Center for Education Statistics, 2005). Counseling as a profession has been criticized for implementing helping strategies that are primarily aimed at fostering individual intrapsychic interventions without recognizing and addressing contextual-environmental factors which contribute to the manifestation of mental health problems (House & Martin, 1998; Ibrahim &

Arredondo, 1986; Ibrahim & Ohnishi, 2001; Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992; Toporek & Liu, 2001; Toporek, Gerstein, Fouad, Roysircar, & Israel, 2006; Toporek, Lewis, & Crethar, 2009; Vera & Speight, 2003). According to recent research, many people seeking counseling services suffer from trauma caused by racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, exclusion due to cultural and religious differences from the mainstream population of the United States, and unintentional and intentional acts of oppression (Carter & Forsyth, 2009; House & Martin, 1998; Ibrahim, 2008; Ibrahim & Ohnishi, 2001; Prilleltensky, 1994; Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003). These forms of injustice cause people immense pain and suffering resulting in shortened life span, ill health, anxiety, and depression (Carter & Forsyth, 2009; Ibrahim; Prilleltensky, 1994; Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003).

Counselors for Social Justice

Counselors for Social Justice (CSJ), one of the newer divisions of the American Counseling Association (ACA), was established 2003. The movement to create CSJ emanated from discussions focusing on the contexts in which mental health problems are created and maintained (Goodman, 2009). The group of counselors who founded CSJ did so to ensure that a professional organization existed to address social injustices and eradicate these social ills through innovative counseling and advocacy initiatives as well as through the implementation of new professional training and research endeavors. Although CSJ members include counselor educators, students, practitioners, and researchers, they are unified in their value for the principles of democracy and respect for the rights of all persons to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness regardless of race, culture, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, age, social class, religion, disability, and citizen or immigrant status, or any other identity construct.

Continuing Efforts to Institutionalize CSJ in the Counseling Profession

Continuing efforts to institutionalize CSJ necessitated the development of a formal set of ethical standards that are designed to provide aspirational guidelines that social justice-oriented counselors are encouraged to follow in the work they do to foster clients' mental and psychological health by promoting the development of a more equitable social order (D'Andrea & Heckman, 2008). It is further suggested that the progress that has been made in building the social justice counseling and advocacy movement necessitates the development of a set of professional ethical standards that delineated the work social justice counselors do in advocating for clients'/students' empowerment by removing systemic injustices and barriers in society.

Both the American Counseling Association (ACA) and the American Psychological Association (APA) have made advocacy an ethical responsibility (ACA, 2014; APA, 2017). Glosoff and Kocet (2006) note that integrated throughout the revised 2005 ACA Ethical Code (ACA, 2014) is an emphasis on multicultural/diversity issues facing counseling professionals. The introductory statements of most ACA Ethical Code sections speak to the ethical obligation counselors have to incorporate factors related to clients' cultural contexts in their professional practices. In this regard, Yick (2007) emphasizes that ethical issues related to professional counseling and advocacy practices need to be framed within clients' socio-cultural contexts that reflect understanding and respect for clients' group referenced value orientations and belief systems. Further, when any group in society is marginalized, power dynamics complicate ethical principles of autonomy. As Pack-Brown, Thomas, and Seymour (2008) point out, this requires counselors to "thoughtfully reflect on how they might operate in an ethical manner to assist culturally diverse clients/students in adjusting to their environment [in order to] realize more satisfying and productive lives and to support clients/students in changing those environmental conditions that perpetuate various forms of injustice and oppression that adversely affect clients'/students' mental health and sense of well-being" (p. 297).

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Examination of Social Justice Behaviors:
Testing an Integrated Model

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Abstract

In this study, we tested an integrated model of social justice behaviors among a community sample of 179 Asian American and White American adults. The integrated model builds on the theory of planned behavior (TPB) and sociopolitical development theory (SPD). Findings from path analyses provided partial support for the integrated model. Specifically, social justice awareness, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control were uniquely and positively related to participants' social justice intention. Intention to act, however, did not predict self-reported social justice behaviors. Multiple group comparison analyses suggested that the aspects of the integrated model consistent with the TPB were better supported in the White American sample, whereas the aspects of the model consistent with SPD were a better fit for the Asian American sample. Particularly, social justice attitudes were related to self-reported actions for Asian Americans in the sample, but not White Americans.

Key Words: Social justice; critical consciousness; theory of planned behavior; sociopolitical development; Asian American; White American.

Examination of Social Justice Behaviors: Testing an Integrated Model

The current political climate in the United States continues to be highly polarized during the COVID-19 pandemic and Black Lives Matter movement for racial justice. The volatile social climate has been linked to increased hate crimes directed at racial, ethnic, and religious minorities (Duncan & Hatzenbuehler, 2014; Samson, 2015), shootings in El Paso, TX (ABC News, 2019) and Pittsburgh, PA (The New York Times, 2018), and higher level of discrimination toward Black and Asian American during COVID-19 (Ruiz et al., 2020). These hate crimes reveal the persistence of racism as a major problem in society (Neal, 2017, August 29). Scholars have proposed that in a time of crisis and pain, developing critical consciousness – the personal awareness of systemic inequality (critical awareness) and taking action (Freire, 1970; Watts et al., 2011) – can help heal and empower people who experience oppression (Ginwright, 2011). Understanding ways to foster social awareness and behaviors is important for two reasons: (1) critical awareness can promote system-level changes against injustices (Freire, 1970; Martín-Baró et al., 1994; Watts et al., 2003), and (2) social justice actions can foster healing and hope in marginalized populations (Ginwright, 2011; Watts et al., 1999).

The commitment to social justice is described as a core value in all aspects of the counseling profession, including clinical services, prevention, outreach, teaching, and research (Goodman & West-Olatunji, 2009; Ratts et al., 2016). Although a number of theories outline dimensions of social justice, there is limited quantitative data supporting such theories. One area of social justice theory that does have emerging empirical support is critical consciousness, which helps to guide the inquiry of the current research. The purpose of this study is to better understand the association between social justice attitudes and actions. Counseling scholars have begun to explore how people develop better social awareness and activism, specifically to enhance multicultural training, foster protective factors, and support the well-being of marginalized populations (Shin et al., 2016). In this study, we extend this emerging area of research by testing a model of how social justice attitudes might predict individuals' actions against injustice. To this end, we rely on the theoretical frameworks of the theory of planned behavior (TPB; Ajzen, 1991) and sociopolitical development (SPD; Watts et al., 1999). We test our model among White Americans because allies are needed to take action to challenge racial inequality, and also among Asian Americans because their involvement in social action has been sizable yet understudied. Below, we define critical consciousness and two theoretical frameworks for SPD. The current study relies on this literature to create our conceptual model.

Critical Consciousness and Theories of Social Behaviors

Critical Consciousness

The conceptualization of critical consciousness has its roots in educational philosophy. Critical consciousness, or "conscientizacao," is a term coined by Freire (1970) through his literacy work with Brazilian farmers. He described critical consciousness as a process where oppressed individuals achieve understanding of systemic inequality shaping their social conditions and, in turn, take action to challenge the root causes of their oppression (Freire, 1970; Watts et al., 2011). Although this concept has been applied in education, philosophy, and psychology, the current project focuses on critical consciousness in the context of SPD. Critical consciousness from a SPD framework consists of two main components: critical reflection and critical action (Diemer et al., 2014; Prilleltensky, 2012). Critical reflection refers to an analysis and understanding of sociopolitical and systemic inequality, such as social, economic, and political conditions that limit access to opportunity and perpetuate injustice (Diemer & Li, 2011; Watts & Flanagan, 2007). Critical action refers to participation in individual or collective efforts to change aspects of society, such as unjust institutional policies and practices (Watts et al., 2011; Watts & Flanagan, 2007).

The link between critical reflection and action would benefit from greater empirical attention (Pillen et al., 2020; Watts et al., 2011). It is important to notice that the literature of critical consciousness guides our

research inquiry, but the current study focuses specifically on understanding how social justice awareness can lead to social justice behaviors. Thus, our research questions are as follows: Are adults higher in social justice awareness more likely to engage in social justice behaviors? And what psychological mechanisms underlie the association between social justice attitudes and actions? This project extends previous research by exploring the link between individuals' attitudes about social justice and the psychological mechanism that leads to their actions by testing an integrated model that builds on principles of the TPB and SPD.

Theory of Planned Behavior

Learning how an individual moves from social justice values/attitudes to action can be understood through Ajzen's (1991) TPB. We draw from TPB because it is a well-supported framework designed to explain how individuals' beliefs can lead to actual behavior. Moreover, the TPB model has been adapted when developing a scale to explore social justice attitudes and intentions (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). This scale provides an opportunity to apply the TPB framework to understand individuals' social justice awareness and actions.

TPB states that one's behavior is best predicted by one's intention to act, while intention is determined by three other variables: one's attitudes towards the behavior, subjective norms around the behavior, and one's perceived behavioral control (Ajzen, 1991). Intention is considered the motivational component that spurs an individual to engage in or exert effort to try a particular behavior (McEachan et al., 2011). Attitudes toward the behavior refers to individuals' evaluation, positive or negative, based on their understanding of the behavior in question (Ajzen, 1991). Subjective norms refer to perceived social pressure to perform or not to perform the behavior based on social norms or expectations (Ajzen, 1991). Perceived behavioral control represents the individual's capacity and efficacy based on the perceived ease or difficulty of performing the behavior, and it is assumed to reflect past experience as well as anticipated obstacles (Ajzen, 1991). In the area of social justice, perceived behavioral control captures one's perceived capacity and efficacy to produce social change (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). Thus, perceived behavioral control can be viewed as a sense of agency for social justice. The TPB model designates perceived behavioral control as directly predicting one's behavior.

TPB has been applied successfully to a range of health-related behaviors with diverse populations (Close et al., 2018; White et al., 2012) and shown to have medium to large effect sizes in more than nine meta-analyses (see Ajzen, 2011). In one meta-analysis with 237 studies on health-related behaviors, McEachan et al. (2011) found the intention–behavior correlation to have a moderate effect size (.43) and the perceived control–behavior correlation to have a lower effect size (.31). McEachan and colleagues also found that the correlations of attitudes, subjective norms, and perceptions of control with intention ranged from .40 to .57.

Theory of Sociopolitical Development

Along with TPB, we selected the theory of SPD because it was developed based on Freire's (1970) concept of critical consciousness (Watts et al., 1999; Watts et al., 2003). SPD is the process of how "individuals acquire the knowledge, analytical skills, emotional faculties, and the capacity for action in political and social systems necessary to interpret and resist oppression" (Watts et al., 2003, p. 185). Watts and Flanagan (2007) outlined four components of SPD: (1) worldview and social analysis, (2) sense of agency, (3) opportunity structure, and (4) societal involvement behavior. Worldview and social analysis measure one's critical reflection and awareness of social inequity. Sense of agency is an overarching variable referring to theoretical constructs such as empowerment, sociopolitical control, and efficacy (i.e., self, collective, or political). Opportunity structure speaks to the accessibility that individuals have to participate in civic action or social activism. In this framework, sense of agency and opportunity structure are hypothesized to moderate the individual's commitment and action for social justice. Finally, societal involvement behavior captures one's commitment and critical action to address social oppression and injustices.

There is some support for the SPD model. For example, Watts and Guessous (2006) found that critical

social analysis, sense of agency, and cultural worldview had direct effects on intention for societal involvement, but they did not predict actual behaviors. Their findings also provided support for the moderating role of agency, such that the positive association between belief in an unjust world and societal involvement behavior was particularly important for those who endorsed a high sense of agency but not for those who endorsed a low sense of agency. At lower levels of experience of agency, the relationship was reversed; viewing the world as unjust was negatively related to behavior (Watts & Guessous). These findings have been replicated more recently. For example, Bañales et al. (2019) found an association between critical consciousness and self-reported anti-racism action in interpersonal relationships and in politics in a sample of racially diverse teenagers.

The Integrated Model of Social Justice Action

　　Although researchers have applied SPD in their conceptualization of social justice action, the association between social justice awareness and actions and potential mediators (e.g., sense of agency and opportunity structure) remains uncertain (Watts et al., 2011). Additionally, there is mounting evidence supporting the TPB model in understanding social behavior, but there is little empirical study using TPB to investigate social justice actions (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). This study is one of the first investigations to apply both components of the TPB model and SPD conceptualization to understand the psychological process for individuals to engage in social justice self-reported behaviors.

　　In the current study, we integrated two process-models to capture the concept of social justice action: the general TPB and the explicit social justice framework of SPD. This study tested an integrated model of social justice actions (see Model A in Figure 1). Model A in Figure 1 outlines the TPB framework which shows the pathways of social justice attitudes (path c), subjective norms (path d), perceived behavioral control (path e) going through intention to act (path g) in accounting for self-reported social justice behaviors. TPB also suggests the direct relationship between perceived behavioral control and behaviors (path f). SPD provides further insight that individuals' social justice attitudes have a direct relation to their social justice behavior (path b). In addition, SPD delineates the moderation effect of perceived behavioral control on the relationship between social justice attitudes and self-reported social justice behaviors (path a). In summary, the integrated model thus assesses the potential mediating role of one's intention to act on the association between social justice attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control on self-reported social justice actions (path c, d, e, and g) based on the TBP framework. The integrated model also assesses for the moderation effect of perceived behavioral control and social justice attitudes (path a), as well as the direct effect of social justice attitudes on social justice behaviors (path b).

Figure 1. Models of Social Justice Behaviors
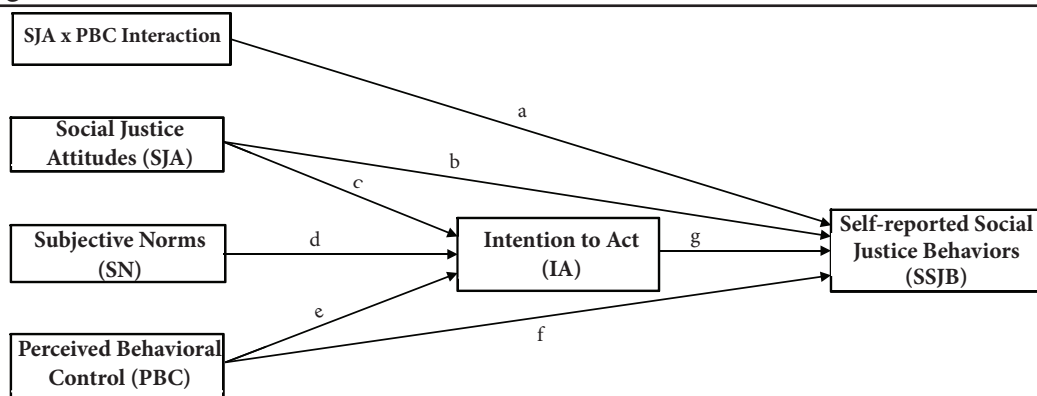
Note: Model A is the integrated model of social justice behaviors. It includes all the paths. Model B is the full model without the SJA x PBC interaction. It includes paths b, c, d, e, f, and g. Model C is the model without the SJA x PBC interaction and the direct effect of PBC to SSJB. Model C includes paths b, c, d, e, and g.

Social Justice Action among Asian Americans and White Americans

The term Asian American has been used as an umbrella or pan-ethnic expression to describe both U.S. citizens and immigrants who trace their roots to Asia; but, this term often misleads people to view Asian Americans as a monolithic, single political and social group (Shih et al., 2019). In reality, Asian Americans differ in their immigration history, resettlement patterns and experiences, socioeconomic status, experiences of oppression, cultural values and beliefs, and ethnic identity (Shih et al., 2019). In addition, elite powerful White Americans have racially framed the "model minority" stereotype – which describes traits of hardworking, successful, and law-abiding ethnic minorities – to Asian Americans (Chou & Feagin, 2016). This stereotype camouflages the psychological consequences and systematic inequality that Asian Americans face (Alvarez et al., 2006). More importantly, the "model minority" stereotype often leads others to assume that Asian Americans do not experience difficulties and/or are problem-free, thus leaving them out of social justice research (Shih et al., 2019).

COVID-19 has laid bare not only current but a long history of stigma and discrimination against Asian Americans, while also uncovering a clear lack of attention to their notable contributions and involvement in social justice work (Le et al., 2020). With the rise in hate incidents and xenophobic attitudes toward Asian descents during the global pandemic (Ruiz et al., 2020), more attention turned to Asian Americans' social change behaviors. In particular, scholars began to examine the ways in which Asian Americans address racism and also their responses to the Movement for Black Lives (Lang, 2020). Surprisingly, there is little research in this area. Research on social justice action generally focuses on Black and Latinx populations in the United States and very few published studies have included Asian American samples. The limited research shows mixed findings in understanding Asian Americans' actions to make social change in their communities (Lin, 2020). The "model minority" stereotype again often leads people to perceive Asian Americans as unengaged in social activism; however, social activism among Asian Americans, like all Americans, varies based on developmental context, background, and demographics (Choi, 2014; Wray-Lake & Tang, 2016).

Although there are few studies on Asian Americans' social justice behaviors, emerging data shows that Asian Americans have increasing levels of civic engagement. For example, as a pan-ethnic group, Asian Americans have significantly increased their voter turnout from 2000 to 2016 (Igielnik & Budiman, 2020) and in the 2020 election, Asian American voters helped to win key battleground states such as Georgia (Benk & Garcia-Navarro, 2020). More recent research also showed that Asian American college students actively engaged in social change behaviors (Kuo et al., 2017; Yi & Todd, 2020).

Furthermore, Kwon's (2008) ethnographic study examined the process of critical consciousness among 100 Asian and Pacific Islander activists in California. He found that their process of critical consciousness development began with critical analysis of their lived experiences with inequalities followed by collective and political activism (Kwon, 2008). Analyzing qualitative and quantitative data from the California Young Adult Study, Lin (2018) found that participating in youth organizing groups helped Asian Americans connect these types of lived experiences with racism to larger social structures. She further described the role of youth organizing groups in promoting increased awareness around race and racism among Asian American young adults.

Although critical consciousness was originally conceptualized for people who are oppressed, this construct also can be applied to dominant groups, such as White Americans (Diemer et al., 2015). History provides examples of individuals who reject their privilege and become allies (Watts et al., 2003). In the United States, civil rights and social movements in the 1960s or more current movements, such as Black Lives Matter or Marriage Equality, often involve support and advocacy from dominant group members. Research also supports the point that awareness of White privilege and understanding of systemic inequality are associated with individuals' social action in their daily lives, as well as professional or clinical practices (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Bott, 2013; Neville et al., 2006). Lewis, Neville, and Spanierman (2012), for example, found that White university students who acknowledged the structural nature of racism and possessed greater awareness of the role of race in

shaping the experiences of racial and ethnic minorities were more likely to support policies to promote greater access to college to students from historically underrepresented backgrounds. Specifically, White students who participated in a greater number of campus diversity experiences were more likely to support affirmative action (Lewis et al., 2012). Although there is research on critical consciousness among White Americans, this line of inquiry has remained limited (Diemer et al., 2015). It speaks to the need for further research for this population to support future White counselors and allies more broadly in their ability to act as an agent of social change, to address issues of oppression, and to promote well-being (Malott et al., 2019).

Hypotheses

Consistent with the literature on TPB and SPD that serves as the foundation for our integrated model of social justice action, we hypothesized the following:

1. Higher levels of social justice attitudes, perceived behavioral control, and favorable subjective norms would be related to stronger intention to act in support of social justice causes (testing path c, d, and e in Figure 1).
2. Based on the logic of TPB, greater perceived behavioral control and stronger intention to act for social justice would have positive associations with self-reported social justice behaviors (testing path f and g in Figure 1).
3. On the basis of SPD theory, social justice attitudes would be positively related to self-reported social justice behaviors (testing path b in Figure 1).
4. Also based on SPD, perceived behavioral control would moderate the association between individuals' social justice attitudes and self-reported social justice behaviors (testing path a in Figure 1).

We compared slightly different integrated social justice action models to determine which aspects of the model were the best fit of the data (see Figure 1). Finally, for exploratory purposes we examined if the paths in our models differed significantly across Asian American and White American participants in our sample.

Method

Participants

Participants were 179 (112 White American and 67 Asian American) college alumni from a large Midwestern university. Data were part of a larger longitudinal study; these data were part of a 12-year follow-up study. For White Americans, roughly half of the sample was women (50.9%; $n = 57$) and 49.1 % was men ($n = 55$). The mean age of White American participants was 30.05 years ($SD = .23$). For Asian Americans, approximately 58.2% of the sample was women ($n = 39$) and 41.8% was men ($n = 28$). The mean age of Asian American participants was 30.08 years ($SD = .62$). In the Asian American sample, 26.6% of people self-identified as Chinese ($n = 17$), 20.3% was Korean ($n = 13$), 18.8% was Indian ($n = 12$), 9.4% was Filipino ($n = 9$), 7.8% was Taiwanese ($n = 5$), 2.9% was Japanese ($n = 2$), 2.9% was Pakistani ($n = 2$), 2.9% was Thai ($n = 2$), 1.4% was Sri Lankan ($n = 1$), and 5.9% were missing data on ethnicity ($n = 4$). Asian American participants were born in the United States and/or were American citizens. All participants completed at least a four-year college degree.

Measures

Demographic information. Participants provided demographic information regarding their age, gender, race, and ethnicity.

Social Justice Scale (SJS). The 24-item Social Justice Scale (SJS; Torres-Harding et al., 2012) is rated on a Likert-type scale, with 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), and consists of four subscales: social justice attitudes, perceived behavioral control, subjective norms, and behavioral intention. The scale was designed

specifically to capture social justice attitudes and intention from TPB and is consistent with critical reflection as described in the SPD mode of social justice action. The SJS was used to measure the four main constructs in the integrated model of social justice behavior: (1) attitude and awareness of social justice values, (2) subjective norms about social justice issues, (3) perceived behavioral control of social justice action, and (4) intention to act for social justice causes. Higher scores on each subscale reflects higher levels of the construct of interest.

The social justice attitudes subscale (11 items) measures one's attitudes/awareness toward social justice values (e.g., "I believe that it is important to make sure that all individuals and groups have a chance to speak and be heard, especially those from traditionally ignored or marginalized groups"). The subjective norms subscale (4 items) assesses whether people in the respondents' social context support or discourage engagement in social justice-related activities (e.g., "Other people around me are engaged in activities that address injustices"). The perceived behavioral control subscale (5 items) measures individuals' perceived capacity and efficacy in creating social change through their actions (e.g., "If I choose to do so, I am capable of influencing others to promote fairness and equality"). Lastly, the behavioral intention subscale consists of 4 items (e.g., "In the future, I will do my best to ensure that all individuals and groups in my community have a chance to speak and be heard").

There is emerging psychometric support for the SJS among young adult and adult populations. In terms of convergent validity, all of the responses to the social justice subscales were positively correlated with the motivation to engage in public services, and for discriminant validity, the responses to the social justice subscales were negatively correlated with neo-sexism, symbolic racism, and one's global belief-in-a-just-world (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). In addition, the social justice attitudes subscale had Cronbach's alphas ranging from .87 (Branson, 2015) to .95 (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). Perceived behavioral control had Cronbach's alphas ranging from .66 (Kozlowski et al., 2014) to .84 (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). Subjective norms had Cronbach's alphas ranging from .81 (Kozlowski et al., 2014) to .82 (Torres-Harding et al., 2012), and behavioral intention had a Cronbach's alpha of .88 (Kozlowski et al., 2014; Torres-Harding et al., 2012). For the current study, Cronbach's alphas ranged from .86 (perceived behavioral control) to .93 (social justice attitudes).

Self-reported social justice behavior. Social justice behavior was measured by participants' decision to sign one or two online petitions at the end of the survey. We chose signing petitions as an indicator of social justice behavior because this action could be done immediately compared to other offline behaviors such as protesting or boycotting, which would take time and effort to follow-up. Moreover, given that social media and internet have increased visibility and access to social justice movements, such as Me Too or Black Lives Matter, online petitions have become an important tool to mobilize collective power toward larger social changes (Mele, 2016). Additionally, emerging data indicates that online activism is related to more direct offline activism (Greijdanus et al., 2020). Directions explained that these two petitions were chosen from Change.org among established causes and they did not necessarily reflect the researchers' opinions. Signing the Change.org petition(s) was an indication that they were in agreement with the cause and that they were willing to join with others to symbolically show support for the issue. In the survey, we provided the exact description of the petitions and provided a link for the participants to sign the petition. Participants were also asked whether they would sign or abstain from signing the petitions. The first petition called for criminal justice reform in the United States and lower incarceration rates, particularly for young people of color (Jones, 2016). The second petition gathered support to fight for a higher minimum wage (The Fairness Project, 2016). Each petition was coded with 0 (*signed*) or 1 (*not signed*).

Procedure

The Institutional Review Board granted approval to for our data collection. Updated email addresses were obtained for a random racially diverse sample of alumni (*n* = 1047) in the same cohort from the university online database. Participants' responses were confidential and their names were not listed on the survey. Potential participants were emailed a recruitment letter and code number for identification. For alumni who did not respond to the first email invitation, two other follow-up emails were sent at approximately one-week intervals.

For those who chose to participate, they completed a consent form, which explained the purpose of the study and a request to respond to two social issues at the end of the survey. The online survey took approximately 15 minutes to complete and participants were asked whether they would like to sign two Change.Org petitions. Survey items were randomly organized while demographic questions and two online petitions were presented at the end of the survey. Participants who completed a majority of the items on the survey had the opportunity to enter a drawing for four Visa gift card prizes: One $500 and three $100 prizes. To increase the number of Asian American participants, we sent a third follow-up email to this group specifically with an additional reward option to receive a $5 Starbucks gift card or equivalent. The final response rate was 25% for all racial groups (n = 263 alumni out of the total 1047). A group of 179 participants, who completed at least 80% of the survey, was selected for the project. The response rate for each group was comparable: 23% (Asian American) and 22% (White American).

Results

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Cronbach's Alphas for Variables of Interest by Race/Ethnic Group

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD	α
Total Sample (N = 179)								
1. Social Justice Attitudes (SJA)	1					6.35	0.75	.93
2. Subjective Norms (SN)	.45**	1				5.05	1.14	.87
3. Perceived Behavioral Control (PBC)	.31**	.41**	1			5.58	0.96	.86
4. Intention to Act (IA)	.59**	.61**	.53**	1		5.20	1.34	.92
5. Self-reported Social Justice Behaviors (SSJB)	.38**	.24**	.20**	.33**	1	0.77	0.89	
White Sample (n = 112)								
1. Social Justice Attitudes (SJA)	1					6.34	0.74	.92
2. Subjective Norms (SN)	.44**	1				5.00	1.13	.86
3. Perceived Behavioral Control (PBC)	.27**	.39**	1			5.63	0.89	.83
4. Intention to Act (IA)	.66**	.66**	.45**	1		5.15	1.36	.90
5. Self-reported Social Justice Behaviors (SSJB)	.38**	.29**	.19	.41**	1	0.75	0.89	
Asian American Sample (n = 67)								
1. Social Justice Attitudes (SJA)	1					6.36	0.76	.94
2. Subjective Norms (SN)	.47**	1				5.15	1.17	.89
3. Perceived Behavioral Control (PBC)	.36**	.46**	1			5.48	1.06	.89
4. Intention to Act (IA)	.46**	.53**	.69**	1		5.30	1.30	.95
5. Self-reported Social Justice Behaviors (SSJB)	.38**	.16	.22	.19	1	0.81	0.91	

Note: Possible range for SJA, SN, PBC, IA are 1 to 7. SSJB is ordinal categorical variable. * $p \le$ .05; ** $p \le$ .01.

Table 2. Model Comparisons

Models Tested	χ^2 (*df*)	RMSEA (CI)	CFI	TLI	SRMR
Model A: Full model with SJA × PBC interaction	2.50 (2)	.04 (.00, .16)	.99	.98	.03
Model B: Full model only main effects	0.11 (1)	.00 (.00, .14)	1.00	1.00	.03
Model C: Parsimonious model, no PBC to Behaviors	0.50 (1)	.00 (.00, .10)	1.00	1.00	.03
Multiple Group Comparison Models					
Model C1: Separate by Group	1.84 (4)	.00 (.00, .11)	1.00	1.00	.04
Model C2: Complete Invariance	24.28 (9)	.14 (.07, .21)	.88	.82	.16
Model C3: Partial Invariance	12.72 (6)	.11 (.01, .20)	.95	.88	.10
(PBC and SN to IA paths invariant)					
Model C4: Only PBC to IA path invariant	8.26 (5)	.09 (.00, .19)	.97	.93	.10
(SN to IA now variant)					
Model C5: Only SN to IA path invariant	6.35 (5)	.06 (.00, .17)	.98	.97	.08
(PBC to IA now variant)					

Note: SJA = social justice attitudes; PBC = perceived behavioral control; IA = intentions to act; SN = subjective norms. Model A is the full model with all paths and SJA × PBC interaction predicting behaviors. Model B is the full model without the SJA × PBC interaction. Model C is the parsimonious model without the direct effect of perceived behavioral control to behaviors. Model C1 estimates Model C separately for the Asian American and White American participants. Model C2 estimates Model C with complete invariance of all paths between the Asian American and White American participants. Model C3 estimates Model C only with invariance of paths that were significant for both the Asian American and White American participants. Model C4 and C5 test for the invariance of the specific path of PBC and SN to IA, respectively, for the Asian American and White American participants. Fit indices include: χ^2 (df), the chi-square value with corresponding degrees of freedom; RMSEA (CI), the root mean square error of approximation with 90% confidence intervals; CFI, the comparative fit index; TLI, the Tucker-Lewis Index; SRMR, the standardized root mean squared residual.

Data Screening and Missing Data

Data were cleaned and screened for univariate normality by examining histograms, skewness, and kurtosis statistics. All variables of interest met the criteria for univariate normality with normally distributed histograms, skewness < ±3, and kurtosis < ±3, which were below the guidelines suggested by Weston and Gore (2006). We detected four univariate outliers. Outliers with extreme scores were found in three cases on the social justice attitudes subscale, and one case on the behavioral intention subscale. The outliers' raw scores were changed to the next most extreme score in the distribution (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013) for each racial group. Additionally, seven cases were identified as multivariate outliers ($p < .001$; (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). A robust estimator was used in subsequent analyses to account for non-normality.

Missing data were less than 4% for the Asian American sample and less than 3% for the White American sample. These data were found to be missing completely at random at the variable level (i.e., Little's MCAR test, $p = .7247$) (Garson, 2015). The missing data were handled by pairwise present analysis through estimator robust weighted least squares or WLSMV (Muthén et al., 1997).

Preliminary Analyses

Roughly 41% ($n = 74$) of 179 participants indicated that they would sign at least one of the social justice petitions: criminal justice reform ($n = 67$) and/or higher minimum wage ($n = 60$). Roughly 28% ($n = 50$) indicated they would sign both petitions. Also, there were no significant differences between Asian American and White American samples on their commitment to sign the petitions, OR (odds ratio) = .96, $p > .05$. Zero-

order correlations, descriptive statistics, and Cronbach's alphas for the study variables are presented in Table 1. There were small to medium positive associations between each of the study variables and self-reported social justice behaviors. Correlations ranged from .20 (perceived behavioral control) to .38 (social justice attitude).

Main Analyses

Path analysis was conducted using M*plus* version 7.4 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2015) and utilizing WLSMV to test the model of social justice action and our four hypotheses (see Figure 1). We chose WLSMV because it allows inclusion of both continuous and categorical variables. WLSMV with standard errors and chi-square statistics were used because they are robust to non-normality (Muthén et al., 1997).

The original integrated model of social justice action is labeled as Model A in Table 2. The overall model was a good fit of the data with partial support for the research hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 was largely supported because the direct relations among study variables were significant; that is, social justice attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control were positively related to intention to act for social justice causes. Hypothesis 2 was not supported in that intention to act for social justice causes was not significantly associated with self-reported social justice behaviors. Also, the direct relation between perceived behavioral control and self-reported social justice behaviors was non-significant. Hypothesis 3 was supported as the finding showed that social justice attitudes were positively related to self-reported social justice behaviors (SSJB). Hypothesis 4 was not supported because the interaction term was not statistically significant ($\beta = .03$, $p > .05$). Previous researchers stated that perceived efficacy and control might be a more developmentally appropriate indicator for youth in their process of developing critical consciousness, given the many age-based constraints young people face to actual civic participation or social activism (Diemer et al., 2015). Watts and Flanagan (2007) also conceptualized political efficacy as a moderator in the process of critical consciousness among marginalized youth but did not mention whether it would apply for adult population. This finding suggested that moderation and direct effects of PBC might not be present among adults.

Subsequently, we tested two conceptually derived, nested models. Specifically, we tested two simpler models: Model B is the original integrated model without perceived behavioral control as a moderator (see Figure 2). Model C is a simpler version of the integrated model without either the moderation effect or the direct effect of perceived behavioral control on self-reported behaviors. Model B and C removed the moderation effect and direct path of perceived behavioral control on self-reported behaviors respectively, because these paths were theoretically more consistent with youth development as opposed to adults (Diemer et al., 2015). We compared models based on fit indexes (Bryant & Satorra, 2012). See Table 2 for comparisons of the alternative model to the original Model A.

Figure 2. Model B of Social Justice Behaviors
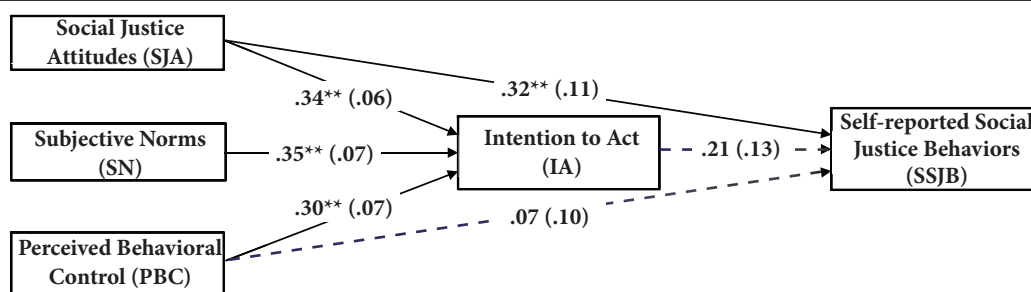
Note: * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; SE are in the parentheses. Dashed lines signify non-significant paths. Values reflect standardized parameter estimates.

We examined four fit indexes (RMSEA, CFI, TLI, and SRMR) and followed the cutoff criteria based on recommendations to assess model fit (Asparouhov & Muthen, 2018; Hu & Bentler, 1998, 1999). The recommended cutoff values are: RMSEA values of .06 or below, CFI and TLI values of .95 or above, and SRMR values less than .08 (Asparouhov & Muthen, 2018; Hu & Bentler, 1999). RMSEA 90% confidence interval values were also presented. However, because the sample size is less than 250, RMSEA can be problematic as it tends to over-reject true population models at small sample sizes (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Results indicated that the slightly revised integrated Models B and C provided a equivalently better fit to the data than Model A, and Model C was most parsimonious. Model C was the simplest model with excellent fit indexes: RMSEA = .00, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.00, and SRMR = .03. Thus, we selected Model C for our exploratory analysis to examine potential differences among White American and Asian American participants. Model C includes all of the hypothesized variables of TPB and SPD, with the exception of the moderation effect and the direct effect of perceived behavioral control on self-reported social justice behavior. The latter two effects were not significant when we tested Model A.

We used the multi-group function in M*plus* to compare the model of critical consciousness for the Asian American and White American participants in the sample. Multi-group analysis used the power of the combined sample size ($N = 179$) to estimate the model parameters for each racial group (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2012) and to determine if there were potential differences in model fit between the two groups and whether the model varied significantly for each group. In order to compare variance between the two groups, we conducted a series of steps to test different models. Each model had a discrete number of estimated parameters that were constrained to be equal in order to explore whether these parameters could not differ for Asian and White American groups. These steps are parts of the common approach (Meredith, 1993; Napolitano & Job, 2018; Vandenberg & Lance, 2000) to test invariance for multiple demographic groups. Step 1 was to test for configural invariance with the result demonstrated in Model C1 in Table 2. Model C1 estimated Model C separately for the Asian American and White American participants assuming that the groups had different estimated paths without equality constraints. Step 2 was to test for strong invariance in Model C2, where all the estimated paths in Model C were equated between the Asian American and White American participants. Step 3 was to test for weak invariance where Model C3 estimated Model C only with invariance of paths that were significant for both the Asian American and White American participants. An additional two steps were conducted in Model C4 and C5 to test for the invariance of the specific path of perceived behavior control and subjective norms to intention, respectively, for the Asian American and White American participants. Goodness of fit was examined for models C1 – C5 to determine best fit. Model C1 was selected where estimated paths were different for Asian and White American groups.

Furthermore, we also used the WLSMV's robust standard errors to create 95% confidence intervals for the indirect relations between the independent variables of social justice attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control and the dependent variable of self-reported social justice behavior through intention to act (see Table 3). It is recommended that if the confidence interval does not contain 0, then it is judged to be significant at $p \leq .05$ (Mallinckrodt et al., 2006). Goodness of fit was also examined.

The estimated parameters for White and Asian American participants are presented in Figures 3 and 4. Findings among the White American participants were partially consistent with the TPB aspect of the model, in that there were direct relations between social justice attitude-intention to act, social norms-intention to act, and perceived behavioral control-intention to act. However, among the White participants, intention to act did not predict self-reported social justice behaviors. On the other hand, findings among the Asian American participants indicated support for an SPD aspect of the model, in that there was a direct relationship between social justice attitude and self-reported social justice behaviors. As indicated in Table 3, however, there were no significant indirect effects.

Table 3. Indirect Relations

Predictor	Mediator	Outcome	Standardized indirect relation	Unstandardized indirect relation		95% CI of unstandardized indirect relation	
				B	*SE*	Lower bound	Upper bound
Unique Indirect Relations in Model C for Total Sample							
Social Justice Attitudes	Intention to Act	Self-reported Social Justice Behaviors	.05	.12	.07	-.002	.18
Subjective Norms	Intention to Act	Self-reported Social Justice Behaviors	.04	.08	.05	-.002	.17
Perceived Behavioral Control	Intention to Act	Self-reported Social Justice Behaviors	.04	.08	.05	-.002	.15
Unique Indirect Relations in Model C for White Sample							
Social Justice Attitudes	Intention to Act	Self-reported Social Justice Behaviors	.15	.22	.13	.01	.33
Subjective Norms	Intention to Act	Self-reported Social Justice Behaviors	.14	.14	.08	.01	.30
Perceived Behavioral Control	Intention to Act	Self-reported Social Justice Behaviors	.06	.07	.05	.00	.14
Unique Indirect Relations in Model C for Asian Sample							
Social Justice Attitudes	Intention to Act	Self-reported Social Justice Behaviors	.02	.03	.15	- .05	.15
Subjective Norms	Intention to Act	Self-reported Social Justice Behaviors	.03	.03	.09	- .06	.14
Perceived Behavioral Control	Intention to Act	Self-reported Social Justice Behaviors	.07	.07	.15	- .14	.33

Note: All paths are not significant with $p > .05$.

Figure 3. Model C of Social Justice Behaviors for White Americans
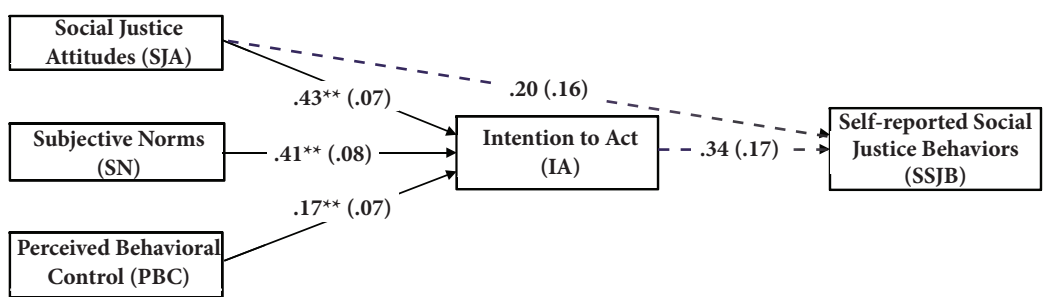
Note: * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; SE are in the parentheses. Dashed lines signify non-significant paths. Values reflect standardized parameter estimates.

Figure 4. Model D of Social Justice Behaviors for Asian Americans
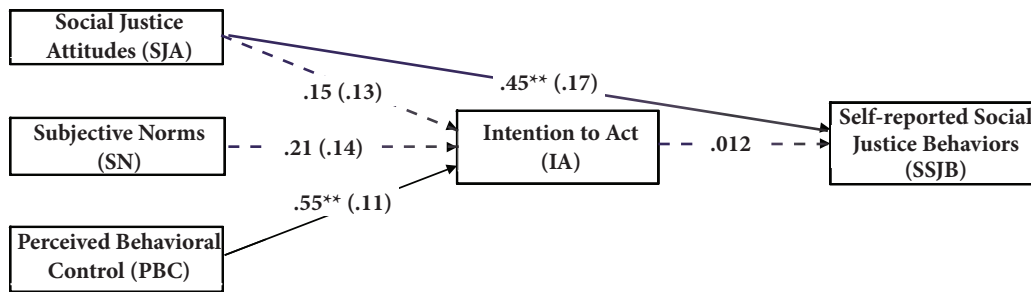
Note: * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; SE are in the parentheses. Dashed lines signify non-significant paths. Values reflect standardized parameter estimates.

Discussion

Empirical research on social justice action is receiving increased attention in counseling (Almeida et al., 2017; Byars-Winston, 2012; French et al., 2020; Malott et al., 2019; Shin et al., 2016), but the extent to which specific components of social justice frameworks predict behaviors has remained understudied, especially using TPB. Drawing on the SPD and TPB frameworks, we tested and found partial support for an integrated model of social justice action. Specifically, social justice awareness helped explain participants' signing at least one online petition addressing a public concern. Consistent with TPB, social justice attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control were each related to participants' intention to engage in social activism. However, the latter did not serve as a mediator. In fact, unlike previous TPB meta-analyses (e.g., Ajzen, 2011; McEachan et al., 2011), there was not a significant association between intentions to act and behaviors, perhaps because the social justice behavior in this study was limited to signing online petitions.

Interestingly, findings from the exploratory multi-group analysis suggested that aspects of the integrated model consistent with the TPB framework were supported primarily among White American participants. In contrast, those consistent with the SPD model were supported more so among Asian American participants. Specifically, the links between social justice attitudes-intention, subjective norms-intention, and perceived behavioral control-intention were significant only for the White participants. In contrast, among the Asian American participants, social justice awareness was the most important predictor of social justice behavior; this association among White Americans was not statistically significant.

There are several possible reasons for why the conceptualization of critical consciousness based on TPB was a better fit for White Americans than Asian Americans in this study. Consistent with Torres-Harding et al.'s (2012) research, we found that greater subjective norms and perceived behavioral control were related to participants' intention to engage in social justice behaviors. In effect, people whose social networks espoused a social justice value and those with greater political efficacy in making significant changes in their community were more likely to pledge to promote social justice through activism, including talking with others about injustices. These results imply other mechanisms may be at play in White individuals' social justice behaviors. Perhaps, racial guilt could help explain the relations between behavioral intent or past behavior and current social justice behavior (Iyer et al., 2003). Research supports the role of racial guilt over and anger about social injustices and social activism among White Americans (Iyer et al., 2003; Jost et al., 2017). Although researchers need to further investigate the potential role of racial affect such as guilt and anger in White Americans' social justice engagement, our findings, along with others (Jost et al., 2017), suggest that mediating variables may account for the association between critical awareness of inequalities and social action. In addition, the fact that the TPB model did not provide a good fit for the Asian American data highlights the possible different mechanism behind social justice actions for White and Asian Americans, at least in this sample. Previous findings showed that other factors, such as racial/ethnic identity development and individual-level perceptions of discrimination and racism, contribute to differences in level of critical awareness and social change behaviors

among Asian Americans and subgroups (Alvarez et al., 2006; Yi & Todd, 2020). Furthermore, Asian American participants in this study might have understood items about subjective norms and perceived behavioral control differently than White Americans. Some Asian Americans may experience different socialization processes about social activism. More Asian Americans, for example, may rely on other factors (e.g., individual experiences of discrimination, feelings of belonging) for motivation to act for social change. In the study by Yi and Todd (2020) using a sample of 3,707 Asian American students from 88 campuses across the U.S., they found multiple factors, such as participation in racial/ethnic identity-based organizations and individual-level perceptions of a discriminatory campus climate, as the mechanism behind social change behaviors of Asian American subgroups (Yi & Todd, 2020).

The SPD framework is designed to capture the experiences of marginalized populations (Watts et al., 2003) which could be why we found support for the association between social justice awareness and social action for Asian American participants, but not for White American participants. SPD posits that as people of color gain increasing awareness of oppression they move toward engaging in social change efforts (Watts et al., 2003). From this framework People of Color are thus ultimately propelled to act in their group interests as a form of self-preservation or liberation. White Americans who benefit from racial privilege may not feel the same urgency to take action to address inequality. Instead, they may act to alleviate guilt or anger over injustices, perhaps as a way to assuage discomfort over one's relative privilege (Ivey et al., 2004). Our findings provide some initial support for these assertions. Social justice awareness served as a strong factor in promoting social action among Asian American participants only.

Contrary to our hypothesis, there were no statistically significant associations between perceived behavioral control and self-reported social justice behaviors. This result is similar to some of Diemer and Li's (2011) findings in that sociopolitical control (i.e., the perceived efficacy to effect social and political change) did not predict social action in their sample of marginalized youth. The current study replicated Watts and Guessous's (2006) finding that sense of agency was positively related to commitment to societal involvement but did not predict behaviors. There could be several explanations for these findings. It could be that signing online petitions does not adequately capture the breadth of social action in which individuals would otherwise engage. In other TPB studies, researchers administered scales that either assessed a broad set of intention and behaviors or something very specific such as the intention to stop smoking and examining this intention to actually quitting smoking (Rise et al., 2008). The matched specificity of intention and behaviors have been discussed as the concept of the correspondence (compatibility) between attitudinal and behavioral entities (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977). This concept suggests that all measures of behavior and TPB explanatory variables should have the same context, time, population and action (actual behavior), in order to gain the strongest relationships (effect size) between model components (Ajzen, 1991). In this study, we used a broad measure of behavioral intention (e.g., planning to talk to someone about a social justice topic in the future) and specific self-reported actions (e.g., signing online petition on criminal justice reform). A similar logic can be applied to all the measures of the social justice scale. For example, individuals' broad social justice attitudes may not reflect one's attitudes/awareness toward specific social issues listed in each petition.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the findings begin to address gaps in the literature, the limitations of the study should be considered when interpreting the results. Due to the small sample size and specificity of the sample, there are limitations to the generalizability of our findings. The current study is limited to only two racial groups: Asian Americans and White Americans, and there was not enough diversity within the Asian American sample to explore potential ethnic group differences (e.g., Chinese Americans compared to Korean Americans). Thus, the findings may not be generalized to all Asian American subgroups. Future researchers should recruit a larger sample with more diversity within Asian American participants. It is also important to replicate these findings with more diverse samples in term of race or ethnicity, social class, and education, especially because

all participants in the current study were college graduates. In addition, although we assessed participants' reports of signing two online petitions, we could not verify if they actually did so. Future studies should consider including multiple measures of behavior that might be directly observed (e.g., lab-based scenarios). Another limitation of this study was the use of cross-sectional data to test the integrated model of social justice action. Future research should test the mediation model with longitudinal data in order to provide more empirical understanding of the process of critical consciousness development.

Implications

Due to the positive and long-term benefits of developing one's critical consciousness, it is important for counselors, educators, and policy makers to understand psychosocial factors that contribute to the process of social justice action development. Especially under the current polarized and hostile political and social climate, fostering critical consciousness and social justice behaviors can promote systematic changes against social injustice (Freire, 1970; Martín-Baró et al., 1994; Watts et al., 2003), while nurture healing and hope in marginalized and oppressed populations (Ginwright, 2011; Watts et al., 1999). To bolster social and ally activism, counselors can create a supportive and open environment to facilitate difficult conversions about systems of inequality (e.g., race, class, and gender) to increase individuals' social justice awareness and critical reflection, which in turn may strengthen their intention to act and foster more social justice-promoting activities. It is also important to build social, communal, or personal spheres of influence that promote social justice and continue difficult but hopeful dialogues so that these messages can become positive social norms to increase individuals' activism. Moreover, subjective norms can be a powerful influence through close relationships such as friendship and mentorship to motivate one's behavior as well as bolster self-efficacy in creating social and transformative changes. We encourage future researchers and practitioners to develop and evaluate TPB-based social justice interventions for allies as well as use a SPD theoretical framework to develop interventions for People of Color. Last but not least, it may be important for educators and counselors to include a social justice agenda in their clinical and teaching approaches by continually educating and providing information about the history and current status of different systems of inequality, which can increase people's social awareness, especially among youth population (Kim et al., 2017), and in turn promote their social justice activities.

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