

HOW TO BECOME ANTI- RACIST

Erasmus School of Social and Behavioural Sciences

Nella Rebero (586949)

Date: 23-06-2023 | Word count: 10570 | Supervisor: Bonnie French

Table of content

ABSTRACT 2

1. INTRODUCTION 3

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK..... 5

 2.1. *WHITENESS* 5

 2.2. *WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AND WHITE ANTI-RACISM (ALLIES)* 6

3. METHODOLOGY 10

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS 12

 4.1. *CHILDHOOD* 13

 4.2. *EDUCATION* 15

 4.3. *TRAVEL* 17

 4.4. *ADULT COMMUNITIES* 20

5. CONCLUSION 23

BIBLIOGRAPHY 26

APPENDIX 30

 PRIVACY AND ETHICS CHECKLIST 30

Abstract

This report illustrates the white racial identity development of American self-identified white antiracists and how they make sense of race, racism, and their own racial identity. Identity formation is a continuous process, white racial identity formation is described by authors as a sense of group collective identity based on the perception that a person shares a common racial heritage with a group. This identity development stems from belief systems that change in reaction to perceived differential group membership. Within this paper, the moments that the individuals became aware of race, racial differences, and racism is reported. These moments are turning points which happened in different life phases of the respondents. Such as their childhood, education, travelling and their adult communities. Turning points were often triggered through experiences the individuals had with race and racism, e.g., by being marginalised themselves and interacting with people of colour, activists, and family members. Turning points in earlier stages of their life influenced the choices they made later in life regarding, among other things, what school to go to, with whom to associate and where they wanted to be employed. A qualitative grounded theory approach is applied to examine the case of 20 self-identified white anti-racists in America. In doing so this report will be a contribution to our understanding of white racial identity formation in relation to becoming an anti-racist.

White racial identity development – Racism – Anti-racism – Turning points

1. Introduction

In his book “How To Be an Antiracist”, Kendi (2019) states that to create an equal society one must put an effort into making unbiased choices and should be an antiracist in all aspects of their life. In June 2020, millions of Instagram users decided to post a black square as a depiction of solidarity with the Black Lives Matter Movement (BLM) (Wellman, 2022), this moment was called #BlackoutTuesday (Hassan, 2022). Millions of people, organisations, and brands from all over the world showed their support by posting this black square due to the murders of Black people that happened in the United States (US) (Hassan, 2022; Wellman, 2022). In the US, institutional racism leads to severe inequalities in, for example, the US criminal justice system, the US labour market and health care, with dire consequences. The murders of Black people by the police are just a few of many examples (Carvalho & Mizael & Sampaio, 2021; Elias & Paradies, 2021; Mitchell, 2021). However, one can argue that #BlackoutTuesday and the squares posted by the millions of people are not necessarily the antiracist behaviour that Kendi describes but can be seen as performative allyship/activism (Hassan, 2022). As only posting a black square can be perceived as an empty and performative statement instead of a valid act to display solidarity with the black individuals suffering (Love, 2021).

While one of the purposes of BLM was to educate people on racism and to join in solidarity to tackle it, it did not necessarily have an effect in changing the “black square posting” individuals into becoming an ally against racism, and the unequal treatment of people of colour (Love, 2021; Hassan, 2022; Wellman, 2022). Even though institutional racism is a salient issue, not all white (American) individuals are aware of their white privileged racial position. White Americans have several advantages they can enjoy due to institutional racism but rarely question them or think about them in relation to their racial background (Holmes et al., 2020; Williams, Faber, Nepton & Ching, 2023). Researchers argue that this “unawareness” of the effect of white skin colour is because *whiteness* and is normalised and invisible in US society (Michael & Conger, 2009; Searle & Muller, 2019; Vadeboncoeur & Bopp, 2019). This leads to the following research question, *how do self-identified white anti-racist Americans make sense of their racial identity, their commitment to anti-racist social justice practices, and their racialised experiences?*

Within this study, the aim is to identify the racial identity formation of self-identified white Americans in the US in relation to their commitment to anti-racist social justice practices. This will be done by making the invisibility of whiteness visible, and by analysing how the individuals make sense of race, racism and their own racial identity. Furthermore, white (anti-

racist) racial identity development and the responsibilities of both social and racial justice by white individuals will be studied. This thesis aims to contribute to the already existing literature on white racial identity development. The thesis starts off with a theoretical framework which reviews the concepts of *whiteness*, *white racial identity development* and *white anti-racism (allies)*. The framework is followed by a description of the qualitative grounded theory methodology which was used to conduct the research. In that chapter, the method, sample, data (collection), ethics, validity, reliability, and positionality of the researcher are illustrated. The thesis ends with a description of the findings, the analysis, and the conclusion.

2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter consists of a scoping review of the concepts of *whiteness*, *white racial identity development*, and *white anti-racism (allies)*. By analysing these concepts, the theoretical framework provides a clear focus and organises this study. The three concepts are sensitized to have background ideas that aid in answering the research problem. Sensitizing concepts offer certain ways of seeing, organizing, and understanding experiences, in this case, white American anti-racist allies and their racial identity formation (Bowen, 2006). Due to the methods of the thesis being based on grounded theory (i.e., a new theory will be created, or it will contribute to existing theory), the theoretical framework is of an exploratory and inductive nature (Tie & Birks & Francis, 2019).

2.1. Whiteness

To be able to study *whiteness*, one must first understand what it means. The Portland Community College (2023) describes *whiteness* as the construction of the white race and refers to the construction of white culture and the system of privileges and advantages that come with it. Searle and Muller (2019) argue that *whiteness* is “*a set of habits, attitudes, and behaviours stemming from constructions of race produced by Social Darwinism, race science and colonial and orientalist discourses*” (p. 413). Whiteness has been produced historically, socially, politically, and culturally and is linked to relations of domination (Searle & Muller, 2019, p. 413). Whiteness is institutionalised and therefore legitimates the privileged white ways of knowing, and is structurally ingrained into, for example, institutions, research, and relationships (Searle & Muller, 2019; Portland Community College, 2023). Studying whiteness enables researchers to critique Western sovereignty and the “objective” and universal values of Western science, it allows researchers to analyse white racial identity and its development (Searle & Muller, 2019) and locates responsibilities for social oppression and the systems of racial privilege with white people in the United States (Todd & Abrams, 2011).

In America, white individuals are socialised according to the biases, stereotypes, and racist attitudes of their society. Due to ‘white culture’ being the dominant cultural norm, they are situated in a society that exposes them to ethnocentric monoculturalism, meaning that there is a belief that their group, cultural heritage, values, beliefs, and traditions are superior. Because of this, their whiteness and its effect are “normalised” and invisible (Vadeboncoeur & Bopp, 2019). Through this invisibility, Whiteness is maintained, and (white) individuals often see racism and racial hierarchies as normal (Michael & Conger, 2009; Searle & Muller, 2019).

Todd & Abrams (2011) provided a framework for *whiteness and a sense of self* within their model on white dialectics. *Dialectics* are the tensions created due to being the dominant racial group, in this case, white Americans. Whiteness and a sense of self is the dialectic that illustrates how a white individual links their sense of self to their social location as a white individual. On the one hand, the individual can be aware of and identifies with being white on the other hand they can be in denial or unaware of being white and its implications (Todd & Abrams, 2011).

Important to acknowledge is that race and racism do not only shape the lives of people of colour, but it also shapes white lives (Searle & Muller, 2019). Whiteness “*shapes political, legal, educational, and economic structures, systems, and institutions through culture, beliefs, values, and history ... it shapes the perceptions of the self, others, and the world*” (Searle & Muller, 2019, p. 414). Even though it is invisible and hatred towards other races is rejected, whiteness and its effects continue to this day, particularly when white people do not acknowledge how they benefit from their whiteness (Searle & Muller, 2019).

2.2. *White racial identity development and white anti-racism (allies)*

In America, white individuals experience tensions due to being the dominant group. As mentioned before, Todd and Abrams (2011) call these tensions *white dialectics*. Because of this imbalance in power white identities turn out to be complex, fractured, and full of contradictions (Todd & Abrams, 2011). Tatum (1992) describes racial identity and racial identity development as “*a sense of group or collective identity based on one’s perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group ... racial identity development theory concerns the psychological implications of racial-group membership, that is belief systems that evolve in reaction to perceived differential racial-group membership*” (p. 9). White people tend to deny and repress the meaning of race, Helms (1993) argues that for white people to develop a healthy white racial identity in a racist society they must become aware of how racism works to their advantage. Additionally, white people should also try to not be racist to be able to create a positive nonracist definition of whiteness (p. 241).

The White Racial Identity Development model (WRID) by Janet Helms (Tatum, 1992; Helms, 1993), is one of the racial identity models most often used in research and teaching (Malott et al., 2021). However, due to the scarcity of empirical evidence and theory about whiteness and the experiences of white antiracist individuals, identity researchers often scrutinize and are sceptical of the model (Malott et al., 2021). The WRID model consists of six stages: *contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudo-independent, immersion/emersion* and

autonomy (Tatum, 1992, p. 13). In the context of this research, the model can be used as an example to analyse the racial identity development of white Americans, specifically the last stage, *autonomy*. Within the WRID model, an individual can go back and forth between the stages, does not necessarily go through every single stage and can be in multiple stages simultaneously. This depends on the result of new encounter experiences (Tatum, 1992; Todd & Abrams; 2011; Malott et al., 2021), on their personal identity (i.e., a person's cognitive processes), and the (racial) environments in which the individual has interactions with different groups of people (Helms, 1993; Todd & Abrams; 2011). According to the WRID model an individual goes from being unaware of whiteness and racial issues to consciousness and commitment to antiracist actions and lifestyles (Malott, 2021).

The first stage, *contact*, is the stage where the individual is not aware of their white privilege and has a lack of awareness of cultural and institutional racism. This stage often goes together with stereotyping of people from different racial backgrounds, naïve curiosity, and a fear of people of colour (Tatum, 1992, p. 14). In the second stage, *disintegration*, individuals become more aware of the advantages of being white and acknowledge the role that white individuals have in maintaining racist systems. Within this stage individuals often feel negative emotions such as shame, anger, and guilt. Which can lead to denial of *whiteness* and racism or to convincing people within their social circle to change their attitudes towards people of colour (Tatum, 1992, p. 13-15). The third stage, *reintegration*, is when individuals want to be accepted within their own racial group, a group where there is a belief in white superiority, which leads to a change in the individuals' beliefs and where they start to accept racism. Within this stage, an individual can experience feelings of guilt and anxiety which result in anger and fear towards people of colour, who are "at fault" for making the white individuals feel this way (Tatum, 1992, p. 15). The fourth stage, *Pseudo-Independent*, is when individuals do not believe in white superiority. However, they can still, unknowingly, act in ways that maintain this system. Typical for this stage is that individuals feel alienated from white people who have not begun to scrutinize their own racism and they try to connect with people of colour (Tatum, 1992, p. 16). The fifth stage, *Immersion/Emersion*, is characterised by the individual looking for a new and more comfortable way of being white. In this stage, the individual tries to replace myths and stereotypes related to race with accurate information about the meaning of being white (in the US society) (Tatum, 1992).

The last stage is *Autonomy*, where individuals undergo the internalization of a (new) sense of self as a white person and are open to new information and new ways of thinking about race and culture-related aspects (Tatum, 1992). The individual has positive feelings towards

their new sense of self which motivate them to challenge racism and oppression in their daily life, this can be linked to anti-racist behaviour (Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2021). Researchers argue that *white anti-racism individuals (allies)* display behaviour that intentionally, strategically, and constantly aims to dismantle racism. They are individuals who are allies to people of colour and who strive to challenge other white individuals' racist thoughts, beliefs, and actions. They speak up against systems of oppression and challenge others to do the same (Boutte & Jackson, 2014; Malott et al., 2015). Additionally, white anti-racists know that their whiteness and the privilege that comes with it provide additional power and influence on their anti-racist actions (Malott et al., 2015, p. 333).

According to O'Brien (2001), there are three possible explanations as to why white individuals become anti-racists and thus can enter the last phase of the WRID model, *autonomy* (Tatum, 1992). The first explanation is *anti-racist networks* these could be activists' groups, family, and friends. The second is developing *empathy* for people of colour. These forms of empathy are subdivided into three categories. The first category is *overlapping approximations* where a white person has experienced a form of marginalization themselves through which they can empathise with persons of colour experiencing racism. The second form of empathy is called *borrowed approximations* through which a white individual becomes aware of race and racism through stories of persons of colour or by seeing racism happening to a person of colour. The last form of empathy is called *global approximations* where even though white individuals do not necessarily have ties with people of colour, they see racism as an unfair crime against humanity and as wrong (O'Brien, 2001, p. 17-18). The last explanation, is a particular event or a *turning point* in a white individual's life that turned them into an anti-racist. This is a moment in a white individual's life when they were (for the first time) informed on race and racism. This did not necessarily turn them into an anti-racist immediately, however, it did influence them into becoming one later in life. Within this paper the focus is on *turning points*, the moments one becomes aware of race and racism. These turning points can be influenced through forms of *empathy* and through the influence of *activist networks*. These three explanations can happen simultaneously and/or at different points in a white individual's life (O'Brien, 2001, p. 17-37).

As mentioned before, there is limited empirical evidence and theory on whiteness and white anti-racism identifications. Researchers have critiqued the WRID model stating that there is a lack of descriptions of the behaviour, experiences, lifestyles, and perceptions of white people (Malott et al., 2021). Additionally, researchers state that instead of defining and experiencing their own identities the model highlights how white people develop perspectives

towards people of colour (Malott et al., 2021). There is a need for a realistic model of how white people who are anti-racist engage in and make sense of the world. It is important to know, e.g., aspects of their lifestyle, their day-to-day activities, their relationships with others and possible reasons as to why they've become anti-racist (Malott et al., 2015, p. 333). Moreover, focusing on *whiteness*, *white racial identity development* and *white antiracism (allies)* can aid to inform intervention with white individuals to develop critical race consciousness and antiracist behaviour (Todd & Abrams, 2011). Attaining more empirical evidence on this matter could support or be an addition to the already existing WRID model and enhance the understanding of the white anti-racist racial identity development of white individuals (Malott et al., 2021).

3. Methodology

As mentioned before, a grounded theory method has been chosen, which is a qualitative research approach. With grounded theory either a new theory will be created, or the study will contribute to an existing theory (i.e., the WRID model) (Bryant & Charmaz, 2019; Tie & Birks & Francis, 2019). Researchers argue that grounded theory is a powerful method for conducting a social justice study, as this method is flexible, systemic, and comparative and constructs theory from data that supports studying both social and social psychological processes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017; Denzin, 2019). Most important is the commitment to remain close to the world that is being studied, and at the same time to develop integrated theoretical data that will be “*grounded in the data that show process, relationship, and social world connectedness*” (Denzin, 2019, p. 3). The goal of grounded theory is data-grounded theorizing. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, instead of just using a formal or classical theory, the three concepts of *whiteness*, *white racial identity development* and *white anti-racism (allies)* have been sensitized, and a scoping review has been done. Built on a foundation of these key theoretical perspectives, the data was analysed by moving back and forth between the empirical materials and the ways of thinking about them, in this case, the way they are described in the theoretical framework (Denzin, 2019).

Data collection, sampling, analysis, limitations, and ethics

The data used is existing data from 20 interviews that were conducted over Zoom between June 2021 and February 2022 with both video and audio recorded by Dr. Bonnie French. The respondents, who were recruited through snowball sampling, were American self-identified white anti-racists who have all given consent to the recordings of the interviews both verbally and written. Additionally, the ethics committee of the ESSB approved Frenchs’ research and interviews before the start of my thesis. These interviews are loosely structured and highly narrative, meaning the respondents were storytellers (Bryant & Charmaz, 2019). The interviews are analysed and coded with the use of the software Atlas.TI. The transcripts of the interviews are stored in both Atlas.TI and OneDrive.

Birks and Mills (2019) argue that narratives in the form of stories, also collected from existing data, can be examined through analytical techniques to generate theory, and stories are often used to generate data and disseminate findings. Additionally, they illustrate storylines as “*advanced analytical techniques used in grounded theory research for the purpose of both integrating and articulating theory*” (Birks & Mills, 2019, p. 2). In the interviews, the

respondents talk about their racial identity development towards being white anti-racists, they do this by describing e.g., their childhoods, past, and present reality. An advantage of narrative interviewing is that it creates a better understanding of the experiences and behaviours of people (Anderson & Kirkpatrick, 2016).

Grounded theory has a limitation in that it is a tricky method. The method, since it is a theory construction, is always nuanced. Due to its nuanced nature, others, who do not agree with the research, might be able to use this limitation as a justification to disrupt the agenda of social justice that will form on this “tricky” ground (Denzin, 2019, p.8).

Validity and reliability

To increase the validity and reliability of the research during the coding process the technique of Strauss and Corbin (open, axial, and selective coding) was used together with the method of constant comparison of incidents by Glaser and Strauss which are both mentioned in the book of Bryant and Charmaz (2019). Through the constant comparison of incidents, the validity and reliability of the coding were kept in mind. The codes were integrated into a codebook to which the researchers could always refer, with clear definitions, and inclusion- and exclusion criteria (Belgrave & Seide, 2019, p.5). Both the open, axial, selective coding, and the constant comparison of incidents in the book of Bryant and Charmaz (2019) are established methods which help to increase reproducibility and reliability. Furthermore, analysis and coding of the interviews was done with two other researchers, Dr. Bonnie French, and her research assistant, this adds to the intercoder reliability (O'Connor & Joffe, 2020).

Positionality

It is essential to constantly self-reflect during the research. Reflexivity can be understood as continuously turning back on one's own experiences, bias, and position, which influences the interpretation of the data and how the research is conducted. Additionally, the research results will depend on the time, place, and context they resulted from (Mruck & Mey, 2019). As a biracial black female who has had her own experiences with (anti-)racism and race, I viewed the data and the respondents' answers through a different lens than for example a white researcher would. While analysing the data I had to keep my own positionality and bias in mind. This meant that I had to consider my “*professional background and personal involvement, my prejudice, fears, emotional, mental and physical reactions*” (Mruck & Mey, 2019, p. 4). As Mruck and Mey (2019) have quoted Fleck, “*there is no isolated researcher, no a-historic, no style-free observation possible at all*” (p. 3).

4. Findings and analysis

This chapter presents the findings and analysis that illustrate the *turning points* of the respondents. These are the moments in their lives when they became aware of race, racism, and their own racial identity. It depicts possible events in different life phases that have aided in their identification as anti-racists later in life. These findings will be used to answer the following research question:

How do self-identified white anti-racist Americans make sense of their racial identity, their commitment to anti-racist social justice practices, and their racialised experiences?

These events, *turning points*, happened during different phases in the lives of the respondents. It starts with *turning points* that occurred during events in the *childhood* of respondents. During this life phase an awareness of race and racism occurred by, for example, moving to a different neighbourhood or through the influence of their family. The second life phase is *education*, e.g., college. The third life phase is called *travel*, which focuses on events that created turning points during their travels. The last phase is called *adult communities* a phase when the individuals are adults and experience turning points at an older age, e.g., at their workplace. It is possible that one individual can experience multiple turning points in various life phases.

The findings are analysed with the help of the theory in the theoretical framework. The focus is on O'Brien's (2001) theory of three possible explanations for why respondents turn out to be anti-racist, specifically, the explanation *turning points*. *Turning points* are the moments respondents gain an awareness of race and racism. However, turning points can be influenced by two other explanations called, *empathy*, and *anti-racist networks* (O'Brien, 2001). First, *empathy* is subdivided into three approximations. The first one is when the white individuals are influenced by stories they hear from others on race and racism, or when they see racism happening to others (borrowed approximations), the second one is when they are experiencing forms of marginalization themselves (overlapping approximations) and lastly turning points can be influenced by their norms and values regarding racism and other injustices (global approximations). Secondly, *anti-racist networks* are the network of e.g., family and friends of individuals that are already striving for social and racial justice and who partake in anti-racist

practices (O'Brien, 2001). The analysis of the findings will be illustrated in chronological order starting with the childhood phase which is followed by school, travel, and employment.

4.1. Childhood

The self-identified white anti-racist individuals became aware of race and racism at different moments in their life. This analysis starts off with the life phase when the turning points happened at a young age called, childhood. In this phase, the respondents started to become aware of race and racial injustices through events that they experienced as children. An example is Beth, who lived in a white household in a neighbourhood which she described as predominantly white until one day a black family moved in. Her sister started to hang out and have a relationship with one of the boys of that black family, with the disapproval of her own family. Beth described this experience and the reaction of her family in the following quote:

“I remember, in high school, we lived in a very privileged upper middle class cul de sac in Rochester, New York, and there was one black family there. And I remember my sister, my older sister, had a crush on one of the guys who was a black guy in that family. And my stepfather said that she couldn't date him, so they had to sneak around and. It wasn't spoken overtly, but I knew in my gut it was because he was black.” (Beth, 60 years old)

Beth started questioning the actions of her sister and the reaction of her family at a very young age, becoming aware of the mistreatment of the black boy by her stepfather and understanding that it was due to the boy's race. While this event can be defined as a *turning point*, a moment when she became aware of race and racial differences, this event was triggered by seeing the racism of her own family towards the black boy. This could also be described as a form of empathy called *borrowed approximation* (O'Brien, 2001). Seeing, at a young age, that their family is being racist can create racial awareness during childhood. In addition, having a family that is the opposite of racist can do the same. Such as Ella who described being 7 years old when her sister was part of an activist movement called the Black Panthers which strived for social justice. Ella's example illustrates the involvement of her *anti-racist network* in obtaining her awareness of race and racism (O'Brien, 2001). Like Beth, George illustrated a moment in his childhood that triggered racial awareness by encountering and interacting with black individuals in his neighbourhood. However, before interacting with those individuals George's parents had already created a certain belief system of race for him. His parents believed and

directly explained to him that they viewed people as people regardless of the colour of their skin. In the following quote, George describes how and why he started to develop a different understanding from his parents:

“and my parents did a reasonably good job of making it clear to me that I didn't have to qualify speaking about black people or at that time, Negro people as Negro people, they were just people. And so I got the idea that they were just people like me who just had different coloured skin. And then I got and then we moved to a new neighbourhood and an integrated school district. And then I found out very quickly that black kids were not just like me with dark skin. They were actually really, really different from me. Their whole experience, frame of reference, everything was really, really different. And not only was it difficult for me to make any connection with them, but they were kind of hostile toward me. And I got the impression that they understood something about me that I didn't understand about myself, which was true. (George, 60 years old)

The parents of George wanted him, as a child, to just see people as people regardless of the colour of their skin. In other words, the parents seemed to *neutralise* skin colour, as having no effect, they were colour-blind. As if black skin and white skin are seemingly the same and there is no need to differentiate or acknowledge it. As several researchers argue, race and whiteness are socialised in America in such a way that their effects are “normalised” (Todd & Abrams, 2011; Searle & Muller, 2019; Vadeboncoeur & Bopp, 2019). However, George’s belief changed when he moved to a different neighbourhood and a different school where he started to interact with black students and started to become aware of and acknowledge their differences. He also experienced hostility from those children and came to realise that those black kids were quite different from white kids. He experienced a *turning point* while seeing how the black children were treated (*borrowed approximations*) and by experiencing hostility and being unable to make a connection with black children himself (*overlapping approximations*) (O’Brien, 2001). Another example of a childhood experience is that of Laura who describes that during her childhood her family had black individuals cleaning and taking care of her household:

“We belong to country clubs. We had a black woman come and clean our house and care for us. My brother and I and everyone did and there was a bus stop at the end of the street and all the black maids would be there morning and night, you know? And so when when I'm in trainings or workshops where that question is asked of like, what's your first memory of or

recognising that you were white, would be driving [CLEANER] home and my mom locking the doors as we literally crossed the tracks into [NEIGHBOURHOOD] And I didn't. I wasn't allowed to ask questions. I had so many questions.” (Laura, 43-year-old respondent)

As a child, Laura drove their black maid home with her white mother. She describes how she started to become aware of race, and her first memory of recognising she was white was when she saw her mother locking the doors of the car while driving through the neighbourhood of their employee. An action that one can assume was unlike what her mother would do in the neighbourhood they lived in, which, as Laura described earlier in the interview, was predominantly white. What is noticeable through the overlapping stories of the respondents who started to experience *turning points* during their childhood. Is that they either saw the differential treatment of their own family or of other white individuals towards people of colour. They also lived and interacted with mostly white individuals and by encountering black individuals started to gain an awareness of race and its effects. Furthermore, as a child, they did not know how to put a name to what was happening or were not allowed to ask questions as to why black individuals were treated in this way. However, in their gut, they knew it was wrong.

4.2. Education

While experiences in the childhood of the respondents triggered turning points, experiences during their life in school, for example, high school and college, triggered racial awareness events as well. Be it by interacting with students of colour within their school, the lack of diversity in the school, learning of racial injustice from textbooks or teachers who told them about (racial) injustices. An example is that of Simone who used to be one of the few white girls on a black hip-hop dance team in high school and explains that her experiences in that dance team and (segregated) high school racialized her as a white person:

“Yeah, totally. Most of my high school felt very like racialized because I was one of few white girls on what was like this black hip hop dance team. Like most dance teams in high school, I've been told around the country are like pompoms and like high kicks [Bonnie; laughs]. We just like, we just like shook our arses on the dance floor [...] And so I was like one of the white girls. So that like was my racialization as a white person [laughs] [...] different races would show up to the dances, but it was like the white board and the black board, which was just like, at this point, it's comical like that. If that's not a representation of [school], I just don't know what it is. It's like there's something for everyone, but it's kind of separate. It's like, Bonnie:

[laughs] Oh, okay. R3: And maybe that's like too critical. But uhm I remember, like thinking it was both bizarre and sort of funny at the time. I was like God, this is so weird [...] So so I just remember like that was like a very both the the dance team and the dances were like two very explicit moments where I was like, Oh, this is a weird world we live in [laughs]." (Simone, 33 years old)

Within her dance team in high school, there were but a few white girls and by interacting with black individuals Simone became aware of her race and that of others. She calls the experience *her racialisation as a white person*. In the second part of the quote, she describes another experience in that same high school, the dances, which in the rest of the interview she explains are *balls* which were segregated in accordance with race, and thus there was a black ball and a white ball. Being in a “black” dance team as a white girl Simone found the balls being divided up based on race a “weird” occurrence. Due to attending such a racially diverse school, Simone describes, later in her interview, how she preferred going to a college that was racially diverse as well. Besides gaining an awareness of race and racial differences in high schools, such as Simone and George’s story (depicted under the heading “childhood”), respondents illustrated how they gained awareness through various experiences in college. Such as Sara who describes gaining her *consciousness* at school in the following quote:

“So where did my where did my consciousness come from? I went to college also at a very white school in Indiana, but I was a peace studies major. So I was around all these like really like idealistic hippy dippy mostly. Kids might have been a couple of kids of colour in that programme, but not very many, and and we had some great professors who had, like the head of the programme, had been very active in the civil rights movement and had, you know, gone south for Freedom Summer and done lots of, like voting rights stuff during the civil rights movement. And so, you know, so we I mean, we're talking about social movements in general through the course of study. That's what we're that's what we're learning from and talking about. And it was a lot of it was peace studies. It was a lot of talk about like military and militarism. But we also talked about, you know, political, economy and and social sociology and and different social movements in different countries as well. So there was a large awakening in those four years of college was a big awakening just to like the bigger world and issues of injustice and oppression and just really like seeking justice.” (Sara, 40 years old)

What the quote by Sara illustrates is how an *anti-racist network* can trigger *turning points* for white individuals. The professors in the peace studies programme had been active in the civil

rights movement and through following their course and interacting with them, Sara explains gaining awareness for social justice-related topics and topics related to oppression. Events such as these triggered through an anti-racist network, are what O'Brien (2001) describes as reasons why white individuals become anti-racist later in life. While Sara described how she was taught about issues of (social) injustices by the teachers, Erica talked about becoming aware of racial differences in her classroom when students looked at only the black students in the class when the topic of slavery was discussed, and slave ships were depicted in their textbooks. Not only did she notice that the white students reacted this way towards the black students, but she also saw how the teacher focused their attention only towards the black students. White individuals such as Simone and Erica experienced their turning points by interacting with black individuals and/or by being a minority within, for example, a dance team themselves. While individuals such as Sara gained racial and social justice awareness by interacting with individuals who already have such awareness and by being informed by them. Hearing stories of racial injustice and seeing the differential treatment of people based on their race are reasons why white individuals gain an awareness and understanding of racial differences (O'Brien, 2001).

4.3. Travel

A third salient phase in the lives of self-identified white anti-racists was when they gained their racial awareness through travelling. The individuals illustrated how these travels resulted in different experiences such as, not fitting in and experiencing marginalization, hearing stories about the mistreatment of people of colour due to their race and/or seeing racism happening right in front of them. One of those 'travel' stories is the one of Mariella who moved around a lot, and during that time experienced several struggles herself as an immigrant. As a 4-year-old child, she moved to Barcelona with her family, she did not speak the language and was treated poorly by other kids in school since she could not speak Spanish. This was an event that triggered her awareness of racial injustice later in life as depicted in the following quote:

"Treated as a second-class citizen, you know, and and it was when I would move to a new city you know and I was the foreigner and I didn't speak the language, even as a very young four-year-old when we first moved to Madri-uh Barcelona. So, I don't remember my life in Paris [Bonnie: right] because I was too young. But in Barcelona, it was its marked in my head because my brother and I were so poorly treated by, you know, the the kids in school because we were the only English-speaking children in the school. And so that was sort of like, wow,

OK, I had to live with it for a few years, but I didn't have to live with that in my neighbourhood. When I came home, I didn't have to live with that. You know when I was with my family or vacationed with my family or or travelled. So, I became very aware that yes, I'd had this very difficult experience in school, but, and that it had deeply affected me to be, marginalized, was the word I wanted to look for.” (Mariella)

The story of Mariella not only relates to travel but also to a childhood and schooling experience she had that resulted in a *turning point* where she gained an awareness of racial differences. In Barcelona Mariella and her brother were treated poorly by the other kids in school, since they were the only English-speaking children. This hardship that she experienced of being excluded made her gain empathy for others who suffered racial injustices and helped her understand that she as a white individual has less of a chance to experience situations where she will be marginalised than persons of colour. Experiencing such hardships and forms of oppression can be described as *overlapping approximations*, which can trigger *turning points* in individuals that make them become aware of race, racism, and racial injustices (O'Brien, 2001), such as in the case of Mariella. Several other respondents described how their own experience of feeling marginalized influenced their empathy towards people of colour who are experiencing racism, as can be read in the following story by Erica who moved to Mexico for her studies:

So in my undergrad, I majored in Spanish and studied abroad in Mexico, and I think that's what it took for me to really think more about and to be a racial minority and to be and to see how racism functioned. Like seeing white dolls with blue eyes and blonde hair for sale and advertised plastered on toy store windows when nobody in the country or no like, I guess maybe a few folks that look like that. But but but the majority of people don't don't look like that at all. And and yeah, and starting to think about like the pain that that that that inflicts on children of all people. (Erica, 32 years old)

In Mexico, Erica started to become aware of race by becoming a racial minority herself and by seeing how racism functions. She saw children's dolls that were blonde with blue eyes in a country where the population was not a reflection of those dolls. Through her own experience of being a minority (O'Brien, 2001) and by seeing how whiteness is preferred Erica gained an awareness of race and its effects through her travels. Another story is that of Anna who explains how she travelled from America to Germany where she met her husband and later moved together with him to Houston, in America. Living in Houston was her first time living in the South of America, she started living in that city in the 60s back when it was still a Ku Klux

Klan town. While living in this town she had her first experience with black people and racial injustice, as illustrated in the following quote:

“any case we were very deeply involved with the anti-war movement by then and the civil rights movement that was going on at the time. And so, we had created a combination, a black-and-white organization and we were continually out doing this and doing that. And it was my first encounter with this kind of overt racism that I had not seen when I was growing up. I had never seen the kind of terrifying, you know, shoot in your house kind of lynch you kind of terrifying things that were going on. And so, it was a new thing for me to be associating with black people at all, this brand new to me. And I often will say that the. The kindness. And the patience of some black people with me, this this ignorant white girl was just astounding to look back on it.” (Anna)

As Anna describes moving to Houston was her first time living in the South, and the quote illustrates how it was also the first time being associated with black people. She had an experience of *overt racism*, which she describes as *terrifying*. She saw this form of racism first hand and it impacted her greatly, as *a young ignorant white girl*. However, she gained an awareness of race and racism through interacting with black people, who treated her with kindness, and through seeing the racial injustice they suffered. Later in the interview, Anna explains that she believes that if she hadn't moved to the South and seen the racism first-hand, she would have never become the anti-racist that she is today. As mentioned before, hearing these stories of racism, and seeing these experiences can be described as *borrowed approximations* which is a form of *empathy* through which, in the case of these respondents, they saw first-hand how black individuals were treated poorly or viewed as a minority based on their race. This made white individuals become aware of race and racism and turned them into anti-racists. Additionally, the marginalization they endured while travelling also created an awareness of the matter of race (O'Brien, 2001). They acknowledged the effects of different skin colours and whiteness, which was invisible to them before their experiences. Travelling to different countries, states, and regions enabled white individuals to experience their own marginalization, encounter individuals of different races and/or see racism happening first-hand.

4.4. Adult communities

The fourth phase in the life of the self-identified white anti-racists, is when they experienced events that served as turning points in their adult communities. Such as, where they volunteered, the church they go to or their place of work. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, turning points, empathy and the influence of anti-racist networks do not necessarily happen within one phase, one time or at separate moments in a person's life. The turning points that had happened during their childhood, schooling and travelling, influenced the decision the individuals made later in their life, for example, their choice of employment or, as mentioned under the heading "school", the college that they wanted to go to. As in the case of Simone who wanted to go to a racially diverse college due to the experiences she had, had in her childhood and high school. Mariella illustrated that during college and while travelling she encountered multiple people of colour, experienced marginalisation herself, and gained an awareness of racial differences. However, during her travels and at her college she was not yet aware of her own biases and the effects of her whiteness. Later in life, she had decided to become a teacher, and the experience she had as a teacher turned into another turning point where she gained an awareness of her own racial prejudice as illustrated in the following quote:

"And uh and then coming here and working at [SCHOOL] and really learning how to listen to like what other people had experienced, really opened my eyes to like what I did subconsciously, you know, like the typical white person who enjoys rap but turns the music down when driving through town. Bonnie: [laughs] Yep. R2: You know, even though that seemed like so ridiculous when I was thinking about it, I had to really admit to myself like, wow, [Bonnie: yeah [nods]], wow, why am I doing that? And it is this, that I had to really think about, how I didn't want to be perceived in a certain way because of the negative connotations that I myself had about black people or people of colour, and that was a real eye-opener to me." (Mariella)

What Mariella describes is how she was not aware of the negative connotations that she had of black people or people of colour until she worked as a teacher and started interacting with and hearing stories of the other teachers there. Her story is an example of similar interactions that other respondents had with colleagues or students of colour while they were working. Another example is that of Eva who was helping a black student as a teacher with reading. However, she started to realise that this black girl could read but did not understand what she was reading since she had never seen or experienced any of the things that were described in the literature.

This was the moment that she started to see the different experiences of the white and black students that she taught. While the jobs of the self-identified white anti-racist individuals have led to *turning points*, another reoccurring example was of *turning points* occurring at the church they volunteered-, worked at or visited. Such as the turning point that happened to Robbie who had moved to a different city and joined a Methodist church. This was a church which was predominantly white, but had assigned a black minister:

but they assigned a black minister and they just thought that was that this was a good church to try to do that. And I was I thought it was great at that point I didn't know that he'd have been assigned there and the church hadn't picked them. But and I guess some people left and that kind of thing, but that it all blown over by the time we were there. And he was just he and his family were just terrific. And it was just really wonderful. He had grown up. He had really grown up, dirt poor, raised by his grandmother. And he told all these stories during his sermons. [...] We got close to him, and at the same time, they were they had they did mission trips when they had started doing them again. And so, I started going on mission trips with them. And I went to Guatemala a number of times. I mean, I went to the Bahamas and locally did some stuff we went to after Katrina, and we went down there. And so, I think that was a big influence. And my kids grew up in the church. It was very family. We didn't have family in the area. So that was kind of our family. (Robbie)

As Robbie describes when the black minister was assigned to the church several people left due to unacceptance of this minister. In the interview Robbie, being a (white) immigrant himself, described how he was *oblivious* to race and racism due to the *white bubble* that he lived in. His interaction with the minister in the church and the stories he heard made him realise that there were injustices happening in the world which motivated him to join the minister on mission trips. During his travels he saw the hardships that people of other races had to endure which he described as *really a very eye-opening experience*. During their employment, volunteering and church visits the respondents interacted with people of colour, heard their stories, and saw their hardships. These interactions served as pivotal experiences which helped them gain an awareness and understanding of race, racism, and racial differences, otherwise known as, turning points (O'Brien, 2001).

In short, self-identified white anti-racists experienced turning points (e.g., moments where they became aware of race and racism) at different moments in their lives. In this research, the most salient phases were during their childhood, education, travels and lastly, in their adult

communities. These turning points were triggered by, among other things, interaction with persons of colour, professors and/or activists explaining race and racism. In some instances, they were influenced by seeing how people of colour were treated differently from them, or through their own feelings of marginalisation. O'Brien (2001) illustrates that turning points can be experienced out of itself or due to the influence of the already existing network of the individual, such as an anti-racist network, or due to forms of empathy they experience, such as their own marginalization (overlapping approximations) or by interactions with people of colour and/or seeing their marginalization (borrowed approximations). Thus, pivotal moments like these turning points serve as a starting point through which self-identified white anti-racists have developed their knowledge and awareness of race and racism.

5. Conclusion

This thesis focuses on the topic of white racial identity development. Specifically, the identity development of self-identified white anti-racist Americans. A grounded theory method was used and the sensitized concepts, *whiteness*, *white racial identity development* and *white anti-racism (allies)*, in the theoretical framework have aided in the analysis of the data. The guiding question of this paper is as follows:

How do self-identified white anti-racist Americans make sense of their racial identity, their commitment to anti-racist social justice practices, and their racialised experiences?

Self-identified white anti-racist Americans experienced pivotal moments in different phases of their lives where they became aware of race and racism. Within this paper, these events are called *turning points*. These are the moments through which the self-identified white anti-racist Americans gained a consciousness of racial issues and differential treatment based on race which served as starting points for their commitment to antiracist actions and lifestyles later in their lives (O'Brien, 2001). These turning points occurred during their childhood, education, while travelling and/or at their adult communities. In addition, the WRID model by Janet Helms (Tatum, 1992; Helms, 1993) states that individuals go through six phases before becoming anti-racist. Starting at the *contact stage*, this is when an individual is not yet aware of their white privilege and lack an awareness of cultural and institutional racism and ending at the last phase, *autonomy*, when the individuals partake in anti-racist practices (Tatum, 1992). Within these six phases white individuals either gain an understanding of differential treatment based on race which eventually leads to a better understanding of race and racism, or the opposite occurs, and they feel uncomfortable and rather ignore the topic, and therefore never enter the last stage of the WRID model (Tatum, 1992; Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2021). What the analysis of this data and O'Briens (2001) theory illustrates is that to become an anti-racist, and to enter the last stage of the WRID model, white individuals need to, in some way, encounter meaningful and impactful scenarios that make them become aware of race and racism, called *turning points*. Additionally, these turning points are paired with what O'Brien (2001) describes as *anti-racist networks*, people in the individuals' network who inform them about race and racism and *empathy*, by seeing racism first-hand, hearing about it or by being marginalized themselves. Through this, they can empathise with individuals who experience racism.

As in the case of these respondents turning points occurred due to different reasons in different life phases. In the *childhood phase*, the turning points that were salient were the *turning points* influenced by family members, who were either showing racist traits themselves or who were social activists. This made the respondent aware of the fact that people were treated differently due to the colour of their skin. Another example is when a black family moved into the neighbourhood, or when they had black employees working in their household, or at their country club. The self-identified white anti-racist then saw how these people were treated, either by their own family members, by others or by interacting with them themselves. However, some individuals did not experience such scenarios during their childhood but got their turning point at another moment in their life. Such as the second life phase in this report, *education*. During this period, the respondents started to interact with black students for the first time and experienced differential treatment from a front-row experience in school, e.g., high school and college. Additionally, they had teachers who inspired and triggered an awareness of racial injustices and differences by teaching them about such matters or had schoolbooks which illustrated content that created awareness. Another life phase, *travel*, is when the individuals started to go outside the bubble of where they lived and heard stories of people of colour, saw racism happening to persons of colour, experienced forms of marginalisation themselves and saw the effects of whiteness during their travels. Salient for this phase is the *empathy* that they themselves gained due to not fitting in and being marginalized. This provided them with a better understanding of mistreatment because of racial differences. The last phase, *employment*, is when individuals, at an older age, started to gain an awareness of their own racial biases, saw the differential treatment of others, and heard stories through which they gained an awareness of race and racial differences. In some cases, turning points, anti-racist networks and forms of empathy influenced their choice with regard to which school or college they wanted to attend or where they wished to work at a later stage in their life. Through these scenarios and during these different life phases, the individuals gained an awareness of race and racism. These moments were pivotal and impactful in such a way that they helped set their path of becoming anti-racist.

A common theme among all four phases is that the turning points were triggered by social interaction and involved other human beings. Be it people of colour explaining racial differences and racism, seeing racist actions happening, experiencing marginalization themselves, or activists and teachers explaining racial differences. Tatum (1992) describes how racial identity and racial identity development of individuals evolve in reaction to perceived

differential racial-group membership (p. 9). The self-identified white anti-racist Americans had gained a consciousness of race, racism, and racial identity within this perceived differential racial-group membership and through the interactions that followed. They are able to reflect on these *turning points*, which they remember vividly and can be interpreted as pivotal for their own racial identity development. They recognise the effects of race even though they, as white Americans, are socialised to believe that whiteness is neutral and that the benefits and disadvantages of different races should not be acknowledged and are invisible or rejected (Todd & Abrams, 2011; Searle & Muller, 2019; Vadeboncoeur & Bopp, 2019).

Lastly, due to the limited time frame in which this research has been conducted, it has not become clear if the individuals are truly anti-racists, or just identified as one themselves. Multiple researchers describe anti-racists as displaying behaviour that intentionally, strategically, and constantly aims to dismantle racism. Furthermore, anti-racists challenge other white individuals' racist thoughts, beliefs, and actions (Boutte & Jackson, 2014; Malott et al., 2015). Even though multiple respondents did acknowledge that they were aware of their whiteness and its privilege, power, and influence on anti-racist actions. Future research could be conducted on if such individuals are actively anti-racist, and analysis could be done to gain a better understanding of when someone can be classified as an anti-racist. In short, as several researchers argue, through its invisibility whiteness can be maintained and (white) individuals often see racism and racial hierarchies as normal (Michael & Conger, 2009; Searle & Muller, 2019). By keeping whiteness invisible, by normalising and denying its effects and by not acknowledging differential treatment because of race, racism can remain "invisible" and can continue to be rejected by white individuals (Todd & Abrams, 2011; Searle & Muller, 2019; Vadeboncoeur & Bopp, 2019). Inducing *turning points*, which can be triggered by respondents' own racial experiences and interactions with others, is a way to make the invisibility of whiteness and differential treatment based on race visible. And as mentioned before, studying whiteness, race and racism will enable researchers to critique Western sovereignty and the "objective" and universal values of western science. It allows researchers to analyse white racial identity and its development (Searle & Muller, 2019) and locate responsibilities with regards to social oppression and the systems of racial privilege with white people in the United States (Todd & Abrams, 2011).

Bibliography

- Anderson, C., & Kirkpatrick, S. (2016). Narrative interviewing. *International Journal of Clinical Pharmacy*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11096-015-0222-0>
- Belgrave, L., & Seide, K. (2019). Coding for Grounded Theory. In Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (Editors), *The SAGE handbook of current developments in grounded theory*. SAGE Publications Ltd, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526485656>
- Birks, M., & Mills, J. (2019). Rendering Analysis through Storyline. In Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (Editors), *The SAGE handbook of current developments in grounded Theory* (Chapter 12). SAGE Publications Ltd, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526485656>
- Boutte, G. S., & Jackson, T. O. (2014). Advice to white allies: Insights from faculty of color. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 17(5), 623-642. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2012.759926>
- Bowen, G. A. (2006). Grounded Theory and Sensitizing Concepts. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(3), 12–23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690600500304>
- Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (2019). *The SAGE handbook of current developments in grounded theory*. SAGE Publications Ltd, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526485656>
- Carvalho, A. C. A., Mizael, T. M., & Sampaio, A. A. S. (2021). Racial Prejudice and Police Stops: A Systematic Review of the Empirical Literature. *Behavior analysis in practice*, 15(4), 1213–1220. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40617-021-00578-4>
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2017). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. SAGE Publications.
- Denzin, N. (2019). Grounded Theory and the Politics of Interpretation, Redux. In Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (Editors), *The SAGE handbook of current developments in grounded Theory* (Chapter 22). SAGE Publications Ltd, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526485656>

- Elias, A., & Paradies, Y. (2021). The Costs of Institutional Racism and its Ethical Implications for Healthcare. *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry*, 18(1), 45-58. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11673-020-10073-0>
- Hassan, N. (2022, 6th of January). *Black Lives Matter and the Problem of Performative Activism /Age of Awareness*. Medium. Accessed from, <https://medium.com/age-of-awareness/black-lives-matter-and-the-problem-of-performative-activism-667e2c402e97>
- Helms, J. E. (1993). I also Said, “White Racial Identity Influences White Researchers”. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 21(2), 240–243. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000093212007>
- Holmes, L., Enwere, M., Williams, J., Ogundele, B., Chavan, P., Piccoli, T., Chinacherem, C., Comeaux, C. R., Pelaez, L., Okundaye, O., Stalnaker, L., Kalle, F., Deepika, K., Philipicien, G., Poleon, M., Ogungbade, G. O., Elmi, H., John, V., & Dabney, K. W. (2020). Black–White Risk Differentials in COVID-19 (SARS-COV2) Transmission, Mortality and Case Fatality in the United States: Translational Epidemiologic Perspective and Challenges. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(12), 4322. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17124322>
- Kendi, I. X. (2019). *How to Be an Antiracist*. One World.
- Love, S. (2021). *What Blackout Tuesday Can Teach Us About Virtue Signaling*. Vice. Accessed from, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/93yadd/what-black-out-tuesday-can-teach-us-about-virtue-signaling>
- Malott, K. M., Paone, T. R., Schaeffle, S., Cates, J., & Haizlip, B. (2015). Expanding White Racial Identity Theory: A Qualitative Investigation of Whites Engaged in Antiracist Action. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 93(3), 333–343. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcad.12031>
- Malott, K. M., Schaeffle, S., Paone, T. R., Cates, J., & Haizlip, B. (2021). Strategies Used by Whites to Address Their Racism: Implications for Autonomous White Racial

- Identities. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 49(3), 137–51. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jmcd.12220>
- Michael, A., & Conger, M. C. (2009). Becoming an anti-racist White ally: How a White affinity group can help. *Perspectives on Urban Education*, 6(1), 56-60.
- Mitchell, T. (2021, 22nd of September). 2. *Views of racial inequality*. Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project. Accessed from, <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2019/04/09/views-of-racial-inequality/>
- Mruck, K., & Mey, G. (2019). Grounded Theory Methodology and Self-Reflexivity in the Qualitative Research Process. In Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (Editors), *The SAGE handbook of current developments in grounded theory* (Chapter 23). SAGE Publications Ltd, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526485656>
- O'Brien, E. (2001). *Whites Confront Racism: Antiracists and their Paths to Action*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- O'Connor, C. M., & Joffe, H. (2020). Intercoder Reliability in Qualitative Research: Debates and Practical Guidelines. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 19, 160940691989922. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919899220>
- Portland Community College. (2023, 24th of February). What is whiteness? Diversity Councils at PCC. Accessed from, <https://www.pcc.edu/diversity-councils/cascade/whiteness-history-month/whiteness/>
- Searle, T., & Muller, S. (2019). “Whiteness” and natural resource management: let’s talk about race baby, let’s talk about sovereignty! *Geographical Research*, 57(4), 411-424. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-5871.12379>
- Tatum, D. B. (1992). Talking about Race, Learning about Racism: The Application of Racial Identity Development Theory in the Classroom. *Harvard Educational Review*, 62(1), 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.62.1.146k5v980r703023>

- Tie, Y. C., Birks, M., & Francis, K. (2019). Grounded theory research: A design framework for novice researchers. *Sage Open Medicine*, 7, 205031211882292. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2050312118822927>
- Todd, N. R., & Abrams, E. M. (2011). White Dialectics: A New Framework for Theory, Research, and Practice With White Students 1Ψ7. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 39(3), 353–395. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000010377665>
- Vadeboncoeur, J. D., & Bopp, T. (2019). Applying White Dialectics: Exploring Whiteness and Racial Identity among White College Athletes. *Quest*, 71(1), 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00336297.2018.1478737>
- Wellman, M. L. (2022). Black Squares for Black Lives? Performative Allyship as Credibility Maintenance for Social Media Influencers on Instagram. *Social media and society*, 8(1), 205630512210804. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051221080473>
- Williams, M. T., Faber, S. C., Nepton, A., & Ching, T. H. W. (2023). Racial justice allyship requires civil courage: A behavioral prescription for moral growth and change. *American Psychologist*, 78(1), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000940>

Appendix

Privacy and Ethics checklist



CHECKLIST ETHICAL AND PRIVACY ASPECTS OF RESEARCH

INSTRUCTION

This checklist should be completed for every research study that is conducted at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology (DPAS). This checklist should be completed *before* commencing with data collection or approaching participants. Students can complete this checklist with help of their supervisor.

This checklist is a mandatory part of the empirical master's thesis and has to be uploaded along with the research proposal.

The guideline for ethical aspects of research of the Dutch Sociological Association (NSV) can be found on their website (http://www.nsv-sociologie.nl/?page_id=17). If you have doubts about ethical or privacy aspects of your research study, discuss and resolve the matter with your EUR supervisor. If needed and if advised to do so by your supervisor, you can also consult Dr. Bonnie French, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION

Project title: Master Thesis

Name, email of student: Nella Rebero 586949nr@eur.nl

Name, email of supervisor: Bonnie French, french@essb.eur.nl

Start date and duration: start date: January 18th 2023. duration: 5 months.

Is the research study conducted within DPAS YES NO

If 'NO': at or for what institute or organization will the study be conducted?
(e.g. internship organization)

PART II: HUMAN SUBJECTS

1. Does your research involve human participants. YES - NO

If 'NO': skip to part V.

If 'YES': does the study involve medical or physical research?

YES - NO

Research that falls under the Medical Research Involving Human Subjects Act ([WMO](#)) must first be submitted to [an accredited medical research ethics committee](#) or the Central Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects ([CCMO](#)).

2. Does your research involve field observations without manipulations that will not involve identification of participants.
YES - NO

If 'YES': skip to part IV.

3. Research involving completely anonymous data files (secondary data that has been anonymized by someone else). YES - NO

If 'YES': skip to part IV.

PART III: PARTICIPANTS

1. Will information about the nature of the study and about what participants can expect during the study be withheld from them? YES - NO

2. Will any of the participants not be asked for verbal or written 'informed consent,' whereby they agree to participate in the study? YES - NO

3. Will information about the possibility to discontinue the participation at any time be withheld from participants? YES - NO
4. Will the study involve actively deceiving the participants? YES
- NO
Note: almost all research studies involve some kind of deception of participants. Try to think about what types of deception are ethical or non-ethical (e.g. purpose of the study is not told, coercion is exerted on participants, giving participants the feeling that they harm other people by making certain decisions, etc.).
5. Does the study involve the risk of causing psychological stress or negative emotions beyond those normally encountered by participants? YES - NO
6. Will information be collected about special categories of data, as defined by the GDPR (e.g. racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, genetic data, biometric data for the purpose of uniquely identifying a person, data concerning mental or physical health, data concerning a person's sex life or sexual orientation)? YES - NO
7. Will the study involve the participation of minors (<18 years old) or other groups that cannot give consent? YES - NO
8. Is the health and/or safety of participants at risk during the study? YES - NO
9. Can participants be identified by the study results or can the confidentiality of the participants' identity not be ensured? YES - NO
10. Are there any other possible ethical issues with regard to this study? YES - NO

If you have answered 'YES' to any of the previous questions, please indicate below why this issue is unavoidable in this study.

What safeguards are taken to relieve possible adverse consequences of these issues (e.g., informing participants about the study afterwards, extra safety regulations, etc.).

Are there any unintended circumstances in the study that can cause harm or have negative (emotional) consequences to the participants? Indicate what possible circumstances this could be.

Please attach your informed consent form in Appendix I, if applicable.

Continue to part IV.

PART IV: SAMPLE

Where will you collect or obtain your data?

OneDrive of Bonnie French

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

20

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the size of the population from which you will sample?

Approximately 235,411,507

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

Continue to part V.

Part V: Data storage and backup

Where and when will you store your data in the short term, after acquisition?

OneDrive and Atlas.TI

Note: indicate for separate data sources, for instance for paper-and pencil test data, and for digital data files.

Who is responsible for the immediate day-to-day management, storage and backup of the data arising from your research?

Bonnie French

How (frequently) will you back-up your research data for short-term data security?

Every time a change is made

In case of collecting personal data how will you anonymize the data?

The existing data will be anonymised by using numbers or acronyms instead of respondents names.

Note: It is advisable to keep directly identifying personal details separated from the rest of the data. Personal details are then replaced by a key/ code. Only the code is part of the database with data and the list of respondents/research subjects is kept separate.

PART VI: SIGNATURE

Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the ethical guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing information to participants about the study and ensuring confidentiality in storage and use of personal data. Treat participants respectfully, be on time at appointments, call participants when they have signed up for your study and fulfil promises made to participants.

Furthermore, it is your responsibility that data are authentic, of high quality and properly stored. The principle is always that the supervisor (or strictly speaking the Erasmus University Rotterdam) remains owner of the data, and that the student should therefore hand over all data to the supervisor.

Hereby I declare that the study will be conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. I have answered the questions truthfully.

Name student: Nella Rebero

Name (EUR) supervisor: Bonnie French

Date: 23-06-2023

Date: 23-06-2023

APPENDIX I: Informed Consent Form (if applicable)

v. 1.2 (March 2023)