

Robin DiAngelo committed research misconduct throughout her 2004 UW dissertation, *Whiteness in Racial Dialogue: A Discourse Analysis*

1.

DiAngelo 25

Because the majority of preservice teachers are White and thus the primary change-object, this analysis focused on elites and describes “top-down” relations of dominance rather than “bottom-up” relations of resistance, compliance, or acceptance.

van Dijk TA. Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*. 1993;4(2):250

This paper is biased in another way: we pay more attention to 'top- down' relations of dominance than to 'bottom-up' relations of resistance, compliance and acceptance.

2.

DiAngelo 126

One of the primary ways of establishing validity in critical discourse analysis is by documenting the occurrence of negative categorizations of participants, in order to delegitimize or marginalize their perspectives and actions (Van Dijk, 1993). These negative categorizations are a semantic property of argumentation, but also moves of positive self-representation.

van Dijk TA. Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*. 1993;4(2):275-76

One of the most conspicuous forms of over-completeness in discourse is the irrelevant negative categorization of participants in order to deligitimate or marginalize their opinions or actions. ... In this case, thus, incompleteness is a semantic property of argumentation, but also a more general move of concealment and positive self-presentation: Honeyford's racist articles are not discussed in detail, but only positively described, at a higher level of specificity, as 'a breath of fresh air'

3.

DiAngelo 178-79

Critical discourse analysis posits that “impolite” forms of speech, when generalized, occurring in talk directed at or about dominated racial groups, and without contextual justifications other than such group membership, are a form of racism (Van Dijk, 2001). Given that Courtney is categorizing the suggestion as stupid, and that this suggestion has been collectively posited by people of color, she is collectively referring to the interpretations of people of color as stupid. According to critical discourse analysis, a speaker is enacting racial group dominance when the discourse models she uses link a favorable representation of herself (as White) and an unfavorable representation of the addressee (as an African American woman). This linkage is done by perceiving, interpreting and representing the present communicative situation through a racialized mental context model. To do this, general attitudes circulating about African Americans will be activated. This racist context model will then monitor production. The socio-cognitive processes underlying racist discourse production may be largely automatic. That is, there is no need to assume impoliteness is intentional, and intentionality is

irrelevant in establishing whether discourses may be interpreted as being racist (Van Dijk, 2001).

van Dijk TA. Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*. 1993;4(2):261-62

A critical approach to such discourse phenomena must be as subtle as the means of dominance it studies. Thus, an 'impolite' form of address (using first name or informal pronouns) may characterize many discourses of many people in many situations. Although such impoliteness may well 'signal' power, it need not signal social (group) power, nor dominance (Brown and Levinson, 1987). In other words, occasional, incidental or personal breaches of discourse rules are not, as such, expressions of dominance. This is the case only if such violations are generalized, occur in text and talk directed at, or about, specific dominated groups only, and if there are no contextual justifications other than such group membership.

...

According to the framework sketched above, this explanation may more or less run as follows: (1) A white speaker perceives, interprets and represents the present communicative situation in a mental context model, including also a representation of him/herself (as being white) and of the black addressee. (2) To do this, general attitudes about blacks will be activated. If these are negative, this will also show in the representation of the black addressee in the context model: the addressee may be assigned lower status, for instance. (3) This 'biased' context model will monitor production and, all other things being equal (e.g. if there is no fear of retaliation, or there are no moral accusations), this may result in the production of discourse structures that signal such underlying bias, e.g. specific

impoliteness forms. Note that these socio-cognitive processes underlying racist discourse production may be largely automatized. That is, there is no need to assume that impoliteness is 'intentional' in such a case. Intentionality is irrelevant in establishing whether discourses or other acts may be interpreted as being racist.

4.

DiAngelo 15

In summary, interrogating Whiteness has emerged from the frequent failure of multicultural education initiatives to adequately identify where change needs to occur. Many traditional solutions to inequitable educational outcomes for racialized groups of students have been directed towards the problems of racialized "others" and to the challenges of implementing culturally relevant pedagogy, rather than to the workings of the dominant culture itself. Levine-Rasky (2000) calls this misidentification "the focus on the space between 'us' and 'them'" (p. 272).

Cynthia Levine-Rasky (2000) Framing Whiteness: Working through the tensions in introducing whiteness to educators, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 3:3, 272

Interrogating whiteness emerges with the realisation that the failure of equity education initiatives is attributable to a misidentification of change object. Traditional solutions to inequitable educational outcomes for racialised groups of students have been directed to the putative problems of these racialised others ('them') and to the challenges in implementing culturally sensitive pedagogy (the space between 'us' and 'them') rather than to the workings of the dominant culture itself.

...

...In response to the injunction that whites do their own work to eliminate their complicity in racism, writings are emerging that refocus dialogues on racism from the inadequacies of 'others' or from the race/d relations between 'us' and 'them' to whiteness itself.

5.

DiAngelo 129

Indeed, Whiteness may be characterized by a contradictory consciousness in which an insistent innocence is contingent upon involvement in racial oppression (Schick, 1998).

Cynthia Levine-Rasky (2000) Framing Whiteness: Working through the tensions in introducing whiteness to educators, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 3:3, 277

Indeed, whiteness may be as characterised by a contradictory consciousness in which a definitive innocence is contingent upon involvement in racial oppression (Schick, 1998).

6.

DiAngelo 60

Tiffany's identity as European is an enactment of "symbolic ethnicity" (Gans, 1979). Symbolic ethnicity allows individuals to identify their European heritage while giving a specificity to Whiteness that it does not hold alone. In this way, White gains particular meaning and positive marking that can be self-chosen - "White means I am descended from Europeans." While this

discourse recognizes in part a historical constitution, this does not necessarily indicate that there is a recognition of the power relations embedded in that history. In fact, the pride that Tiffany derives from this identity indicates that she does not associate it with historical domination, but rather with "high" culture. ...

Waters (1990) found that many Whites selected their ethnicity according to interest and convenience (i.e. identifying as Irish on St. Patrick's day), and that it was not a sustained part of their daily lives. Waters argues that symbolic ethnicity persists because it meets a need of White Americans for community without individual cost. A potential societal cost of this symbolic ethnicity, however, is its subtle reinforcement of racism through its obfuscation of historical lines of power.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH 81 (1995). WHITENESS: A STRATEGIC RHETORIC Thomas K. Nakayama and Robert L. Krizek 302

Finally, a small group of the whites interviewed and surveyed saw their whiteness in relation to European ancestry. This historical foundation for their ethnic identity reflects an interest in what Gans has earlier identified as "symbolic ethnicity." These individuals recognize their European heritage and give a specificity to whiteness: "It means I am descended from European white people." While this discourse recognizes a part of its historical constitution, "White, of European descent," this reflexivity does not necessarily mean that there has been a recognition of the power relations embedded in that history. In fact, we did not find this extended reflexivity in the responses, except perhaps in a rather vague, coded way, "My ethnicity determines many factors in my life."

In a more recent study of symbolic ethnicity, Mary Waters found that many whites selected their ethnicity, much as one might try to accessorize a wardrobe. Ethnicity for them is not a substantial part of their everyday lives. Waters notes that "symbolic ethnicity persists because it meets a need Americans have for community without individual cost and that a potential societal cost of this symbolic ethnicity is in its subtle reinforcement of racism" (164).

7.

DiAngelo 109

This is a way to establish the communication patterns of Whites as the norm from which others are marked (Nakayama & Krizek, 1999).

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH 81 (1995). WHITENESS: A STRATEGIC RHETORIC Thomas K. Nakayama and Robert L. Krizek 293

Thus, the experiences and communication patterns of whites are taken as the norm from which Others are marked.

8.

DiAngelo 153

Communication strategies such as these are what Sleeter (1994) refers to as "White bonding." She explains White bonding as everyday communication patterns shared between Whites that relate to race. These patterns include racial inserts into conversations, race-related asides, strategic eye-contact, and jokes. They are often quick and subtle, but wield considerable power to demarcate racial lines and communicate

solidarity. These strategies are relatively hidden in everyday interaction but become more visible when Whites are confronted with race (Nakayama & Krizek, 1995).

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH 81 (1995). WHITENESS: A STRATEGIC RHETORIC Thomas K. Nakayama and Robert L. Krizek 298

This phenomenon may be what one scholar has identified and named as "white bonding." Sleeter explains what this interaction means:

"I began to pay attention to what I will call "White racial bonding" processes White people engage in everyday... These communication patterns take forms such as inserts into conversations, race-related "asides" in conversations, strategic eye-contact, and jokes. Often they are so short and subtle that they may seem relatively harmless. I used to regard such utterances as annoying expressions of prejudice or ignorance, but that seems to underestimate their power to demarcate racial lines and communicate solidarity." (8)

These discourses on whiteness are relatively hidden in everyday interaction, but when whites are confronted, when they are asked directly about whiteness, a multiplicity of discourses become visible.

9.

DiAngelo 212

Foucault (1972) is particularly useful in analyzing the strategies of Whiteness because he does not theorize power as exercised transparently or centrally. He conceptualizes power relations as



operating in much more complex, relationally situated ways.

Power relations constitute a discursive set of strategies, as power is negotiated and re-negotiated, and dominant discourses adapt to and absorb resistance (Nakayama & Krizek, 1995).

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH 81 (1995). WHITENESS: A STRATEGIC RHETORIC Thomas K. Nakayama and Robert L. Krizek 296

Foucault, like Deleuze and Guattari, is particularly useful in analyzing the strategic rhetoric of whiteness because he does not see power as exercised in a naked manner. For him, power operates in much more complex, relationally-situated ways.

10.

DiAngelo 35

An individual emerges through the processes of social interaction, not as a fixed personality but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate. This form of analysis views the subject as open and shifting depending on the positions made available through his or her own and others discursive practices.

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An individual emerges through the processes of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate. Accordingly, who one is is always an open question with a shifting answer depending upon the positions

made available within one's own and others' discursive practices and within those practices, the stories through which we make sense of our own and others' lives

11.

DiAngelo 41-42

Although Kerlinger (1964) recognized the challenges in establishing validity and reliability in psychometric research, his criteria of reliability and validity are primarily based in traditional notions of a positivist or realist research model. In discourse analysis, reliability is reconceived as a convincing demonstration of intertextuality, or the repetition of discourses across various forms of related yet distinctively produced texts (Gee, 1999). These criteria are established by tracing the connections between different culturally produced texts, including historical, institutional, and legal texts, and individual accounts (Cloyes, 2004).

Cloyes, K. (2004). The politics of mental illness in a prison control unit: A discourse analysis. Unpublished dissertation. University of Washington, Seattle, 296

Conventional scientific criteria of reliability and validity are closely associated with traditional notions of positivist, post-positivist and realist research. While many versions of qualitative methodology have sought to model their epistemological and methodological tenets on this form of scientific method, more recent developments of poststructuralist scholarship tweak these ideas to fit a critical, discursive approach to the research process (Alasuutari, 1995; Gee, 1999; Taylor, 2001; Wetherell, 2001). Reliability may therefore be reconceived as a convincing demonstration of intertextuality, or the repetition of discourses

across various forms of related yet distinctively produced texts (Taylor, 2001). This criterion is considered in the production of a discursive map (Wetherell, 2001) as informed by tracing the connections between different culturally produced texts, including historical, institutional, legal texts and individual accounts, that make up an order of discourse.

12.

DiAngelo 43, 45

Gee (1999) provides a consideration of validity within discourse analysis that includes four elements: 1) Convergence, or whether an analysis offers a more or less convincing and compatible interpretation based on the correspondence of cultural, professional and institutional discourses and everyday speech-acts. Further, the analysis is more valid the more it addresses key questions concerning social position, power, identity, distribution of social resources, invokement of cultural models and paradigms. Verification of convergence would be obtained from other discourse analysts and scholars in the field; 2) Agreement, or whether members of a practice community agree that the analysis reflects how language and discourse work in that community; 3) Coverage, or whether this analysis makes sense when applied to similar data or situations; 4) Linguistic details, or grounding analysis in the concrete structures and functions of particular, situated texts and speech-acts, e.g. language is used in a way that communicates meaning to other speakers. These criteria constitute validity in discourse analysis because it is highly improbable that all of these factors will converge if the analysis is not valid.

...

If these definitions of reliability and validity are taken to be reasonable criteria for judging the rhetorical effectiveness of research, then this study meets the expectations of a rigorous demonstration of intertextuality, convergence, and linguistic detail. While it is more difficult to assess whether it meets the standards of agreement and coverage without more comment from other members of related orders of discourse analysis, it is reasonable to assume that the substantive interpretations of this study are not idiosyncratic. I have largely satisfied the requirements of validity and reliability in discourse analysis. However, because I have not obtained feedback from other scholars in the field, I cannot claim to have fully met the range of criteria for validity within discourse analysis.

Cloyes, K. (2004). The politics of mental illness in a prison control unit: A discourse analysis. Unpublished dissertation. University of Washington, Seattle, 296

Similarly, Gee (1999) provides a discursive consideration of validity that includes four elements; 1) Convergence, or whether an analysis offers a more or less convincing and compatible interpretation based on the correspondence of cultural, professional and institutional discourses and everyday speech-acts; 2) Agreement, or whether members of a practice community agree that the analysis reflects how language and discourse works in that community; 3) Coverage, or whether this analysis makes sense when applied to similar data or situations; 4) Linguistic details, or grounding analysis in the concrete structures and functions of particular, situated texts and speech-acts. If these definitions of reliability and validity are taken to be reasonable criteria for judging the rhetorical effectiveness of poststructural research, then the present study meets the expectations of a rigorous demonstration of intertextuality,

convergence, and linguistic detail. While it is more difficult to assess whether it meets the standards of agreement and coverage without more feedback from other members of the related order of discourse, it is realistic to assume that the substantive interpretations of this study, extensively based as they are on concrete samples of text and discourse-in-action, are not idiosyncratic, and will satisfy these requirements to a considerable degree.

13.

DiAngelo 5

Goldberg (1993) argues that the questions surrounding racial discourse should not focus so much on how true stereotypes are, but how the truth claims they offer are a part of a larger worldview that authorizes and normalizes forms of domination and control.

Lee, T. (1996). Unraveling the “model-minority” stereotype: Listening to Asian- American youth. New York: Teachers College Press, viii

David Theo Goldberg (1993) argues that the questions surrounding racial discourse should focus not so much on how true stereotypes are, but on how the truth-claims they offer are a part of a larger worldview, and what forms of action that worldview authorizes.

14.

DiAngelo 123

As a social construct, Whiteness gains its meaning from its encounters with that which is constructed as non-Whiteness. The negotiations and definitions of Whiteness and non-Whiteness are part of the work of this social phenomenon (Nakayama & Martin, 1999).

Nakayama, T., & Martin, J. (1995). Whiteness as the communication of social identity. Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage, vii

As a social construction, whiteness gains its meaning from its encounters with nonwhiteness. The negotiations and definitions of "whiteness" and "nonwhiteness" are part of the fuel of this social phenomenon.

15.

DiAngelo 174-75

Whites born in the United States inherit a moral predicament. They live in a White dominant society, yet they are told that opportunity is equal and raised to feel that their race-based advantages are fair and normal. White children receive little if any instruction in how to think complexly about this predicament, much less guidance in how to resolve it (McIntosh, 1988; Thandeka, 2000). They become aware of racial tension while understanding very little about White historical responsibility for it and virtually nothing about their current roles in perpetuating it. If they become adults who explicitly oppose racism, as do all of the White participants in this sample, they often organize their antiracist efforts around a denial of the racially based privileges they hold that reinforce racist disadvantage for others (Marty, 1999). What is particularly problematic about this contradiction is that White moral objection to racism increases White resistance to acknowledging complicity with it.

Whites who position themselves as liberal often opt to protect their moral reputations rather than recognize or change their own participation in systems of inequity and domination. In so doing, they invoke the power to choose when, how, and how much to “help” challenge racism. When confronted with this contradiction, many White liberals use the speech of self-defense (Van Dijk, 1992). This speech genre enables defenders to protect their moral character against accusation and attack as they deflect any recognition of culpability or need of accountability. Focusing on restoring their moral standing through these tactics, Whites are able to avoid the question of White privilege (Marty, 1999, Van Dijk, 1992).

In the following section, I explicate a few examples of a discourse of self-defense.

Nakayama, T., & Martin, J. (1995). Whiteness as the communication of social identity. Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage, 51-52

As in other Western nations, white children born in the United States inherit the moral predicament of living in a white supremacist society. Raised to experience their racially based advantages as fair and normal, white children receive little if any instruction regarding the predicament they face, let alone any guidance in how to resolve it. Therefore, they experience or learn about racial tension without understanding Euro-Americans' historical responsibility for it and knowing virtually nothing about their contemporary roles in perpetuating it.

Absent this awareness, white children who become adults of goodwill must often oppose racism by helping people of color to help themselves. Albeit well-intentioned, this form of white

antiracism never challenges the racial privilege on which it relies —most centrally, the power to choose whether to "help" or ignore —because it emanates from the intersection of conscience and a nonreflexive racial consciousness. As a result, many white antiracists organize their social justice efforts around an ignorance of the racially based privileges' they possess that reinforce racist disadvantages for others. More disconcerting than the persistent presence of racial privilege in white antiracist practices, however, is the earnestness with which many white people defend against coming to this realization. Despite our antiracist commitments, many white people often opt to protect our moral reputations and our versions of progressive politics rather than recognize and change our unfair and unearned racially based advantages. In doing so, we decisively invoke the power to choose when and how much to "help" end racism.

Under these conditions, much white antiracist rhetoric ironically takes the form of an apologia, the speech of self-defense. This speech genre enables rhetors to defend their moral character against accusation and attack (Ware & Linkugel, 1973, p. 274) as they deflect any recognition of wrongdoing or of the need for accountability. White people use the elements of apologia, in its most basic form, to ward off racist accusations through disclaimers such as, "I'm not racist, but that they could not be racist because they are "color-blind" (Houston, 1995; van Dijk, 1992). These and other more sophisticated apologetic strategies allow white rhetors to reject responsibility for racism and reassert their good moral standing. Having thus restored their antiracist ethos, the question of white racial privilege is made moot.

In this chapter, I explore the ways in which one well-known white rhetor utilizes the apologia genre to defend white racial privilege even as he explicitly opposes racism.



16.

DiAngelo 20

Intergroup dialogue incorporates many of the goals articulated by Whiteness scholars: challenging misconceptions and stereotypes; developing increased personal and social awareness of social group membership, developing critical thinking skills; building skills for working with conflict across differences, especially those marked by power; and taking action for social justice oriented change (Ellsworth, 1997; Macedo & Bartolome, 1999; Nagda & Zuniga, 2003; Nagda, Harding, Moise-Swanson, Balassone, Spearmon, & DeMello, 2001; Powell, 1997).

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Such engagement across differences enables them to challenge misconceptions and stereotypes (Geranios, 1997; Zúñiga & Sevig, 1997), develop increased personal and social awareness of social group membership (Nagda et al., 1999; Zúñiga, Vasques, Sevig, & Nagda, 1997), develop more complex ways of thinking (Gurin, Peng, Lopez, & Nagda, 1999; Lopez, Gurin, & Nagda, 1998), build skills for communication and working with disagreements, and identify ways of taking actions for social justice (Zúñiga et al., 1997).

17.

DiAngelo 224-25

We are each implicated in systems of oppression that profoundly structure our understanding of each other (hooks, 1995; Lorde, 2001; Weber, 2001). That is, we come to know and perform our positions in ways that reproduce social hierarchies (Razack, 1999). Tracing our complicity in these systems requires that Whites shed notions of universalism, for we cannot dismantle hierarchical systems if we cannot or will not see them, or if we place ourselves outside of them.

Razack, S. (1998). *Looking White people in the eye: Gender, race, and culture in courtrooms and classrooms*. Toronto, Quebec, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 10

My goal is to move towards accountability, a process that begins with a recognition that we are each implicated in systems of oppression that profoundly structure our understanding of one another. That is, we come to know and perform ourselves in ways that reproduce social hierarchies. Tracing our complicity in these systems requires that we shed notions of mastering differences, abandoning the idea that differences are pre-given, knowable and existing in a social and historical vacuum.

18.

DiAngelo 232

Recognizing this relationship may help provide alternative and more liberatory reference points, and direct our attention to the conditions of communication and knowledge production that prevail. Perhaps we may learn to see not only who can speak and how they are likely to be heard, but also how we know what we know and the interest we protect through our knowing. Education for social change is not so much about new information as it is

about disrupting the hegemonic ways of seeing through which subjects make themselves dominant (Razack, 1998).

Razack, S. (1998). *Looking White people in the eye: Gender, race, and culture in courtrooms and classrooms*. Toronto, Quebec, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 10

Instead, we need to direct our efforts to the conditions of communication and knowledge production that prevail, calculating not only who can speak and how they are likely to be heard but also how we know what we know and the interest we protect through our knowing. These pedagogical directions make it clear that education for social change is not so much about new information as it is about disrupting the hegemonic ways of seeing through which subjects make themselves dominant.

19.

DiAngelo 128

Social interaction does not become unracialized by assertion, and the act of attempting to enforce racelessness is itself a racial act (Morrison, 1992).

Morrison, T. (1992). *Playing in the dark*. New York: Random House, 46

The world does not become raceless or will not become unracialized by assertion. The act of enforcing racelessness in literary discourse is itself a racial act.

20.

DiAngelo, 111

Struggles over power in this context serve to define racial lines and invite individuals to either declare their solidarity or mark themselves as deviant. Becca, in breaking with Whiteness, has risked losing approval and other privileges of White acceptance that Whites confer on each other. This loss of acceptance usually occurs in the form of Whites feeling “uncomfortable” around the deviant White person (Sleeter, 1996).

Sleeter, C. (1996). White silence. White solidarity. In N. Ignatiev, & J. Garvey (Eds.), *Race Traitors*. New York: Routledge, 263

These kinds of interactions seem to serve the purpose of defining racial lines, and inviting individuals to either declare their solidarity or mark themselves as deviant. Depending on degree of deviance, one runs the risk of losing the other individual's approval, friendship, and company, and the privileges of acceptance whites confer on each other: (This usually occurs in the form of feeling "uncomfortable" around the deviant white person.)