Critical Race Theory: Opportunities for Application in **Social Work Practice and Policy**

Karen M. Kolivoski, Addie Weaver, & Monique Constance-Huggins

NOTICE

This material may be protected by Copyright Law (Title 17 U.S. code)

Critical race theory (CRT) provides a framework for examining power structures that maintain racial inequities and developing strategies for action and change. Though social work acknowledges racial disparities and the role of racism when identifying and attempting to ameliorate social problems, the profession has not fully incorporated CRT. This article introduces CRT, articulates its alignment with social work's professional mission and values, describes its central tenets, and applies the tenets to racial disparities within three areas of practice particularly relevant for social work: child welfare system involvement, receipt of public assistance, and access to mental health treatment. CRT's broader implications for social work practice are identified and discussed.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

- In order to effectively serve a diverse set of clients, social workers need knowledge and skills articulating the role of race, racism, and power and how they operate in the United States; critical race theory (CRT) provides such a framework.
- Awareness of the CRT tenets and their application in specific areas of practice can educate social workers in targeting questions and dialogue both within themselves and with colleagues and supervisors about the role of race in social work practice and policy, which can in turn lead to social action and change.

acial disparities in the United States remain persistent and pervasive. Despite advances in reducing overt racism and discrimination, covert and institutional racism continues to operate through policies and practices embedded within social structures, systems, and institutions that systematically reflect and produce racial inequality. This is evidenced by racial disparities in child welfare system involvement (Hill, 2006), public assistance use (Gooden, 2007), and mental health treatment access (Snowden, 2003). Advancing racial equality requires understanding and awareness of the relationship between race, racism, and power. Critical race theory (CRT) provides an important framework that social workers can use to recognize, analyze, and change power dynamics that maintain institutional racism and reinforce racial inequality. Despite alignment with social work's mission and values, CRT has not been fully embraced by social work educators, researchers, or practitioners. Nascent literature addresses CRT's utility to inform and advance the field (e.g., Abrams & Moio, 2009; Ortiz & Jani, 2010), yet work focused on its substantive application to social work practice is needed.

The social work profession strives for social justice and acknowledges the importance of understanding race and racism when studying and working to ameliorate social problems. Social workers are also trained in culturally competent practice. Therefore, we should be well positioned to address racism's role in maintaining social problems that disproportionately impact people of color. However, there is concern that some educational approaches (e.g., multicultural perspective) do not explicitly address race, which inhibits comprehensive understanding of ways in which power, privilege, history, and one's own position impact broader social structures and institutions (Constance-Huggins, 2012). Achieving social justice involves acknowledging racism and moving beyond didactic information toward dialogue and action that challenges, and ultimately changes, the status quo. This requires knowledge of structures and systems that sustain racial inequality and limit opportunities for people of color, as well as exposure to action-oriented strategies to challenge and dispel institutional racism. CRT provides an opportunity to extend social workers' existing knowledge into dialogue and action for social change through direct examination of the relationship between race, racism, and power. Further, the framework's action-oriented approach emphasizes the connection between practice, education, and research.

In this article, we introduce CRT, describe its central tenets, and apply the framework to racial disparities within three areas of social work practice. Though CRT is applicable to people of color across racial and ethnic groups, our applications focus on disparities affecting African Americans; these applications demonstrate the utility of CRT for social work professionals.

Critical Race Theory (CRT)

The CRT movement seeks to study and transform the relationship between race, racism, and power, and, in contrast to traditional civil rights movements, questions the foundations of the liberal order (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Therefore, civil rights issues are viewed within a broader perspective that incorporates economics, history, context, group- and self-interest, feelings, and the unconscious. CRT acknowledges the effects of race and racism on society, challenges conventional social processes and normative standards that only reflect the White experience, and offers insight into how the relationship between race, racism, and power maintains and supports racial inequality. CRT scholars identified five central tenets used to analyze social structures, policies, and practice: racism as ordinary (Bell, 1992, 1995), the critique of liberalism (Freeman, 1977; Gotanda, 1991), Whiteness as ultimate property (Harris, 1995), interest convergence (Bell, 1980), and the unique voice of color (Matsuda, 1991). These tenets are described below.

Racism as ordinary. The cornerstone of CRT is the assertion that racism, in the context of the usual way of conducting business in the United States, has become normalized and is constantly perpetuated through social structures and institutions (Bell, 1992). CRT posits that racism is so ingrained in American society that it has become almost unrecognizable, making it difficult to cure and address (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Critical race theorists maintain that racist hierarchical structures govern political, economic, and social domains; therefore, Whites are privileged while people of color are socially constructed as "others" (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). Socially constructed racial categories that perpetuate stereotypes while ignoring scientific fact are invented, manipulated, and retired when convenient for those in power. To challenge institutional racism, CRT promotes a "realist view" of American social structures, emphasizing open acknowledgment of the dominant role race has historically played and continues to play in society (Bell, 1995).

The critique of liberalism. The liberalism worldview embraces colorblindness, neutrality of the law, and incremental change; however, CRT asserts that these formal conceptions of equality only remedy the most blatant forms of discrimination (Freeman, 1977; Gotanda, 1991). Liberal legal philosophy seeks to remedy inequality by mandating the same treatment across the board, regardless of race. These so-called colorblind or neutral approaches strive for equality, which assumes all citizens have the same opportunities, rather than equity, which assumes an unequal playing field. CRT asserts that attempting to ensure equality through neutrality in the law is insufficient and disingenuous, fails to consider the persistence and permanence of racism and its impact on opportunities for people of color, and provides justification for ignoring and dismantling race-based policies to address inequity (Freeman, 1977; Gotanda, 1991). CRT also posits that liberalism's incremental approach to change maintains White privilege by allowing gains for people of color to come at a slow pace, usually through small changes that are acceptable to those in power. CRT maintains that ignoring race fails to eliminate the occurrence and persistence of racism and racist acts, and therefore seeks reinterpretation and transformation of the law through a critique of liberalism (Freeman, 1977; Gotanda, 1991).

Whiteness as ultimate property. American society is based on property rights. CRT posits that the "intersection of race and property create an analytic tool for understanding inequity" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 47). CRT asserts that Whiteness is the ultimate property value, leveraged to perpetuate advantages and privileges among Whites. This assertion is supported through analyses of property rights, including (a) rights of disposition, (b) rights to use and enjoyment, (c) rights of reputation or status property, and (d) the absolute right to exclude (Harris, 1995). Rights of disposition allow for the transfer of property. CRT states that Whiteness can be transferred by rewarding people of color for conformity to White norms or sanctioning cultural practices that violate White norms (Harris, 1995). Whiteness also provides social, cultural, and economic privileges (McIntosh, 1989). CRT theorists assert that one's reputation, status, or position in society is a form of personal property, defined as reputation or status property. Whites have control over the right to use and enjoy the privilege of being White, which increases the value of their reputation or status property and allows the reputation or status of someone or something constructed as non-White to be damaged or diminished. Finally, CRT maintains that Whiteness affords the absolute right to exclude in that the quality and quantity of resources in communities vary with property values (Harris, 1995).

Interest convergence. Bell (1980) suggests that civil rights gains within communities of color, particularly gains for African Americans, are only achieved when converging with interests of Whites and should be interpreted with measured enthusiasm. CRT acknowledges that those in power have little incentive to eradicate racism, as it advances interests of White elites and psychological interests of the working class. Critical race theorists assert that civil rights gains are only achieved when not perceived as major disruptions to the "normal" way of life for most Whites. However, gains coinciding with the self-interest of White elites are unlikely to make a substantive difference in the lives of people of color. For instance, CRT scholars propose the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in Brown v. Board of Education that segregated public schools were unconstitutional did not represent a moral change of heart, but rather political ambition to increase international credibility and to appease African Americans who fought in World War II by

suggesting a commitment to social gains and upward mobility for all races (Bell, 1980).

Unique voice of color. CRT emphasizes the importance of experiential knowledge gained from people of color's lived experiences and shared through counter storytelling, narratives, family history, biographies, chronicles, and parables (Bell, 1987). CRT asserts that by recounting encounters of racism and oppression, people of color convey experiences that Whites are unlikely to know or understand, reveal the persistent and oppressive nature of normative dialogues, and analyze legal remedies to racism that have served elites (Calmore, 1992; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). People of color's experiential knowledge offers a direct contradiction to the "othering" process, allowing people of color to critically reflect upon their position within a racist society and giving voice to marginalized groups' experiences, understandings, and knowledge.

Application of CRT to Areas of Social Work Practice

In this section, we apply CRT to racial disparities in three areas relevant to social work practice: involvement in the child welfare system, use of public assistance, and access to mental health treatment. The examples presented in this article focus on the African American experience. In order to present and apply all of CRT's central tenets at least once, two tenets were selected and applied to each practice area. Although the applications offer a new perspective for approaching racial disparities, they are not comprehensive analyses of the complex, multifaceted issues discussed. Our goals are to illuminate the utility of CRT for social workers and to provide a foundation for dialogue examining CRT as a potential tool to advance understanding of the ways in which race, racism, and power impact social work practice.

Racial Disproportionality in Child Welfare System Involvement

Racial disproportionality is pervasive in the U.S. child welfare system, with children of color comprising a greater number than in the general population (Hill, 2006): African American children comprise 15% of the general population of children yet account for 38% of those in foster care (Pew Commission, 2004). The typical African American child is not at greater risk for abuse and neglect than the typical White child (Sedlak & Schultz, 2001), yet substantiation rates for African American children are 2 times that of White children (Child Welfare League of America, 2003). Once in the child welfare system, youth of color are more likely to experience out-of-home placement than White youth (Colman, Kim, Mitchell-Herzfeld, & Shady, 2008; Hill,

2006). The way that child welfare disproportionality is viewed and discussed is critical, as these viewpoints form the frame and dialogue for proposed solutions.

Although a comparatively substantial proportion of children in foster care are African American (Pew Commission, 2004), research suggests that 94% of child welfare workers are White (Fallon, MacLaurin, Trocmé, & Felstiner, 2003). The racial demographics of child welfare workers compared to their clients have profound impacts on services. Racial combinations of child welfare workers and children are predictors of differences in caseworkers' referral decisions (Font, 2013) and client ethnicity is one of two significant predictors of entry-level social workers' decisions to report child maltreatment (Ashton, 2004).

Almost 40% of child welfare workers have a Bachelor of Social Work or Master of Social Work degree, and although they comprise the largest professional group, they still do not have a clear majority presence (Barth, Lloyd, Christ, Chapman, & Dickinson, 2008), thus social workers play a particularly critical role in the future of the child welfare field in being forwardthinking regarding macro issues. Understanding and addressing the role of race and racism in the child welfare system is paramount to effectively serving children and families. CRT is likely to provide social workers a framework for examining race, racism, and power within the system and their subsequent implications for clients. Child welfare workers acknowledge that their "practices ignore structural realities and focus on personal failings and challenges of families, which place them at risk for intervention" (Clarke, 2012, p. 234), but this awareness must be paired with tools, like CRT, to initiate action.

Whiteness as ultimate property. The CRT tenet of Whiteness as the ultimate property applies to the overrepresentation of children of color in the child welfare system. Roberts (2002) found White parents are less likely viewed as perpetrators of abuse, while African American parents are more often viewed as suspicious. This suggests Whiteness affords the privilege of being perceived as less capable of child maltreatment. Further, African American families are more likely to access public services than White families (White, 2006), subjecting them to increased surveillance and scrutiny. For example, African Americans are more likely than their White counterparts to visit public health clinics or emergency rooms for typical medical care and run errands on public transportation (Appell, 1997). The CRT perspective suggests that African Americans' increased visibility across systems and the institutional racism within these systems leads to a bifurcation of experiences, where Whiteness as the ultimate property affords access to private resources and services, minimizes public intervention, and





leaves African Americans susceptible to oversight and control, including child welfare system involvement.

Critique of liberalism. Ignoring racial realities advances the assumption that child welfare system intervention is neutral, therefore perpetuating the notion that racial disproportionality in the system is due to weaknesses and deficits of individual families (Sarri & Finn, 1992). For example, the Multi-Ethnic Placement Act of 1994 (MEPA; Pub. L. 103-82), a so-called colorblind policy prohibiting child welfare agencies from considering race, color, or national origin in many foster care and adoption decisions, was advanced as a way to prevent African American children from languishing in foster care due to a lack of samerace adoptive homes. Yet, despite MEPA's implementation in 1994, large numbers of African American children continue to move through the system from year to year awaiting adoption (Sargent, 2011). The CRT framework asserts that needs of children of color are not being met because of child welfare policies that ignore race (Sargent, 2011). King (2011) contends MEPA and similar laws removing race from placement decisions distract from the child welfare system's disproportional impact on African American families.

Implications for practice. CRT provides tools social workers can use in practice. First, child welfare workers need to be aware of colorblind approaches and policies that ignore the unique experiences of families of color, as well as aspects of cultural competence that may result in making false assumptions about clients, thus perpetuating racial inequalities. Given the racial demographic realities of child welfare workers and clients, it is particularly important for workers to be open to listening to clients and learning about their lived experiences. Child welfare workers can directly ask clients what concerns they may have about working with a professional of a different race and about their past experiences interacting with someone of that race; during this discussion, workers can actively listen and respond accordingly (Lee, 2010).

Further, social workers need to be conscious of their privileged status which interacts with structural forces, particularly the cross-cultural nature of their relationship with clients. Social workers must recognize how race and racism contribute to their clients' experiences, as well as the ways Whiteness affords privilege and power to view an issue through a lens that supports society's dominant narrative. The CRT framework can aid workers in asking critical questions about race and how it may impact their interactions with clients. These questions—posed in self-reflection, consultation with peers, or during supervision—may include: "Who benefits from the current arrangements? Who is excluded or penalized?" (Nybell & Gray, 2004, p. 24). Given the role of race in child welfare workers'

decision making, considering these questions may increase workers' awareness of their own culture and experiences as well as their own biases, including broad generalizations or stereotypes of a client's culture or ethnicity. Ultimately, workers can use this insight to analyze and inform their practice decisions. These questions can also be used to frame dialogue with colleagues who recognize structural inequalities in child welfare, but lack a framework to articulate the effects on clients.

Racial Disproportionality in the Public Welfare System

Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), which replaced Aid to Families with Dependent Children in 1996, is the largest public welfare program providing direct cash assistance to supplement a family's income on a monthly basis (Martin & Caminada, 2011). Applying CRT to TANF is appropriate for several reasons. First, African Americans are overrepresented on welfare rolls; they account for 12% of the nation's population but make up 36% of welfare recipients (U.S. House of Representatives, 2008). This share is similar to that of Whites (38%) but significantly higher than other racial minority groups. Second, African Americans receiving welfare have worse outcomes when compared to Whites. Cancian, Meyer, and Wu (2005) found that African Americans rely on TANF for a longer period of time than Whites and are more likely to return after an initial spell on TANF.

Social workers are uniquely placed to examine and address the effects of race and racism within the public welfare system. From its inception, the social work profession was intrinsically involved with programs assisting people in need (Rank & Hirschl, 2002). The profession's association with settlement houses centered on recognizing and addressing unmet need created by economic, demographic, and policy change (Koerin, 2003). Currently, social workers are often the ones administering and implementing welfare programs and policies (Rank & Hirschl, 2002). Finally, across areas of practice, social workers often serve clients whose financial needs are not adequately met by welfare or the labor market (Taylor & Barusch, 2004).

Racism as ordinary. CRT maintains that racism is endemic, permeating through our customs and policies (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). This assertion helps illuminate ways current welfare policies disadvantage African Americans and maintain racial hierarchy. Rather than assuming the benevolence of a policy, CRT views it within the context of broader power relations (Williams, 1987). The pervasiveness of race and racism is evident when examining the forces behind welfare reform. One of the most salient arguments from proponents of reform was a moral outcry against



welfare recipients. Despite the fact that only 10% of recipients received welfare for more than 10 years (Bane & Ellwood, 1996), welfare was couched as an issue of dependency and a moral hazard. Welfare recipients were portrayed as being lazy, immoral, sexually irresponsible, and cheats (Appelbaum, 2001). African Americans bore the heaviest weight of the attacks on moral deficiencies of the poor, and were more likely than their White counterparts to be socially constructed this way (Williams, 1987). Welfare was also viewed as a "Black program" as the number of African Americans receiving benefits increased (Neubeck & Cazenave, 2001). This "darkening" of the rolls made welfare politically vulnerable and fueled moral attacks on African American mothers. Schram (2005) asserts that if welfare was viewed as a White program, there would be less political and public backlash. CRT's tenet of racism as ordinary supports the negative construction of (Black) welfare recipients.

Interest convergence. CRT suggests that White elites shape policies that serve their self-interest and consequently ignore the experiences of people of color. TANF employs sanctions for noncompliance, meaning recipients' financial benefits are reduced or terminated for failure to meet mandatory work requirements. Gooden (2007) purports that these punitive sanctions disadvantage people of color, as historical legacies and contemporary effects of race might impact their ability to find jobs. Welfare recipients of color are more likely than Whites to be sanctioned and to receive heavier sanctions (Gooden, 2007). Consistent with CRT's tenet of interest convergence, it could be argued that if welfare was conceived of and understood as a program for and used by Whites, there might not be heavy sanctions for noncompliance. The heavy focus on sanctions emphasizes the personal deficiencies of welfare recipients. This serves the self-interest of the dominant group, as it distracts attention from businesses that stand to benefit from welfare recipients' low-wage labor (Sanger, 2003).

Implications for practice. CRT offers a powerful tool for social workers administering public welfare programs. CRT encourages social workers to examine the role they and their agencies can play in both perpetuating and addressing racism. Although discussion of racial disparities within agencies is often framed as a societal problem beyond their scope (Gooden, 2007), CRT, highlighting the pervasiveness of racism in all aspects of life including agency operation, suggests racial disparities and racism can and should be examined at the organizational level. The CRT framework encourages social workers administering public welfare programs to ask themselves critical questions about individual and agency practice, such as if there are racial differences in the types and frequencies of

sanctions given to welfare recipients. Exploring this issue may lead social workers to examine their own biases as well as contextual forces such as discrimination and neighborhood unemployment rates in relation to identified racial disparities. This awareness may lead social workers to reevaluate and change the frequency and intensity of sanctions they impose on clients. Social workers can also use this increased awareness and understanding to dialogue with colleagues and advocate for change in agency policies and procedures around sanctions. Social workers may encourage their agencies to join the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) in their support of social welfare policies devoid of punitive measures.

Racial Disparities in Access to Mental Health Treatment

African Americans experiencing mental illness are significantly less likely to receive mental health treatment than their White counterparts (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services [DHHS], 2001; Snowden, 2003). When African Americans access specialty mental health care, they attend fewer sessions and are more likely to stop treatment prematurely when compared to Whites (Sue, Zane, & Young, 1994). African Americans are also less likely to receive guideline-concordant care for mental health problems (see Wang, Berglund, & Kessler, 2001). Racial disparities in access to mental health care leave African Americans untreated or improperly treated (Snowden, 2003), which is unacceptable given the pervasive and debilitating nature of mental illness. Whereas some posit class drives these racial disparities, evidence reveals that African Americans' disparate access to treatment persists after adjusting for differences in socioeconomic status (DHHS, 2001). Other work suggests available treatment is not appropriate for African Americans, as it does not address their perceptions of mental illness or the relationship between discrimination and mental health (e.g., Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000).

Social workers are the leading providers of mental health services in the United States (Weissman et al., 2006). Though trained to view human behavior in relation to the social environment, the majority of masters-level social workers concentrate in interpersonal (micro) practice, having limited exposure to macro practice. Further, mental health interventions commonly focus on individual-level change to address presenting symptoms. Therefore, social workers providing mental health services may not have opportunities to fully develop skills necessary to assess the role of race, racism, and power in their practice and work environment. CRT offers social workers a tool for examining racial disparities in mental health treatment from a macro lens.



Unique voice of color. Viewing racial disparities in access to mental health treatment through the CRT framework suggests the unique voice and experiences of people of color have been ignored and undervalued, Prior to seeking treatment, African Americans have more favorable attitudes toward mental health services than Whites; however, after seeking care, African Americans have less favorable attitudes toward services when compared to Whites (Diala et al., 2000). This indicates current treatment models may not be responsive to ways in which people of color understand and experience mental illness and, therefore, limit treatment engagement and adherence. Most mental health interventions are designed and tested via university or lab settings where most participants are upper- and middle-class Whites (e.g., Trusty, Davis, & Looby, 2002). As a result, interventions are likely normed to White, upper- and middle-class experiences with mental illness. There is a strong movement toward developing culturally competent mental health treatment, and strides have been made to culturally adapt and test interventions among people of color that were initially developed and tested for Whites (Miranda et al., 2005). The CRT lens suggests that the mental health system has not adequately solicited or incorporated the authentic voice of people of color, and that to develop and deliver acceptable, effective mental health treatment, it is imperative to listen to and understand their perceptions.

Interest convergence. Research consistently demonstrates the negative effect of perceived discrimination on the mental health of people of color, yet this relationship has not been adequately addressed in treatment (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). CRT posits that failure to sufficiently incorporate African Americans' experiences with discrimination and oppression into mental health treatment may be the result of interest convergence: that treatment acknowledging and addressing the negative relationship between discrimination and mental health has not been prioritized because it would not benefit Whites. It may even force Whites to acknowledge that racism and their own privilege likely contribute to psychiatric distress among African Americans. Interest convergence can also be applied to the delivery method of mental health services. Though less likely than Whites to receive formally established mental health services, African Americans commonly use culturally sanctioned coping strategies and rely on informal systems of care (e.g., family, church) to address mental health needs. However, compared to many interventions that benefit more Whites than African Americans, little attention has been paid to learning from culturally sanctioned coping strategies, or working with and assessing outcomes of informal systems of care, as again this may offer less benefit to Whites.

Implications for practice. Social workers providing mental health services can use CRT in practice to elicit the mental illness and treatment perspectives of consumers of color and to address the relationship between racism, discrimination, and mental health. Mental health care often includes psychoeducation, where clinicians provide consumers with information and research on their diagnosis during an early treatment session. Social workers can incorporate information and research on the effect of discrimination on mental health as part of psychoeducation, demonstrating awareness of and acknowledging the impact that racism has on mental health. This can serve as a starting point to engage in dialogue with consumers of color focused on their understanding of mental illness and treatment expectations in relation to the information and research presented. Social workers can ask consumers how the information reviewed during psychoeducation relates to their own experiences, offering a natural opportunity for consumers of color, who may find the information relevant, to open up and share. Social workers would then incorporate consumers' perspectives into treatment plans. For instance, the approach to treatment would differ for a consumer experiencing depression from job loss due to routine downsizing and a consumer experiencing depression from job loss due to discrimination from a racist supervisor. Social workers can share this approach to psychoeducation with colleagues to start dialogue that could potentially change their agency's standards of practice.

Additionally, social workers with awareness and understanding of CRT can actively engage with communities of color to learn more about culturally sanctioned coping strategies and informal systems of care often preferred by people of color. Establishing trust and gaining entry into a community requires a long-term commitment; however, social workers, individually or with agency support, could begin by reaching out to informal providers and learning about community-identified needs, looking for opportunities to participate in community events, or offering free mental health screening and education in nontraditional mental health settings.

Discussion

Racism is ingrained in American society. Though more covert, institutional racism continues to produce and maintain racial disparities within many areas relevant to social work practice, including the child welfare, public welfare, and mental health service systems. Persistent racism in society restricts progress of people of color who are denied opportunities and not provided access to resources necessary for upward mobility.





This is particularly salient given that racial minorities will become the numerical majority group by 2043 (U.S. Census, 2012). Racism embedded and perpetuated within institutions, structures, and systems has significant implications and cannot be ignored. Social workers are well positioned to address racism and its effects given their work with oppressed populations and commitment to social justice. However, resources to recognize and address institutional racism in practice are limited.

CRT provides a framework for understanding the relationship between race, racism, and power, particularly ways in which racism affects social work practice. CRT complements and enhances social workers' existing strengths by offering a lens for recognizing and remedying racism that permeates American social institutions, structures, systems, customs, and policies. We view our application of CRT to racial disparities within areas of social work practice as a first step toward encouraging and challenging social workers to examine ways in which their own actions and policies within their agencies and organizations may perpetuate racial disparities.

We also view these applications as a way of encouraging social workers to engage in critical dialogue within and across disciplines that may result in social action. When working to achieve social justice, Gil (1998) describes the importance of dialogue and reflection focused on structural forces influencing day-to-day life. Understanding CRT and applying it to personal practice and agency policy has the potential to facilitate awareness among social workers regardless of area of practice or status, as well as support dialogue that may develop into critical consciousness through self-reflection and dialogue in peer consultation and supervision.

Finally, applying CRT to social work practice provides an opportunity to bolster the profession's commitment to social justice. Social workers have an ethical obligation to clients, colleagues, themselves, the profession, and broader society to challenge injustice and pursue social change (NASW, 2008). CRT supports this charge by drawing attention to racial injustice in a so-called postracial America and providing an analytic, action-oriented framework for recognizing and mitigating institutional racism. We encourage social work practitioners, educators, and researchers to embrace CRT and explore ways in which this lens may improve self-awareness, increase dialogue related to structural forces that perpetuate racial disparities and inequality, and encourage movement from dialogue toward social action and change.

References

- Abrams, L. S., & Moio, J. A. (2009). Critical race theory and the cultural competence dilemma in social work education. *Journal* of Social Work Education, 45, 245–261.
- Appelbaum, L. (2001). The influence of perceived deservingness on policy decisions regarding aid to the poor. *Political Psychology*, 22, 419–442.
- Appell, A. R. (1997). Protecting children or punishing mothers: Gender, race, and class in the child protection system. South Carolina Law Review, 48, 577-614.
- Ashton, V. (2004). Does ethnicity matter? Social workers' personal attitudes and professional behaviors in responding to child maltreatment. Advances in Social Work, 11, 129–143.
- Bane, M. J., & Ellwood, D. T. (1996). Welfare realities: From rhetoric to reform. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Barth, R. P., Lloyd, E. C., Christ, S. L., Chapman, M. V., & Dickinson, N. S. (2008). Child welfare worker characteristics and job satisfaction: A national study. Social Work, 53, 199–209.
- Bell, D. A. (1980). Brown v. Board of Education and the interestconvergence dilemma. Harvard Law Review, 93, 518-533.
- Bell, D. A. (1987). And we are not saved: The elusive quest for racial justice. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Bell, D. A. (1992). Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Bell, D. A. (1995). Who's afraid of critical race theory? University of Illinois Law Review, (1995)4, 893-910.
- Calmore, J. (1992). Critical race theory, Archie Shepp, and fire music: Securing an authentic intellectual life in a multicultural world. Southern California Law Review, 65, 2129–2231.
- Cancian, M., Meyer, D., & Wu, C. (2005). After the revolution: Welfare patterns since TANF implementation. Social Work Review, 29, 199-214.
- Child Welfare League of America. (2003). Children of color in the child welfare system: Overview, vision, and proposed action steps. Washington, DC: Author.
- Clarke, J. (2012). Beyond child protection: Afro-Caribbean service users of child welfare. *Journal of Progressive Human Services*, 23, 223-257.
- Colman, R., Kim, D. H., Mitchell-Herzfeld, S., & Shady, T. A. (2008). Long-term consequences of delinquency: Child maltreatment and crime in early adulthood. U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/226577.pdf
- Constance-Huggins, M. (2012). Critical race theory in social work education: A framework for addressing racial disparities.

 Critical Social Work, 13, 1-16.
- DeCuir, J. T., & Dixson, A. D. (2004). "So when it comes out, they aren't surprised that it is there": Using critical race theory as a tool of analysis of race and racism in education. *Educational Researcher*, 33, 26–31.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2012). Critical race theory: An introduction (2nd ed.). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Diala, C., Muntaner, C., Walrath, C., Nickerson, K. J., LaVeist, T. A., & Leaf, P. J. (2000). Racial differences in attitudes toward professional mental health care and in the use of services. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 70, 455-464.
- Fallon, B., MacLaurin, B., Trocmé, N., & Felstiner, C. (2003). A national profile of child protection workers. In K. Kufeldt & B. McKenzie (Eds.), Child welfare: Connecting research, policy, and practice (pp. 41-52). Waterloo, ON, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Font, S. A. (2013). Service referral patterns among black and white families involved with child welfare services. *Journal of Public Child Welfare*, 7, 370–391.
- Freeman, A. D. (1977). Legitimizing racial discrimination through antidiscrimination law: A critical review of Supreme Court doctrine. Minnesota Law Review, 62, 1049–1120.

- Gil, D. G. (1998). Confronting injustice and oppression: Concepts and strategies for social workers. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Gooden, S. (2007). Addressing racial disparities in social welfare programs. *Journal of Health & Social Policy*, 22, 1-12.
- Gotanda, N. (1991). A critique of "Our constitution is color-blind." Stanford Law Review, 44, 1-68.
- Harris, C. I. (1995). Whiteness as property. In K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller, & K. Thomas (Eds.), Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement (pp. 357-383). New York, NY: The New Press.
- Hill, R. B. (2006). Synthesis of research on disproportionality in child welfare: An update. Casey-CSSP Alliance for Racial Equality in the Child Welfare System. Retrieved from http://www.cssp.org/ reform/child-welfare/other-resources/synthesis-of-research-ondisproportionality-robert-hill.pdf
- King, S. (2011). The family law canon in a (post?) racial era. Ohio State Law Journal, 72, 575-644.
- Koerin, B. (2003). The settlement house tradition: Current trends and future concerns. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 30, 53-68.
- Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. F., IV. (1995). Toward a critical race theory in education. Teachers College Record, 97, 47–68.
- Lee, E. (2010). Revisioning cultural competencies in clinical social work practice. Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services, 91, 272–279.
- Martin, M. C., & Caminada, K. (2011). Welfare reform in the U.S.: A policy overview analysis. *Poverty and Public Policy*, 3, 1-40.
- Matsuda, M. (1991). Voices of America: Accent, antidiscrimination law, and a jurisprudence for the last reconstruction. Yale Law Journal, 100, 1329-1407.
- McIntosh, P. (1989, July/August). White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. *Peace and Freedom*, 10–12.
- Miranda, J., Bernal, G., Lau, A., Kohn, L., Hwang, W. C., & LaFromboise, T. (2005). State of the science on psychosocial interventions for ethnic minorities. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, 1, 113-142.
- National Association of Social Workers. (2008). Code of Ethics of the National Association of Social Workers. Washington, DC: NASW Press.
- Neubeck, K., & Cazenave, N. (2001). Welfare racism: Playing the race card against America's poor. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Nybell, L. M., & Gray, S. S. (2004). Race, place, space: Meanings of cultural competence in three child welfare agencies. Social Work, 49, 17–26.
- Ortiz, L., & Jani, J. (2010). Critical race theory: A transformational model for teaching diversity. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 46, 175-193.
- Pascoe, E. A., & Smart Richman, L. (2009). Perceived discrimination and health: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 135, 531-554
- Pew Commission on Children in Foster Care. (2004). Fostering the future: Safety, permanence, and well-being for children in foster care. Retrieved from http://www.pewtrusts.org/~/media/legacy/uploadedfiles/phg/content_level_pages/reports/0012pdf.pdf
- Rank, M. R., & Hirschl, T. A. (2002). Welfare use as a life course event: Towards a new understanding of America's safety net. Social Work, 47, 237–248.
- Roberts, D. (2002). Shattered bonds: The color of child welfare. New York, NY: Basic Civitas Books.
- Sanger, M. B. (2003). The welfare marketplace: Privatization and welfare reform. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Sargent, S. (2011). Trapped in legal discourse: Transracial adoption in the United States and England. The Denning Law Journal, 23, 131-162.

- Sarri, R. C., & Finn, J. (1992). Child welfare policy and practice: Rethinking the history of our certainties. Children and Youth Services Review, 14, 219-236.
- Schram, S. (2005). Contextualizing racial disparities in American welfare reform: Toward a new poverty research. Perspectives on Politics, 3, 253–268.
- Sedlak, A. J., & Schultz, D. (2001). Race differences in child protective services investigation of abuse and neglected children. Paper presented at the Race Matters Forum, Chevy Chase, MD.
- Snowden, L. R. (2003). Bias in mental health assessment and intervention: Theory and evidence. American Journal of Public Health, 93, 239-243.
- Sue, S., Zane, N., & Young, K. (1994). Research on psychotherapy with culturally diverse populations. In A. E. Bergin & S. L. Garfield (Eds.), Handbook of Psychotherapy and Behavior Change (4th ed.; pp. 783–817). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons. Inc.
- Taylor, M. J., & Barusch, A. S. (2004). Personal, family, and multiple barriers of long-term welfare recipients. Social Work, 49, 175-183
- Trusty, J., Davis, P. E., & Looby, E. J. (2002). Historical context of multiculturalism in the United States. In J. Trusty, E. J. Looby, & D. S. Sandhu (Eds.), Multicultural counseling: Context, theory and practice, and competence. Huntington, NY: Nova Publishers.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2012). U.S. Census Bureau projections show a slower growing, older, more diverse nation a half century from now [Newsroom]. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/population/cb12-243.html
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (2001). Mental health: Culture, race, and ethnicity—A supplement to Mental health: A report of the Surgeon General. Rockville, MD: Author.
- U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Ways and Means. (2008). 2008 Green Book. Retrieved from http://democrats. waysandmeans.house.gov/sites/democrats.waysandmeans. house.gov/files/documents/tanf.pdf
- Wang, P. S., Berglund, P., & Kessler, R. C. (2001). Recent care of common mental disorders in the United States: Prevalence and conformance with evidence-based recommendations. *Journal* of General Internal Medicine, 15, 284-292.
- Weissman, M. M., Verdeli, H., Gameroff, M. J., Bledsoe, S. E., Betts, K., Mufson, L.,...Wickramartne, P. (2006). National survey of psychotherapy training in psychiatry, psychology, and social work. Archives of General Psychiatry, 63, 925-934.
- White, C. (2006). Federally mandated destruction of the black family: The adoption and safe families. *Northwestern Journal of Law and Social Policy, 1*, 303–337.
- Williams, F. (1987). Racism and the discipline of social policy: A critique of welfare theory. Critical Social Policy, 7, 4-29.
- Williams, D. R., & Williams-Morris, R. (2000). Racism and mental health: The African American experience. Ethnicity and Health, 5, 243–268.

Karen M. Kolivoski, PhD, MSW, postdoctoral fellow, University of Maryland. Addie Weaver, PhD, MSW, MPA, research investigator, University of Michigan. Monique Constance-Huggins, PhD, MSW, MPIA, assistant professor, Winthrop University. Correspondence: kkolivoski@ssw.umaryland.edu; University of Maryland School of Social Work, 525 West Redwood St., Baltimore, MD 21021.

Manuscript received: April 2, 2014 Revised: July 16, 2014 Accepted: September 9, 2014 Disposition editor: Susan E. Mason