

**Arresting the Whiteness Pandemic?
Changes in Whiteness Socialization in Minneapolis
Following Chauvin's Arrest and Conviction for Murdering #GeorgeFloyd**

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Abstract

This paper reports the results of a mixed methods one-year longitudinal follow-up of the original Whiteness Pandemic study among non-Hispanic White Minneapolis families immediately after George Floyd's murder in 2020 (T1: Ferguson et al., 2022). We tested if one year of continuous dissonance events afterwards, including Derek Chauvin's arrest and televised trial-conviction alongside high visibility antiracist media and movements, could prompt the deep and sustained antiracist change required to arrest the Whiteness Pandemic in these families. At T2 (2021), mothers' White racial identity development (WRID) and Whiteness socialization of their children (WS) were measured both qualitatively and quantitatively ($N=203$, $M_{age}=39.35$ years, $SD_{age}=4.05$, average family income \$125,000-\$149,999; no differences from non-returning mothers). Findings exceeded our expectations: content-analyzed qualitative codes revealed that 73% of mothers advanced in WRID (18% in WRID Phase 2 at T1→78% at T2). At T2, we replicated and expanded the WRID:WS association both qualitatively (e.g., pattern coding of content codes) and quantitatively (e.g., correlations and MANCOVAs). Hierarchical regression analyses confirmed that T1-T2 WRID growth predicted T2 WS scale scores and case studies illustrated different trajectories of antiracist change including relevant daily activities. Overall, findings demonstrate that deep and sustained antiracist change is possible for White parents and this change is often gradual, occurring in stages. Knowing that walking the antiracist walk (WRID) goes hand in hand with talking the antiracist talk (WS) both cross-sectionally and longitudinally illuminates two compatible family-level targets for antiracist parenting intervention capable of arresting the Whiteness Pandemic.

Keywords: Whiteness Pandemic, Ethnic-Racial Socialization, Antiracist Parenting, Transtheoretical Model of Behavior Change / Stages of Change Model, Convergent Mixed Methods

Public Significance Statement: This is a one-year follow-up study of Ferguson and colleagues' original Whiteness Pandemic study in Minneapolis immediately following George Floyd's murder, which demonstrated that stagnated White racial identity development was linked to color-evasive and power-evasive parenting for most White mothers. One year later our data reveal that deep and sustained antiracist change occurred among most of these mothers facilitated by antiracist media (e.g., Minnesota Public Radio), movements (e.g., Black Lives Matter), and legal justice (i.e., Derek Chauvin's arrest, conviction, and sentencing), which effectively resurrected their White racial identity development and catalyzed their antiracist socialization, thereby arresting the Whiteness Pandemic in these Minneapolis families.

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"Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quick sands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children."
Rev Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., "I have a dream" speech, Aug 28, 1963, Washington D.C.

The Whiteness Pandemic refers to the intergenerational transmission of the culture of Whiteness in White families, a culture characterized by racial silence, fragility, and passivity in the face of racial injustice (Ferguson et al., 2022). The Whiteness Pandemic was on full display in 2020 after Mr. George Floyd, a Black American, was inhumanely murdered in Minneapolis by a White police officer, Derek Chauvin, and research documented that the majority of White American parents in the Minneapolis metro did not talk with their children up to a month afterwards about Floyd's murder, racism, nor the resulting social unrest (Ferguson et al., 2022). Moreover, the majority of Minnesota parents in that study who attempted a parent-child conversation used power-evasive language that minimized or denied the reality of systemic racism (Ferguson et al., 2022). However, in the year following Floyd's murder, community attention shifted from racial injustice towards racial justice as Chauvin's arrest initiated a cascade of justice-related societal responses beyond the legal trial itself. In particular, daily media coverage of the trial and omnipresent Black Lives Matter (BLM) activity kept White parents tuned into this racial reckoning for almost a year until Chauvin's televised conviction.

The prior paper introducing the Whiteness Pandemic (Ferguson et al., 2022) demonstrated that White mothers' low racial identity development level was closely tied to power-evasive socialization of their children around race immediately after Floyd's murder. This paper presents

a one-year follow-up on these mothers' identity and socialization after the cascade of racial justice events following Chauvin's arrest – were these events enough to arrest the Whiteness Pandemic in these families? Given the context of this paper, we focus on U.S. literature.

Color-Evasion and Power-Evasion are Pathogens of the Whiteness Pandemic

The Whiteness Pandemic is considered a pandemic because of the broad and efficient spread of its primary pathogens – color-evasion and power-evasion – through parent-child interactions in White families starting from birth, having negative effects on the health and well-being of all society members, especially Black individuals and other people of color (Ferguson et al., 2022). According to Neville and colleagues' (2013, p. 455) concept of color-blind racial ideology, which builds on Bonilla-Silva's (2003) 'colorblindness,' color-evasion refers to the "denial of racial differences by emphasizing sameness" whereas power-evasion refers to the "denial of racism by emphasizing equal opportunities." Color-evasive efforts to stop seeing race, including one's own, is bolstered by the strong U.S. value of individualism and a decontextualized misinterpretation of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s 1963 dream of a day his children would not be judged by skin color. In reality, King's full speech explicitly acknowledged differences in race while promoting brotherhood across race and condemning unjust pre-judgment or treatment based on race (see opening quote). Power-evasion is anchored in the U.S. belief in meritocracy: that everyone has equal opportunities in society regardless of race or color, people get ahead based solely on effort, and society metes out just rewards. Power-evasion flies in the face of the documented reality of systemic racism (Roberts & Rizzo, 2021).

A 2022 meta-analysis of 85 studies on colorblind racial ideology found that, relative to color-evasion, power-evasion has much more robust associations with racial prejudice (Yi et al., 2022). Specifically, the authors found that color-evasion was not associated with racial empathy

nor social justice behaviors but only with expressing greater openness to diversity, which appeared to be a superficial form of egalitarianism. Power-evasion, on the other hand, was associated with greater anti-Black prejudice and less openness to diversity, lower multi-cultural competence, lower racial empathy, and fewer social justice behaviors. Addressing power-evasion by pursuing power-consciousness -- acknowledging the reality of racism -- is clearly needed to arrest the Whiteness Pandemic. The million-dollar question is, therefore: What effectively motivates White Americans to become power-conscious? Experimental research shows that making White privilege salient through priming is not enough (Christiani & Brett, 2023). So, what is? The following section defines antiracist change and reviews several useful frameworks.

Predictors of Antiracist Change in White Americans

U.S. antiracism is not new. African Americans have been leading antiracist resistance movements against anti-Black racism for centuries, including the 2013 founding of BLM by Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi (www.blacklivesmatter.com). The majority of White Americans (60%) supported BLM in 2020 although support declined by 2023 (42%; Hatfield, 2023). According to Yancey's (2024) synthesis and review of the work of leading antiracism scholars including Kendi, DiAngelo, Oluo, and Saad, the current understanding of antiracism centers four themes: 1) racism as pervasive, 2) racism as multifaceted, 3) the need for societal alteration, and 4) differential roles for White individuals and people of color in antiracist actions. Our view of antiracism aligns with these four themes and conceptualizes White parents' antiracist change as attitudinal and behavioral/conversational shifts over time. Importantly, antiracism benefits both people of color and White people: summer 2020 data demonstrated that antiracist engagement – state-level BLM engagement and antiracism information-seeking online – was positively associated with White individuals' mental health (Brannon, 2023).

Parenting as a Proximal Influence on Antiracist Change

Hazelbaker et al.'s (2022) developmental model of anti-racism among White children emphasizes the home as the first and primary promotive context for antiracism development, with Whiteness socialization (WS) as a chief mechanism. Young white children 3-8 years old are cognitively able to self-identify as White and recognize individual racism; therefore, antiracist WS involves discussing current race-related events with them (not only historical ones) while using color- and power-conscious terms (e.g., "White identity," "White privilege") to discuss structural inequality and racism. Antiracist WS of young children first involves talk about race in family contexts with scientific explanations about melanin, then discussions of racism using current events. However, older children and early adolescents (9-14 years) are cognitively able to understand structural racism and White privilege. Hence, antiracist WS at that developmental stage promotes critical consciousness by discussing systems of oppression, guiding youth to intervene against racial discrimination, and modeling antiracism explicitly and implicitly. Unfortunately, White parents of children 8-11 years old are less likely to discuss BLM and with less focus on racial injustice than are Black parents (Rogers et al., 2024), and although White parents of adolescents were more frequently discussing current events involving racism after Mr. Floyd's murder in 2020 vs. 2019, they were also less color-consciousness (Abaied et al., 2022).

White Racial Identity Development as Antiracist Change

The White racial identity development theory (WRID: Helms, 1984) offers an important lens on antiracist change in identity for White individuals. There are two major WRID phases and six subordinate schemas. Phase 1, "Internalization of Racism," is marked by color-evasion and/or power-evasion and the lack of engagement in antiracist thought or action, and comprises three schemas: contact (obliviousness or denial of race and racism, including one's own),

disintegration (acknowledgment of Whiteness and privilege -- which stands at odds with one's moral socialization -- without abandoning racism), and re-integration (return to idealizing Whiteness). Phase 2, called "Abandonment of Racism," is characterized by color-consciousness and power-consciousness and comprises three schemas: pseudo-independence (well-intentioned superiority with helping stance towards Black people and a blaming stance towards "bad"/racist White people), immersion-emersion (acknowledgment of Whiteness as source of racism and own one's role in its perpetuation), and autonomy (lifelong commitment to a morally positive White identity, including antiracist lifestyle). According to WRID theory, a White person's WRID growth is spurred by "dissonance" or events that challenge a person's schema for understanding race/color and racism/power, including race-related police killings. Unfortunately, longitudinal research shows that WRID stagnation is common in early adolescence (meaning halted WRID progress: Moffitt et al., 2021), which may be when the efficacy of parental training efforts conceptualized by Hazelbaker et al. (2022) starts to decline.

Our prior study (Ferguson et al., 2022), conducted immediately after Floyd's murder, found that WRID Phase 1 White mothers in Minneapolis evidenced color- and power-evasion in their Whiteness socialization (WS) whereas WRID Phase 2 mothers demonstrated color- and power-conscious WS. For example, a Phase 1 color-evasive and power-evasive White mother of a 7-year-old study stated "The rioting in Minneapolis and across the country has needed a fair amount of explanation [to my children]," whereas a Phase 2 color-conscious and power-conscious mother of a different 7-year-old stated "We've [my children and I] been talking about racism and Black Lives Matter and the protesting and riots in Minneapolis" (p. 12).

WRID growth beyond early adolescence requires ongoing self-initiated investments (Moffitt et al., 2021), something that most White American adults neglect until a dissonance

event prompts short-lived attention. Floyd's murder was a dissonance event that likely catalyzed temporary WRID growth both locally and globally for a few weeks, but for White Minneapolis families, Chauvin's trial for Floyd's murder became an additional and extraordinary year-long dissonance event providing daily reminders and opportunities for sustained WRID growth (e.g., nightly local news, school/community discussions, George Floyd square visits).

Media and Movements as Distal Societal Influences on Antiracist Change

Public movements and discourse like BLM can support individuals' antiracist change. For example, during 2009-2016, a period of high BLM visibility, both implicit and explicit racial bias decreased in a sample of nearly 1.5 million Americans, resulting in less pro-White attitudes (Sawyer & Gampa, 2018), although results may apply less to conservatives and men, and state-level advances in racially equitable policies can be followed by a backlash increase in pro-White attitudes and even race-based hate crimes (Sarmal et al., 2024). Notwithstanding, during protests following the police murders of Black men where BLM has also been highly visible, there have been more searches for and uses of antiracist terms online (Dunivin et al., 2022). BLM remained common in social discourse in traditional and social media June-December 2020 demonstrating that antiracist media can sustain short-term antiracist engagement (Dunivin et al., 2022).

There is also evidence of media impact on the understanding of Whiteness and on antiracist parenting, specifically. Our review of public parenting blogs the year after Floyd's murder and Chauvin's arrest (June 2020-21) showed that new themes of Whiteness, antiracism, colorblindness, and racism+violence appeared (MPR, 2021) relative to the simpler 2019-20 blog theme of talking to children about race (Safe Space Radio, 2019). An analysis of Google Trends and public Facebook parenting groups in summer, 2020 also revealed that White parents were connecting antiracist concepts to their parenting. However, national survey data indicated that

while most White parents eventually spoke with their children about race by the end of 2020, it was still laced with uncertainty and shaped by gender, income, and partisanship (Anoll et al., 2022). In regard to antiracist scholarship influencing the American antiracist zeitgeist, we counted relevant articles on racism, racial justice, and Whiteness in the *American Psychologist* in 2019-20 (the two years before Floyd's murder impacted publications) versus 2021-22 (the two years after) finding that there were 22% more articles in the latter period overall, and articles involving Whiteness specifically septupled from one in 2019-2020 to seven in 2021-2022. Of course, while antiracist media and scholarly dissemination can increase public attention, they are likely insufficient for deep (e.g., attitudinal) or sustained (long-term) antiracist change.

Transtheoretical Model of Behavior Change Applied to Antiracist Change

Entrenched behavior problems often change gradually and in stages according to the Transtheoretical Model of Behavior Change (Stages of Change Model: Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983). This is true for smoking and exercise behaviors (Prochaska, 2020), psychotherapy (Krebs et al., 2018), and parenting children to manage overweight risk (Howard, 2007). Given that White racism remains an entrenched behavior problem, the Stages of Change model is ripe for application to antiracist behavior change and antiracist parenting (see Figure 1). According to this model, Precontemplators are uninformed, unaware, or demoralized about the negative consequences of their behaviors and generally avoid reading, talking, or thinking about their problem behavior having no intention to change within 6 months. White silence should be most common in Stage 1 and White parents' color-evasion and power-evasion work to keep them in Stage 1 over time. Stage 2 Contemplators are aware of the problem and do intend to start making changes in the next 6 months but ambivalence while weighing the pros and cons of change keeps them chronically stuck. Being aware of racism as a problem, Stage 2 White parents

are likely to show initial, superficial, or inconsistent antiracism such as context-dependent color-consciousness or color-conscious yet power-evasive speech. Individuals in Stage 3 Preparation intend to take action in the next month and have usually started taking preparatory steps in the past year such as creating a plan of action, buying a self-help book, or taking a class/webinar.

In Stage 4 Action, individuals have been actively and effortfully making specific and observable changes in their lifestyle within the last 6 months that are known to decrease the problem behavior. Therefore, White parents in Stages 3 and 4 should be the most actively engaged in antiracist learning activities with an emphasis on ‘doing.’ They would have recently entered WRID Phase 2 accompanied by newly emergent power-consciousness to deepen and complement their earlier-achieved color-consciousness. Stage 5 Maintainers are working to prevent relapse into old habits; they do not need to apply change processes as frequently as in Stage 4 and feel more confident about maintaining their lifestyle changes for the next 6 months to 5 years. White Stage 5 parents have been in WRID Phase 2 for a long period and prioritize ‘being’ antiracist over ‘doing’ antiracist things by utilizing lower intensity but more sustained antiracist parenting activities that are better integrated into their daily lives. Color-consciousness and power-consciousness are a way of life for these parents, reflecting a deep commitment to lifelong antiracist learning and engagement with humility.

The Current Study and Hypothesis

The current paper presents a longitudinal follow-up of Minneapolis mothers’ WRID and WS (in Ferguson et al., 2022) after one year of sustained racial justice focus following Floyd’s murder and Chauvin’s arrest and conviction. Our research questions were: 1) What is the stability versus change in mothers’ WRID and WS? and 2) Do baseline findings regarding the WRID-WS association replicate one year later? We hypothesized that 1) there would be more

T1-T2 WRID growth than regression and 2) the T1 WRID:WS association would replicate.

METHODS

This “QUAL + Quant” longitudinal mixed methods study principally utilized qualitative methods supplemented by and integrated with quantitative methods (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). Replicating the baseline study methodology (Ferguson et al., 2022), we used a convergent design with an online questionnaire variant whereby the entire analytic sample provided both qualitative and quantitative data. This study also cross-validated the qualitative methods by adding new quantitative measures of WRID and WS so that both constructs are measured qualitatively and quantitatively. Quantitative data were beneficial to answer ‘what’ and ‘how much’ questions (e.g., what racism beliefs did mothers hold and how often did they discuss these with children?) whereas qualitative data were necessary to answer related ‘when’, ‘how’, and ‘why’ questions. There was no deception nor debriefing involved. The multiracial research team was led by a Black immigrant mother (1st author) and a White non-immigrant woman without children (2nd), ensuring racial insider and outsider viewpoints during analysis and interpretation.

Participants

The 392 non-Hispanic White Midwestern U.S. mothers who participated in the baseline study in 2020 (T1; Ferguson et al., 2022) were invited to return a year later in the summer of 2021 (T2) and 215 mothers agreed (55% retention rate). However, we excluded 12 mothers due to >20% missing data for the WRID and/or WS measures. There were no significant differences between the attrition sample (N=189) and the analytic sample used (N=203, $M_{age}=39.35$ years, $SD_{age}=4.05$) on demographics, WRID, or WS¹. In the analytic sample, the average T2 family

¹ The attrition and analytic samples did not differ in demographics (family income, child age, education level, political affiliation and importance, and parent age): $t(390) = -1.45 - 1.75, ps > .05$. Similarly, there were no differences between samples in 2020 WRID categorization ($\chi^2=0.96, p=0.62$) nor WS codes (Beliefs/Values: Racism, $\chi^2=0.03, p=0.87$; Attitudes: Time, $\chi^2=0.85, p=0.36$; Practices: Power-evasion, $\chi^2=0.25, p=0.62$).

income category was \$125,000 - \$149,999 and mothers were highly educated (50.7% had graduate/professional degrees or some graduate school, and 39.9% had at least some college). Children of these mothers were 6.25 years old on average ($SD=2.35$ years, range=2.67-14.08).

Measures

Qualitative Measures

White Racial Identity Development and Whiteness Socialization. Six major questions about racial attitudes and parenting measured WRID and WS. Questions 1, 2, and 4 were open-ended and questions 3, 5, and 6 were yes/no followed by justification probes. Questions covered: 1) what parents wanted children to understand about race in America, 2) viewpoints on BLM, 3) whether their lives intersected with BLM and why/why not, 4) the impact of Floyd's murder and Chauvin's trial on their parenting including parent-child conversations, 5) whether they incorporated race-related topics into parenting over the last year, why/why not, and if so then how, and 6) whether they watched/streamed any of Chauvin's trial and why/why not. As in Ferguson et al. (2022), responses were coded for WRID and WS by independent coding teams.

Quantitative Measures

White Racial Identity Development. WRID was measured via the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS; Helms & Carter, 1990). This 60-item measure uses a 1 ("strongly agree") to 5 ("strongly disagree") scale and contains six subscales with 10 items each. Four WRIAS subscales were used in analyses: Contact (e.g., "I hardly ever think about what race I am"; $\alpha=0.62$), Disintegration (e.g., "I just refuse to participate in discussions about race"; $\alpha=0.70$), Reintegration (e.g., "I would rather socialize with White people only"; $\alpha=0.80$), and Immersion/Emersion (e.g., "I am examining how racism relates to who I am"; $\alpha=0.82$). Based on modification indices from a confirmatory factor analysis, 5 items were dropped from the Contact

subscale raising the alpha from the original $\alpha=0.25$, and the Pseudo-independence and Autonomy subscales were dropped due to low reliability (see Supplement A). Subscale sums were created (potential range for most=10-50 except Contact=5-25). See Table 1 for all variable descriptives.

Whiteness Socialization. WS was measured via Pahlke and colleagues' (2012) adaptation of the Parent Racial-Ethnic Socialization Behaviors measure. These items asked how often the parent currently tells their child about race/racism and five of six subscales were used in analyses: Egalitarianism (5 items; e.g., "People of all races have an equal chance in life"; $\alpha=0.82$), History of other groups (4 items; e.g., "To learn about the history or traditions of other racial or ethnic groups"; $\alpha=0.88$), Preparation for Bias (2 items; e.g., "About discrimination or prejudice against our ethnic or racial group"; $\alpha=0.58$), Discrimination against other groups (7 items; e.g., "People from other racial or ethnic groups are sometimes still discriminated against because of their race or ethnicity"; $\alpha=0.92$), and General discrimination (4 items; e.g., "American society is not always fair to all races and ethnicities"; $\alpha=0.76$). The "group differences" subscale was dropped due to low reliability. Race mute socialization was also measured using items from Pahlke et al. (2021) (4 items; e.g., "talking openly about race is rude or impolite"; $\alpha=0.82$). Mothers responded on a 1 ("Never") to 5 ("Very Often") scale and subscale means were created.

Covariates. As in the baseline study, participants reported their (a) annual income using a 1 (less than \$25,000) to 9 (\$200,000 or more) scale; (b) education on a 1 (some high school) to 7 (graduate or professional degree) scale (Distefano et al., 2018); (c) political affiliation on a 1 (very liberal) to 5 (very conservative) scale; (d) importance of political and religious affiliation on a 1 (very important) to 4 (not at all important) scale (Pew Research Center, 2018); (e) age, (f) child age, and (g) COVID-19 impact on daily life (Harkness, 2020). See Table 1 for full details.

Procedure

Following Institutional Review Board approval (STUDY00009943), the researchers emailed a survey link to T1 2020 mothers who agreed to be recontacted in the future.

Participants were consented at each year of participation via an online consent form.

Plan of Analyses

Mixed methods analyses were conducted by mixing qualitative content codes with quantitative scale scores in analyses. First, as an initial test of Hypothesis 1 (WRID growth), longitudinal qualitative analyses were conducted by content-coding T2 data for WRID and WS using the T1 codes (Ferguson et al., 2022), then comparing the quantity of T1 and T2 content codes using quantitative analyses. Second, to test Hypothesis 2 (replicate T1 WRID:WS association), WRID longitudinal change groups were created from T1 and T2 WRID content codes to capture mothers' WRID stability vs. change, then WRID and WS content codes across longitudinal WRID change groups were pattern coded to qualitatively assess developmental differences in specific features of WRID and WS. Also testing Hypothesis 2, quantitative T2 WRID and WS scale scores were correlated. Third, three in-depth longitudinal case studies combined qualitative and quantitative data to integrate and illustrate WRID and WS patterns.

Qualitative Analyses

Each mother's responses to all open-ended questions were content-coded for WRID and WS separately using the codebook from the baseline T1 study (see Ferguson et al., 2022) with a few deviations noted below. See Table 2 and Supplement B for the codes and codebook used. The qualitative methods used were iteratively assessed for methodological integrity throughout.

First Cycle Coding. A team of trained Black, White, and Mixed Race coders categorized mothers with open-ended responses that made no mention of race into Phase 0=Racially Silent. Responses from the remaining mothers were coded dichotomously into 1=WRID Phase I or

2=WRID Phase 2, then WRID longitudinal change groups were created to index mothers' WRID phase stability versus change. For inter-rater agreement, we first calculated the kappa coefficient between two trained research assistants -- one White and one Black -- but the consensual coding approach (meaning agreement through discussion) proved superior. That is, research assistants independently content-coded 10% of the dataset; however, neither racial silence nor WRID achieved a kappa >0.8 after three rounds of coding despite high coder agreement (87%) with very few discrepant cases. Therefore, coders used consensual coding to recode the entire dataset.

WS codes were grouped into four domains per the baseline study (Ferguson et al., 2022), adapted from Saldaña's coding approach (2015): Beliefs/Values, Attitudes, Practices, and Emotions. A different team of trained Black, White, and Mixed Race research assistants (not WRID coders) coded WS. WS attitudes ($k=0.7-1.0$), practices ($k=0.81-1.0$), and emotions ($k=0.81-0.84$) all achieved acceptable to excellent kappas after 1-4 coding rounds. Within Beliefs/Values, four of six codes achieved acceptable reliability after three rounds of coding (kappas > 0.7) whereas one code was dropped due to low meaningfulness and reliability at T2 ("Black Lives Matter": $k=0.48$), and the other code achieved reliability after one round of recoding by two different coders ("parenting values": $k > .8$).

Second Cycle Coding. To examine Hypothesis 2, second cycle coding involved pattern coding (Saldaña, 2015) of first cycle codes whereby patterns in the WRID and WS content codes were synthesized across each WRID longitudinal change group. Patterns were characterized in relation to 11 meta-features of mothers' WRID and WS drawn from WRID theory, White racial socialization literature, the Stages of Change model, and the year 1 Whiteness Pandemic findings summarized earlier. First, we identified five meta-features of WRID that were likely to index antiracist change: *Racism understanding*, *Colorblind racial ideology*, *Race-related information*

posture, *Social position*, and *BLM orientation*. Then we also identified six meta-features of WS likely to index antiracist development: *Socialization Motivation*, *Goals*, *Emotions*, *Race talk*, *Initiator*, and *Effort*. The first author identified these pattern codes across the WRID longitudinal change groups then the second author reviewed them for confirmation. Table 3 reflects the shared understanding of the pattern codes across the two authors.

Quantitative Analyses

The proportion of missing data in the analytic sample was minimal across variables (1.5% at highest). Little's Missing Completed at Random (MCAR) test was not significant ($\chi^2=1927.21$, $p=0.33$); therefore, missing data were imputed using estimated marginal means. Main analyses were conducted using SPSS Version 27. First, for cross-validation of qualitative and quantitative measures, the qualitatively-derived WRID and WS content codes² were correlated with their corresponding quantitative WRID and WS scale scores ($n=202$ due to excluding one participant with T2 WRID=0). Next, chi-square analyses examined change in WRID content codes across timepoints (Hypothesis 1) and cross-tabulated T2 WRID content codes with T2 WS content codes (Hypothesis 2). Finally, also testing Hypothesis 2, quantitative T2 WRID and WS scale scores were correlated, and MANCOVAs compared T2 WS scale scores across T2 WRID groups and across T2 WRID Stable vs. WRID Growth groups, controlling for covariates (see "Measures"). An α of 0.05 was used; η^2 and Cohen's d s measured effect sizes.

RESULTS

Preliminary Cross-Validation of Qualitative and Quantitative Measurement

Cross-validation findings met expectations. First, WRID content codes (1=Phase 1, 2=Phase 2) correlated negatively with the WRID Phase 1 schema scale scores ($r_{\text{Contact}} = -0.42$,

² Quantitative analyses included both quantitative data collected in numerical form (called "scale scores" throughout the manuscript) and quantified qualitative data originally collected in text form (called "content codes").

$r_{\text{Disintegration}} = -0.35$, $r_{\text{Reintegration}} = -0.51$, $ps < .001$) and positively with the Phase 2 schema scale score ($r_{\text{Immersion/Emersion}} = 0.47$, $ps < .001$). Second, most significant correlations between WS content codes and WS scale scores were positive (see Supplement C).

WRID and WS Stability and Change Over Time

Supporting Hypothesis 1 (more WRID growth than regression), first cycle content coding of T2 WRID using the T1 codebook revealed that 73.4% ($n=149$) of the sample showed WRID phase growth across timepoints whereas 25.6% ($n=52$) showed WRID phase stability, and only 1% ($n=2$) showed WRID phase regression. Specifically, there were four WRID Longitudinal Change Groups: 1) 'WRID 0 Stably Racially Silent' (WRID Phase $0 \rightarrow 0$, 0.5%), 2) WRID 1 Stable (Phase $1 \rightarrow 1$, 7.9%), 3) WRID Growth (Phase $0 \rightarrow 1$ [12.8%], $0 \rightarrow 2$ [37.9%], & $1 \rightarrow 2$ [22.7%], total 73.4%), and 4) WRID 2 Stable (Phase $2 \rightarrow 2$, 17.2%). Change in WRID membership across time was statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 7.14$, $df=2$, $N=202$, $p < .05$; see Figure 2) and WRID longitudinal change groups differed in political liberalism (WRID 2 Stable > WRID Growth > WRID 1 Stable) and in the importance of religion (WRID 1 Stable > WRID Growth): one-way MANOVA: $F(16, 378) = 2.97$, $p < .001$, Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.79$, partial $\eta^2 = .11$.

Further supporting Hypothesis 1 (WRID growth), second cycle pattern coding of WRID first cycle codes across the four WRID longitudinal change groups revealed WRID development in each of the 5 WRID meta-features (see Table 2). *Racism understanding* and *Colorblind racial ideology* were least developed in WRID 0 Stably Racially Silent mothers, who displayed racism denial and color- and power-evasion, and more developed among WRID 1 Stable mothers who acknowledged individual-level racism and had color-conscious yet power-evasive views. *Racism understanding* and *Colorblind racial ideology* were most developed among WRID Growth mothers and WRID 2 Stable WRID mothers, both of whom acknowledged systemic racism and

expressed color- and power-consciousness. Across the four WRID change groups, mothers also demonstrated an increasingly aware, open, active, and sophisticated *posture towards race-related information*, their own *social position*, and *BLM*. Unlike WRID 0 Stably Racially Silent mothers who were totally closed to race-related information, denied White privilege, and considered BLM illegitimate, WRID 1 Stable mothers were passively open recipients of race-relation information although they were more likely to support All Lives Matter and felt indicted by the notion of White privilege. WRID Growth mothers were further along: they were actively seeking truth about racial injustice while owning and resisting White Privilege and participating in BLM events. WRID 2 Stable mothers sustained the most developed WRID overtime, reflecting on how White privilege intersected with other privileges. They were tangibly invested in a lifestyle of racial learning including financing BLM while appreciating the limits of their vicarious learning about the Black experience.

For WS stability and change, all T1 themes and codes were also detected at T2 except Attitudes-Dual pandemic grateful/managing and Practices-Following news obsessively. Only one theme was added at T2 that did not appear at T1: “Practices-Initiator” indexed who initiated the WS practice being coded (e.g., child, parent; See Table 2 for T2 list of themes of codes).

Qualitative Assessment of the WRID:WS Association

Pattern coding of first cycle WS codes across the four WRID longitudinal change groups also revealed development in each WS meta-feature, supporting Hypothesis 2 by replicating and extending the T1 WRID:WS association (see Table 2). WRID 0 Stably Racially Silent mothers’ *WS motivations* to avoid racial socialization differed from WRID 1 Stable mothers’ motivations to racially socialize children into a pollyannaish view of racial diversity and shield them from racial discomfort. On the other hand, WRID Growth mothers’ WS was motivated by a sense of

urgency for racial justice and WRID 2 Stable mothers were prompted by a still deeper sense of parental and citizenship duty. Not surprisingly, *WS goals* were closely linked to *emotions*, *race talk*, and conversation *initiation* across WRID Change groups. WRID 0 Stably Racially Silent mothers' goal to prohibit racial socialization was accomplished by being race mute and decidedly dispassionate about topics of race in family contexts. This differed from WRID 1 Stable mothers aimed to teach their children about individual equality but struggled with racial fears so they engaged in race talk only if questioned by their child. On the other hand, WRID Growth mothers aimed to teach their children to recognize and address individual inequities by learning and courageously using contemporary antiracism lingo freely and often (e.g., “systemic racism”, “institutional racism”, “privilege”, “allyship”). The chief WS goal of WRID 2 Stable mothers – those furthest along in development – was to teach children to be aware of their White privilege and to disrupt systemic racism by normalizing race talk in casual conversation.

The development of mothers' racial socialization from equality to equity was evident in parent-child discussions on topics beyond race. For example, an equality-focused WRID 1 Stable mother taught her children the Christian “Golden Rule” that focuses on kindness in individual interpersonal interactions. An equity-focused WRID Growth mother instead emphasized the biblical parable of ‘The Lost Sheep’ involving shifting attention away from 99 nurtured sheep to provide unique help to one endangered sheep. Finally, consistent with the Stages of Change model, Stably Racially Silent mothers invested no *WS effort* (precontemplation-stage 1) whereas WRID 1 Stable mothers showed low WS effort (contemplation-2), WRID Growth mothers showed high WS effort through engagement in a flurry of antiracist activities (preparation-3 and action-4), and WRID 2 Stable mothers showed moderate(d) effort (maintenance-5).

For closer examination, the WRID Growth group was then disentangled into three

subgroups. WRID Growth from Phase 0-->1 was characterized by a change from being race mute to having a passive stance towards race talk. WRID Growth from Phase 0-->2 was characterized by a change from being race mute to having an active learning stance accompanied by antiracist action. And WRID Growth from Phase 1-->2 was characterized by a change from power-evasion to self-aware power-consciousness. Importantly, these three WRID Growth groups differed in the types and numbers of race-related activities as detailed in Table 4.

Quantitative Assessment of the WRID:WS Association

Also supporting Hypothesis 2, chi-square analyses showed that T2 WRID and WS content codes were significantly associated in expected ways (see Table 2). In addition, T2 WRID and WS scale scores were correlated in expected ways (see Table 1). Finally, one-way MANCOVAs compared T2 WS scale scores based on T2 WRID content codes (Phase 1 vs. 2) including all covariates. There was a statistically significant omnibus difference, $F(6, 188)=6.11$, $p<.001$, Wilks' $\Lambda=0.84$, partial $\eta^2=.16$, whereby WRID Phase 1 mothers talked less about the History of other groups ($M=2.65$ vs. 3.24 , $p<.01$, $d=-0.69$), Discrimination against other groups (2.31 vs. 3.17 , $p<.001$, $d=-1$), and General discrimination (3.16 vs. 3.84 , $p<.001$, $d=-0.9$) at T2. We then compared the T2 WS scale scores across WRID longitudinal change groups using the same covariates. The omnibus test for WS was not significant, $F(12, 370)=1.25$, $p=0.25$, Wilks' $\Lambda = 0.92$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$; however, pairwise comparisons were still conducted given our a priori hypothesis. WRID Growth mothers (3.71 vs. 3.02 , $p<.05$, $d=0.87$) and WRID 2 Stable mothers (3.97 vs. 3.02 , $p<.05$, $d=1.22$) talked more about general discrimination than did WRID 1 Stable mothers. Additionally, to confirm that WRID Phase change (versus mean level WRID) positively predicted T2 WS, a posthoc hierarchical regression with covariates in step 1 found that T2 WRID codes predicted T2 WS scores after controlling for T1 WRID codes. This effect held for

History of other groups ($\beta=0.48$), Discrimination against other groups ($\beta=0.81$), and General discrimination ($\beta=0.51$) (all $ps<.01$; see Supplement D).

Longitudinal Mixed Methods Case Studies of Antiracist Change

To further illustrate patterns of antiracist change, a prototypical mother was selected from each of the three subordinate WRID Growth groups for an in-depth mixed methods case study. Prototypical cases were selected based on clarity of expression and having the most T1 and T2 WRID codes, WS codes, and developmental features identified in the foregoing group-level analyses. Each case study integrates mothers' demographic, qualitative, and quantitative data to provide a 360° view of WRID Growth mothers (see Supplement E). As WRID growth is the primary focus of this analysis, WRID Stable mothers' information is included in Supplement F.

Nicole (WRID 0→1) was a somewhat politically conservative and very religious mother of a 6-year-old who was silent on race in 2020 but minimally acknowledged 'race' and 'racism' in her 2021 responses. In 2021, Nicole scored highest on the Contact schema (lowest WRID Phase 1 schema) relative to other schemas and all her WS scores were at or below the scale midpoints. She described an intentionally color-evasive and power-evasive parenting style marked by equality-focused egalitarianism and kindness. That is, she had not had conversations with her children about Floyd's murder nor Chauvin's trial during the preceding year because she found it unnecessary and premature: "I do not feel that killings and racism are conversations that really need to happen with young children...bringing race into the equation feels more like seeding their minds with a problem they have not yet encountered". Instead, Nicole preferred to "hope [her] children are kind and empathic" and desired for them not to focus on any race besides the human race because "everyone is important and valuable and no one is better than anyone else". Nicole did not seek out coverage of the Chauvin trial but saw snippets in the news.

Robin (WRID 0→2) was a very politically conservative and very religious mother of a 11-year old who was silent on race in 2020 but discussed “systemic racism” in 2021. In 2021, Robin scored highest on the Immersion/Emersion WRID schema relative to other schemas (highest Phase 2 schema analyzed). All of her WS scores were at or above the scale midpoints and all were higher than Nicole’s, except for race mute socialization. Robin described an intentionally color-conscious and power-conscious parenting style marked by equity-focused egalitarianism blended with Christian action: “I always use the story of the lost sheep from the Bible. Jesus leaves the 99 to go look for the 1, because every single one matters. Yes, every human matters. But right now people of different races are that 1 sheep-we need to leave the other 99 and focus on the 1 because it matters.” She discussed Floyd’s murder and Chauvin’s trial with her children during the preceding year when they asked her about it, putting these events in the context of the immorality of systemic racism: “We want our children to be educated and know what is right”. Robin’s family chose not to watch Chauvin’s trial but they discussed it.

Jennifer (WRID 1→2) was a somewhat politically conservative and non-religious mother of a 5-year-old who spoke cautiously with her child in 2020 about the “current unrest surrounding the death of George Floyd” emphasizing their physical distance from George Floyd square. In 2021, Jennifer’s language and approach had become power-conscious, acknowledging “how institutional racism has oppressed people of color”. In 2021, she scored highest on the Immersion/Emersion WRID schema relative to other schemas. Not counting race mute socialization, most of her WS frequency scores were at or above the scale midpoints and higher than Nicole’s but lower than Robin’s. Jennifer described an intentionally color-conscious and power-conscious parenting style marked by reality-based education about racism, White privilege, and other intersecting privileges: “I want them to understand the reality of racism in

our society and also the immense privilege they have as white males...It's a hard topic to address with a young child, but I want him to have a foundation for later discussions". She listened to Minnesota Public Radio for updates on the Chauvin trial and read online recaps of the Chauvin trial on a daily basis because "it was important for me to...see some accountability".

DISCUSSION

This paper reported the results of a mixed methods one-year longitudinal follow-up of the original Whiteness Pandemic study conducted among White Minneapolis families immediately after George Floyd was murdered in 2020 (Ferguson et al., 2022). We tested if one year of continuous dissonance events following Floyd's murder, including Derek Chauvin's arrest, televised trial, and conviction alongside high visibility antiracist media and movements such as BLM would be enough to prompt the deep and sustained antiracist change required to arrest the Whiteness Pandemic in these families. Our findings supported and exceeded expectations: 73% of mothers showed significant WRID growth and 78% were power-conscious. Importantly, mothers' antiracist WS of their children developed in tandem with their WRID across the year.

This study makes meaningful theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions with major practical implications for antiracist parenting in White American families. First, we cross-sectionally replicated the positive WRID:WS association from the baseline study. Second, this study revealed significant organic improvements in WRID and WS across one year – a year that provided sustained dissonance via antiracist media, movements, and legal justice actions. Relatedly, the large decrease in racial silence between T1 and T2 was not an artifact of the T1 qualitative methodology: T1 quantitative analyses showed that racially silent mothers had significantly lower multiculturalism scores than did WRID 1 or 2 racial responders (Ferguson et al., 2022), validating they had the lowest WRID at T1 yet grew into WRID 1 or 2 by T2. Third,

findings confirmed the longitudinal association between WRID and WS by establishing that 2021 WS was predicted by post-Floyd WRID growth. Fourth, findings provided empirical support for the predictions of the Transtheoretical Model of Behavior Change for antiracist change (all five stages of change appeared as discussed in the next paragraph) and for the expectations of Hazelbaker et al.'s (2022) antiracism developmental model for younger children (e.g., discussing racism using current events such as Floyd's murder and Chauvin's trial) and older children (e.g., supporting child's antiracist school club involvement).

With regard to the stages of antiracist parenting change, only one mother in the T2 sample was coded as racially silent, mapping onto precontemplation. WRID 1 Stable mothers appeared to be in the contemplation stage: they were color-conscious, acknowledged interpersonal racism, and had an WS goal of teaching their children equality in treating others. Although they were aware of some of the pros of becoming an antiracist parent, their ambivalence and fear about the cons (e.g., do not support some BLM actions, 'scared for the city of Minneapolis') kept them chronically stuck in contemplation. Mothers demonstrating positive WRID growth across timepoints were in preparation (WRID 0→1) and action (WRID 0/1→2) stages of change, having achieved power-consciousness. These mothers were putting high effort into many activities for their own antiracist learning (WRID) and their antiracist parenting (WS). Finally, WRID 2 Stable mothers were in the maintenance stage: they had integrated antiracist changes into their lifestyle with moderate, sustainable efforts (e.g., race talk was normalized into everyday casual conversation) and displayed humility regarding lifelong racial learning.

Implications

Just as non-swimmers cannot teach their children to swim and monolingual parents cannot teach their children bilingual fluency, our findings underscore that White parents can only

socialize their children up to the level of their own comfort in handling racial information and experiences. These replicated empirical findings are useful in directing interventionists to parental WRID as an additional target to complement teaching parents race talk skills. Perry et al. (2024) have convincingly demonstrated that White parents can be taught in one session to have color- and power-conscious conversations with their children that decrease mothers' and children's implicit biases. A dual-pronged multi-session intervention targeting both WRID and WS of White parents could intensify and sustain these effects.

Interventionists should bear in mind, however, that antiracist interventions should be matched to individuals' stage of change according to the Transtheoretical model of behavior change (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983; see Figure 1). At a broad level, parents in pre-contemplation and contemplation will require awareness-oriented antiracist interventions that raise consciousness and prompt empathy regarding the reality and effects of systemic racism and Whiteness (e.g., personal testimonials, media campaigns). Only parents in the preparation, action, and maintenance stages will benefit from action-oriented antiracist interventions with active change processes (e.g., public resolutions, helping relationships, counter conditioning).

Finally, our findings highlight the role of antiracist media in WRID and WS growth and may help to explain why White parents who walk the antiracist walk (advanced WRID) are better able to talk the antiracist talk (advanced WS) with their children. For example, listening to antiracist radio (e.g., MPR program) is expected to spur mothers' WRID while also providing implicit WS as children observe mothers' reactions then ask questions. Similarly, the act of selecting and co-viewing antiracist children's media (e.g., PBS Kids special) likely fosters mothers' WRID alongside their explicit WS race talk skills. Media psychology research is needed to investigate White parents' utilization of race-related media for WRID and WS.

Limitations and Future Directions

First, attrition was high because this study was not originally designed to be longitudinal. However, the attrition and analytic samples did not differ in demographics nor major study variables. Second, as a longitudinal follow-up, the sample only included mothers and those mothers were from fairly privileged backgrounds financially and educationally. However, this demographic espouses the most racially progressive attitudes and as one participant explained: “There is a longstanding system that benefits white people, particularly upper and middle class white people”. Hence, studying their antiracist change journeys is particularly useful and feasible (i.e., sampling racially hostile White parents for antiracist research is a clear non-starter).

Third, with regard to study design, although two measurements of WRID and WS one year apart is a non-trivial advance in antiracist parenting research, adding a third timepoint or allowing participant reporting of critical events between timepoints would be a worthy goal for future studies to better understand antiracist growth trajectories. Fourth, this longitudinal study was correlational and not designed to tease apart cause and effect; therefore, experimental research is needed to understand the directionality of the association between WRID and WS and to direct future interventions. That is, if WRID is the driver of antiracist change, then interventionists should focus on, or start with, WRID support, and vice versa if WS drives.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that deep and sustained antiracist change is possible for White parents and highlights the role of media, movements, and legal justice in resurrecting their WRID and catalyzing their WS. Translational efforts that support White parents in walking the antiracist walk (WRID) while teaching them how to talk the antiracist talk (WS) have untapped potential to arrest the Whiteness Pandemic with greater efficiency and scale.

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Table 1*Descriptive Statistics of All Study Items (N = 203)*

			Correlations with WRIAS (WRID) Items			
Variable	M (SD)	Range	Contact	Disintegration	Reintegration	Immersion/ Emersion
<i>Demographic information (possible scale range)</i>						
Family income ^a (1-9)	5.9 (2.12)	2 – 9	0.06	-0.11	-0.07	-0.08
Parent education ^b (1-7))	2.03 (1.13)	1 – 5	0.16*	0.16*	0.25**	-0.15*
Daily COVID-19 impact (1-5)	3.08 (1.10)	1 – 5	-0.19**	-0.06	-0.17*	0.18**
Parent age (in years)	39.35 (4.05)	28 – 50	-0.06	-0.05	-0.14*	0.03
Political affiliation (1-5; higher = more conservative)	2.26 (1.13)	1 – 5	0.45**	0.36**	0.48**	-0.50**
Political importance (1-4; higher = less important)	2.24 (0.87)	1 – 4	0.37**	0.22**	0.32**	-0.34**
Religious importance (1-4; higher = less important)	2.43 (2.12)	1 – 4	-0.19**	-0.17*	-0.16*	0.19**
<i>White racial identity development (WRIAS)</i>						
Contact (5-25)	12.55 (3.40)	5.00 – 22.00	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Disintegration (10-50)	21.21 (4.80)	10.00-35.00	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Reintegration (10-50)	14.69 (4.40)	10.00-38.00	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Immersion/Emersion (10-50)	33.82 (6.11)	10.00-49.00	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<i>Whiteness socialization items (all 1-5)</i>						
Egalitarianism	3.55 (0.84)	1.20-5.00	0.10	-0.11	-0.12	0.08
History of other groups	3.11 (0.89)	1.00-5.00	-0.04	-0.30**	-0.33**	0.33**
Preparation for bias	2.11 (1.01)	1.00-5.00	0.14*	0.03	0.17*	-0.07
Discrimination against other groups	2.98 (0.88)	1.00-4.86	-0.06	-0.26**	-0.28**	0.38**
General discrimination	3.69 (0.77)	1.25-5.00	-0.10	-0.22**	-0.32**	0.41**
Race mute socialization	1.21 (0.46)	1.00-4.00	0.26**	0.30**	0.32**	-0.12

Note. ^a Income: Less than \$25,000 (1); \$25,000-\$49,999 (2); \$50,000-74,999 (3); \$75,000-\$99,000 (4); \$100,000-\$124,999 (5); \$125,000-\$149,999 (6); \$150,000-\$174,999 (7); \$175,000-\$199,999 (8); \$200,000 or more (9) ^b Education: Graduate or Professional Degree (1); Some Graduate School (2); Bachelor's Degree (3); Some College (4); High School Diploma (5); GED (6); Some High School (7); Contact, disintegration and reintegration are the three WRID schema in Phase 1 and Immersion/Emersion is a WRID Phase II schema. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

Table 2*Chi-Square Analyses of the Association Between T2 Qualitatively-derived WRID and WS Content Codes*

T2 WS Content Codes	T2 WRID Content Codes					
	1	2	χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>p</i>
Beliefs/Values: Racism						
1 (beliefs about race/racism)	32	37	60.20	1	183	< .001***
2 (systemic racism/antiracism)	1	113				
Beliefs/Values: Privilege						
1 (economic privilege)	1	0	48.99	1	99	<.001***
2 (White privilege)	1	97				
Beliefs/Values: Demonstration						
1 (riots often including violence)	6	8	15.69	1	95	< .001***
2 (protests or marches)	5	76				
Beliefs/Values: Blame						
1 (bad people, bad choices; no code 2)	4	0	N/A			
Beliefs/Values: Parenting Values						
1 (awareness-oriented, reactive)	16	29	26.50	1	156	< .001***
2 (social justice-oriented, proactive)	5	106				
Attitudes: Focus						
1 (external)	0	13	0.72	1	89	0.40
2 (internal)	4	72				
Attitudes: Time						
1 (present-oriented)	20	56	10.31	2	166	<.01**
2 (future-oriented)	2	44				
3 (past-oriented)	6	38				
Attitudes: Stress						
1 (external)	7	14	2.28	1	26	.13
2 (internal)	0	5				
Attitudes: Exposure						
1 (tentative)	23	61	12.96	1	172	< .001***
2 (bold)	6	82				
Attitudes: Impact						
1 (community/child)	12	52	.98	1	107	.32
2 (personal/family)	5	38				
Attitudes: Dual Pandemic						
1 (overwhelming)	0	1	N/A			
2 (grateful/managing)	0	0				
Practices: Color/Power Evasive						
1 (color-evasive)	14	11	47.35	2	199	< .001***
2 (power-evasive)	28	60				
3 (power-conscious)	0	86				

Practices: Racial Socialization						
1 (egalitarianism)	20	11	74.17	1	128	<.001***
2 (unveil Whiteness to resist/change)	0	97				
Practices: News						
1 (following news obsessively)	0	0	N/A			
2 (following news purposefully)	15	103				
Practices: Mediation						
1 (restrictive only)	5	5	11.70	2	122	<.01**
2 (restrictive + instructive)	4	18				
3 (instructive only)	9	81				
Practices: Community						
1 (silent or help community)	44	114	13.65	1	196	< .001***
2 (participate in community)	0	38				
Practices: State of Change						
1 (new knowledge about what racism means)	2	12	13.40	1	106	< .001***
2 (systemic racism awareness provokes change)	0	92				
Practices: Initiator ^a						
1 (child)	9	8	18.08	2	180	< .001***
2 (parent)	13	78				
3 (both)	8	64				
Emotions: Universal						
1 (attentive/stressed/distracted; no code 2)	17	124	N/A			
Emotions: Phase						
1 (overwhelmed/nervous/protective)	13	27	12.93	1	106	< .001***
2 (sadness/grief/loss/passion/worry)	4	62				

Note. Participant counts do not add to 203 because not all mothers endorsed all themes. ^a “Practices-Initiator” was the only theme added at T2 that did not appear at T1.

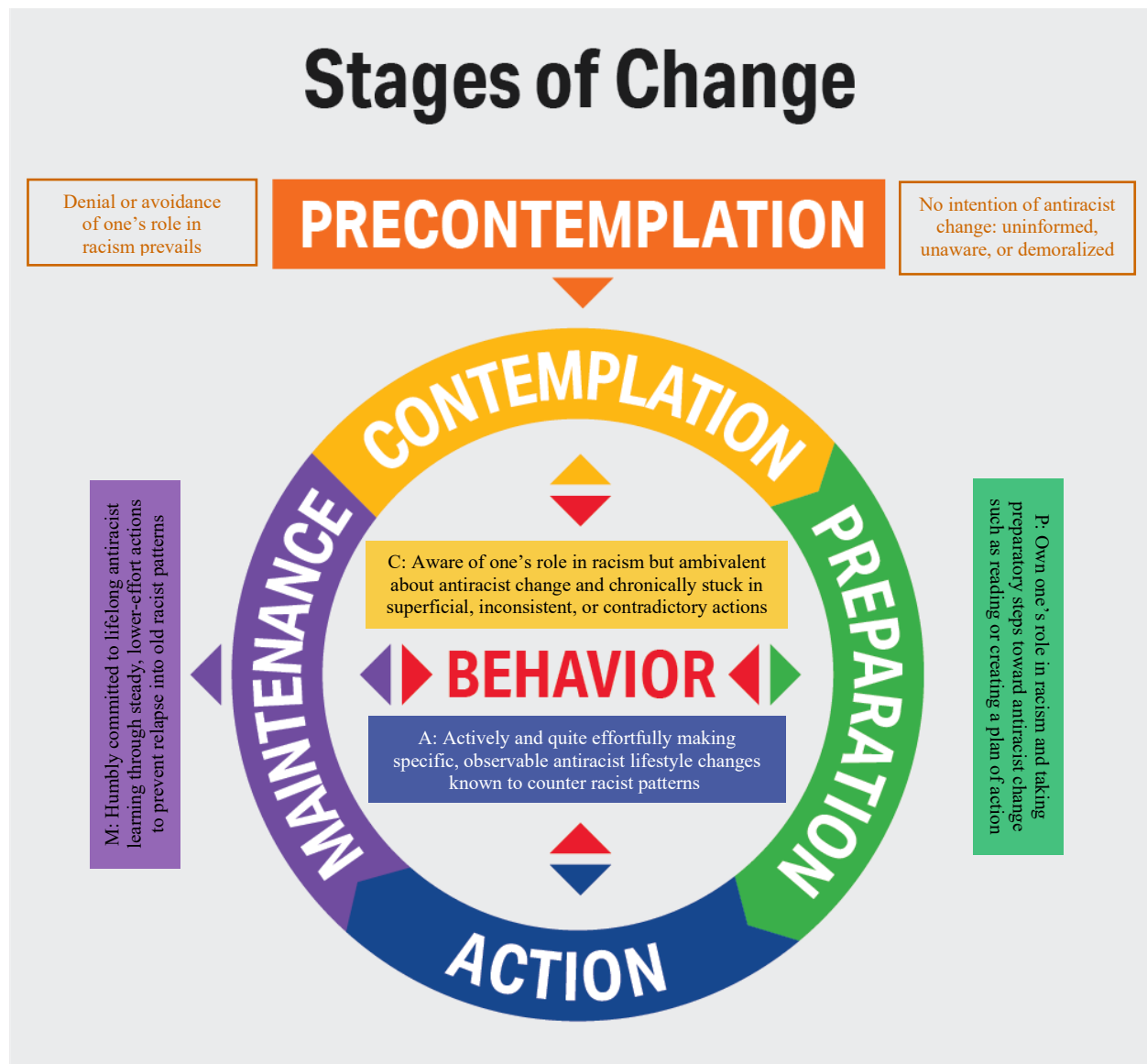
Table 3*Pattern Coding Results Characterizing Each WRID Longitudinal Change Group in Relation to Meta-Features of Mothers' WRID and WS*

DEVELOPMENT							
Meta-Feature	WRID Stable 0→0 (Racially silent)	→	WRID Stable 1→1 (Less advanced)	→	WRID Growth 0→1, 0→2, 1→2	→	WRID Stable 2→2 (More advanced)
WRID							
Racism Understanding	Deny racism	→	Individual racism	→	Individual racism (0→1) & Systemic racism (0/1→2)	→	Systemic racism
Colorblind Racial Ideology	Color-evasive & Power-evasive	→	Mixed color-evasive/ conscious & Power-evasive	→	Color-conscious & Mixed power-evasive/ conscious	→	Color-conscious & Power-conscious
Race-Related Information	Closed posture	→	Passive recipients	→	Active learners & truth-seekers	→	Pilgrims applying knowledge on lifelong journey
Social Position	Silent	→	Sidestep reality of White privilege by emphasizing equality ideals	→	Acknowledge White privilege (0→1) and intersectional White+male privilege (0/1→2), resist White privilege through distal allyship (0/1→2)	→	Use White privilege for antiracist action in proximal sphere; Acknowledge limits to White understanding of BIPOC social positions
BLM Orientation	Avoid BLM	→	Feel indicted by ‘radical’ BLM, support ALM instead	→	Participate and defend BLM	→	Fully support and finance BLM
WS							
WS Motivation	Avoidance	→	Pollyannaish worldview & shielding self/family/group from discomfort	→	To teach accurate racial information (0→1), Importance & urgency of social justice changes, Ending White silence/passivity (0/1→2)	→	Longstanding duty as parent & citizen, including global citizen
WS Goals	Do not incorporate race into parenting	→	Teach children individual-level kindness (be kind), equality (treat everyone the same), and morality (treat people right)	→	Educate children about racial realities of the world for awareness (0→1) & social justice action (0/1→2); Teach children to recognize and address individual inequities	→	Foster children's positive cross-racial friendships through racial self-awareness, Teach children to recognize and dismantle systemic inequities
WS Emotion	Decidedly dispassionate	→	Fear	→	Courage	→	Humility
WS Race Talk	Race mute	→	Talk the talk (if asked)	→	Antiracism as a second language ('ASL' immersion)	→	Walk the walk (open, intentional race talk and ‘noticing’ normalized in casual everyday conversation)
WS Initiator	None	→	Child/school	→	Child/parent (0→1), Parent or both parent and child (0/1→2)	→	Parent
WS Effort	None	→	Low	→	High	→	Moderated

Table 4*Race-Related Activities of the WRID Growth Groups*

WRID 0 → 1 (~13%)	WRID 0 → 2 (~38%)	WRID 1 → 2 (~23%)
Change from being race mute to having a passive stance towards race talk	Change from being race mute to having an active learning stance accompanied by antiracist action	Change from power-evasion to self-aware power-consciousness
• responding to child's bids for discussions • shielding	• listening to BIPOC individuals locally, nationally, and digitally • following race-related news purposefully • co-viewing race-related media • initiating race talk at home • exposing children to diversity • actively & visibly supporting BLM	• owning & teaching children about White privilege and other intersecting privileges • co-viewing of child-specific race media • making BLM donations • teaching children how to use White privilege for local antiracist action • supporting children's antiracism engagement • fostering open, honest intergenerational race talk

Note: Percentages reflect % of the overall sample.

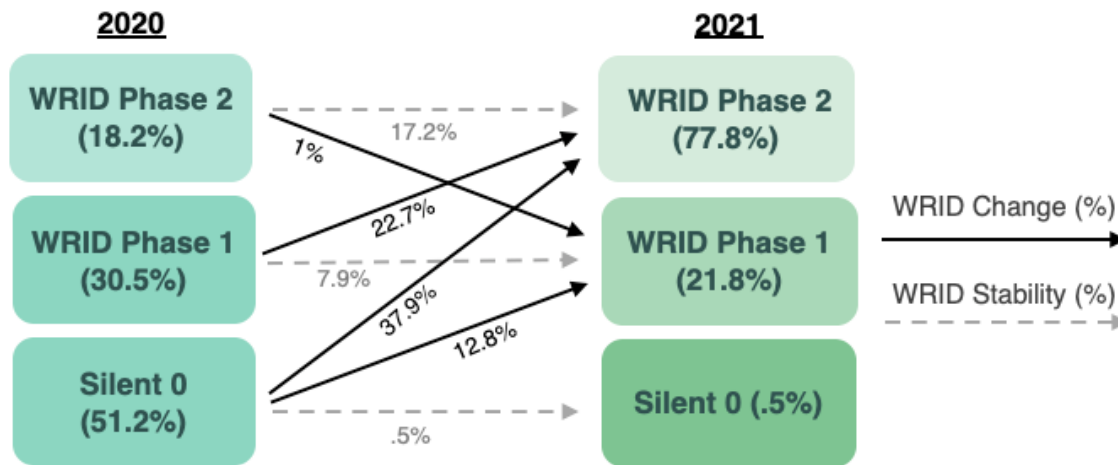
Figure 1*Transtheoretical Model of Change for Antiracist Behavior Change*

Adapted with permission from R1 Publishing LLC: <https://r1learning.com/blog/2020/5-stages-of-change>.

Note. Phase 6, Termination, is not pictured as complete and permanent invulnerability does not apply to most problem behaviors, including racism.

Figure 2

Stability and Change in Qualitative WRID Content Codes Across 2020 (T1) and 2021 (T2)



Note. Altogether, 73.4% of the sample experienced WRID Growth whereas only 1% (2 individuals) experienced WRID regression and the remainder experienced WRID stability. χ^2 ($df = 2$, $N = 202$) = 7.14, $p < .05$.