New Racism
Norma Romm

New Racism

Revisiting Researcher Accountabilities
Preface

The idea for creating this book arose as I started reading various texts on racism—a topic that I had become increasingly interested in exploring over the last 6 years or so. While working with Carlis Douglas and Susan Weil on developing a book built around holding a (cross-racial) dialogue in which we probe together the multifaceted dynamics of everyday institutional racism, and upon reading relevant texts, I identified a lacuna. I realized that while there is a myriad of writings aimed at investigating racism and what is called “new racism” across the globe, there is no text specifically comparing the styles of inquiry used to proceed in the explorations. With “new racism” seen as operating in more or less covert ways in social life, and not easily visible, the question arises as to how the investigation hereof can properly proceed. How can we go about organizing social inquiries around that which is admitted to be not easily detectable (as well as being a shifting terrain)?

I decided to embark on the specific project of examining in depth the variety of ways in which social researchers/inquirers have tried to study this terrain—looking closely at how they have justified their approach (insofar as they offer epistemological and methodological justifications). As I delved into the various approaches—and looked at these with a view to pinpointing the explicit and implicit justifications for the manner of proceeding—I located possibilities for how they might be redesigned and/or further developed. I concentrated on rethinking the methodologies in line with my previous work on the accountabilities of social researchers. For example, in my book *Accountability in Social Research* (2001), I offer suggestions for how social inquirers can display their accountabilities by being mindful of the potential impact of their inquiries on the continuing unfolding of the social worlds of which they are part. This implies paying particular attention to possible hidden consequences of taken-for-granted views of “knowing” and “knowledge making.” This is not to say that none of those concerned with exploring (new) racism already do try to make provision for this. But it is to say that my attention in this book is directed toward considering more possibilities for creating such provision. I do this by drawing from some examples of research that I set out in the book, while expanding upon them, and also by offering some of my own examples.

The project of examining the range of literature in relation to inquiries around new racism and structuring all the arguments into a readable text, turned out to be a more complex process than I originally envisaged. I am hoping that the work that
I have put into detailing different approaches (exemplified with detailed reference to examples that I have chosen) and my proposals for extending them in specific ways will be helpful for inquirers – professional researchers and others – in their considerations for designing explorations around this area of concern.

As I explain in the book, I believe – with many others – that our ways of knowing are inextricably linked with our ways of living and being. Therefore, I believe that the suggestions that I advance for ways of exploring new racism are part of the process of our exploring options for revitalizing our humanity.

I would like to acknowledge that in writing this book I benefited immensely from input from the following people in particular, to whom I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude.

As regards my Chapter 1, which I found – as my starting chapter – almost the most difficult chapter to construct, many people helped me to define its development. Aleco Christakis, Sisinyane Makoena, Janet McIntyre-Mills, Tshimangodzo Mphilo, Phumla Nhulumayo, Abimbola Olateju, Elsa Onkenhout, Susan Schutte, and Susan Weil all read and offered commentary hereto. Susan Weil indicated to me (besides the additional commentary that she made suggesting points at which I should add clarifying material) that, in her words, “I so love how you ARE putting yourself more into your writing Norma ... I think we [Carlis and I] have had a big influence on you in this and in modeling different ways of doing this.” She added that this is especially important in a context where “implicit pressures and norms ... support tendencies to disappear ourselves in academic writing and research.” Tshimangodzo Mphilo pointed out to me the parts in the chapter that she found particularly meaningful and worth developing; and this also helped to give me direction.

As regards the rest of the book, in order not to ask too much of my friends, I asked different ones to offer feedback on different areas (although at times I gave the same sections of chapters to different ones hoping to receive a variety of perspectives). Aleco Christakis, Carlis Douglas, Veronica McKay, Phumla Nhulumayo, and Susan Weil all offered feedback that was invaluable both in helping me to see where the structure of chapters needed modification and where points that I had made needed development. Aleco’s comments on Chapters 3, 7, and 8 helped me to concretize many of my statements; Carlis’s comments in relation to Chapters 2, 7, and 9 helped me to see where I needed to extend the discussion; Veronica’s comments on Chapter 2 likewise were useful in this way; Phumla’s engagement with Chapters 5 and 6 opened up new insights for me; and Susan Weil’s engagement with Chapters 2, 7, 8, and 9 helped me to strengthen my “narrative” (as she calls it). Janet McIntyre-Mills kindly read almost the entire draft at its near-final stage – and I am grateful for her locating some places where I could clarify the text, but also for her summarizing for me how she was reading the book as a totality and how in her view I had proceeded to make a workable “flow” in the book. (I was also relieved to receive from all my commentators highly enthusiastic statements about the book, such as, for instance: that I had managed to weave together constructively threads from sociology, methodology, race, class, gender discussions, and so on – a job that “had to be done”; that the book was “very important toward the
development of our understanding of new racism”; that my inquiry approach in the book made a very important contribution to the field and that it would surely be “well received.”)

Meanwhile, discussions that I had with all these people (via face-to-face conversation, e-mail, and/or Skype) around the issues raised in the book also became useful material that became included in the text (and I have cited these conversations as “personal communications” therein). It is heartwarming to have received all the support offered to me – not only through people’s material contributions, but also through their “being there” for me. I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewers chosen by Springer to review my initial proposal, which helped me in the structuring of the chapters.

In conclusion, the fact that I come from South Africa, where national and international icon Nelson Mandela spent 27 years in prison for his convictions on a humane and inclusive society meant that I could not but be inspired by the magnanimity of his spirit of wholeness. I hope that this spirit is reflected in this book.

July 2009
## Contents

1 **General Introduction** .................................................... 1  
1.1 Introduction ......................................................... 1  
1.2 A Brief Biographical Narrative .................................... 5  
1.3 Creating Depth of Insight Through Developing Connectivity ... 9  
1.4 The “Reality” of Groupness ........................................ 10  
1.5 Notions of Reflexivity ............................................... 13  
  1.5.1 A Realist-Oriented View ...................................... 13  
  1.5.2 A Constructivist-Oriented View .............................. 16  
  1.5.3 A Trusting Constructivist View .............................. 20  
1.6 Contours of “Professional” Inquiry ............................... 24  
  1.6.1 Discursively Accounting for Research Strategies ........ 24  
  1.6.2 Creating Publicly Available Material ..................... 25  
1.7 Outline of Chapters 2–9 ............................................. 27  

2 **Conceptualizing New Racism in Relation to Old-Fashioned Racism: Concepts and Research Approaches** ......................................................... 33  
2.1 Introduction .......................................................... 33  
2.2 New Racism in Relation to Old-Fashioned Racism ............... 34  
  2.2.1 Some Accounts of Old-Fashioned and New Racism in the USA ......................................................... 34  
  2.2.2 Some Accounts of the Development of (Old and New) Racism in Europe .............................................. 43  
2.3 New Racism ........................................................... 49  
  2.3.1 Symbolic Racism ................................................. 49  
  2.3.2 Modern Racism .................................................. 55  
  2.3.3 Aversive Racism ............................................... 66  
  2.3.4 Cultural Racism ................................................ 73  
  2.3.5 Institutional Racism .......................................... 84  
  2.3.6 Color-Blind Racism as Systemic ......................... 89  
2.4 The Use of Concepts Across Geographical Contexts ............ 93  
2.5 Conclusion .......................................................... 100
3 Experimental Research: Studying Variables to Examine Causal Effects in Terms of Mitigating Against the Potential of Racism .......................... 103

3.1 Introduction ........................................ 103

3.1.1 Some Considerations Around Experimentation as a Research Design .......... 105

3.1.2 Examples Discussed and Revisited .................. 107

3.2 Nier et al.’s Experiments in Relation to Common Group Identity (Delaware, USA) ........................ 108

3.2.1 Study 1: The Laboratory Experiment ................ 108

3.2.2 Study 2: The Field Experiment ..................... 114

3.2.3 Nier et al.’s Conclusions: Benefits of Recategorization 118

3.3 Related Work on Recategorization ...................... 118

3.3.1 Dual Identity Representations, Decategorization, and Recategorization ........ 122

3.3.2 Dovidio’s Exposition of the “Normality” of Social Categorization .......... 124

3.4 Revisiting the Experiments and Their Theoretical Framing ................ 125

3.4.1 The Experimental Reliance on Racial Group Categorization .................. 125

3.4.2 Providing for Alternative Interpretive Frames in Processes of “Knowing” .... 129

3.4.3 Implications of the Status of Nier et al.’s Conclusions for Practical Recommendations .... 135

3.5 Complementary Work on Crossed Categorization (In Various Geographical Contexts) ............. 137

3.5.1 Further Exploring the Common Ingroup Identity Model (In Relation to Crossed Category Groups) ................. 139

3.5.2 Revisiting Work on Crossed Categorization in Relation to Group Categorization ......... 141

3.6 Decategorization in Relation to the Understanding of Group Categorization ................. 145

3.7 Monteith, Voils, and Ashburn-Nardo’s Experiment: Exploring White People’s Reactions to Implicit Racial Bias (Kentucky, USA) .................... 147

3.7.1 The Social Context of the Experiment and Its Goals .......................... 148

3.7.2 Monteith, Voils, and Ashburn-Nardo’s Discussion of Results Generated via the Research ...... 151

3.8 Ashburn-Nardo et al.’s Related Work with African American Participants (Kentucky, USA) ........... 153

3.9 Revisiting Monteith, Voils, and Ashburn-Nardo’s and Ashburn-Nardo et al.’s Experiments ............. 155

3.9.1 Revisiting the Experiment with White Participants ........ 155
3.9.2 Revisiting the Experiment with African American Participants .................................. 158
3.10 Some Other Experimental Work on the IAT: The Influence of the Stimulus Items .......................... 161
3.11 Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 164
   3.11.1 Revisiting Researcher Accountability in Experimental Research .......................... 166
   3.11.2 Extending Research Options ............................................................................. 167

4 Survey Research: Examining Expressed Feelings and Views on Racial(ized) Issues as Variables Along with Other Variables ................................................................. 171
   4.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................. 171
       4.1.1 Examples Discussed and Revisited .................................................................. 174
   4.2 Rabinowitz et al.’s Survey Exploring the Relationship Between Egalitarianism and Affective Bias (Los Angeles, USA) ................................................................. 175
       4.2.1 The Social Context of the Research ................................................................. 175
       4.2.2 The (Societal-Level) Focus on Egalitarian Beliefs ......................................... 176
       4.2.3 Possible (Hypothesized) Mediators of Prejudice: Strength of Ingroup Ethnic Identity and Outgroup Orientation ................................................................. 178
       4.2.4 Rabinowitz et al.’s Discussion of Results ......................................................... 179
   4.3 Revisiting Rabinowitz et al.’s Research .................................................................... 182
       4.3.1 Rabinowitz et al.’s Conception of Multicultural Education ......................... 184
       4.3.2 Possibilities for Developing Reframing .............................................................. 188
       4.3.3 Accounting for Framing in Relation to Affirmative Action .............................. 190
   4.4 Haley and Sidanius’s Survey Exploring the Positive and Negative Framing of Affirmative Action (Los Angeles, USA) ................................................................. 193
   4.5 A Comment on Haley and Sidanius’s Survey ......................................................... 195
   4.6 Dunn and Geeraert’s Survey in Australia ............................................................... 197
       4.6.1 Dunn and Geeraert’s Discussion of Results ..................................................... 200
   4.7 Revisiting Dunn and Geeraert’s Approach: Probing Their Proffered “Student Activities” ................................................................. 202
       4.7.1 “Activities” for Reviewing the Constructs of Culture and Race, and Possible Links to Racism ................................................................. 202
       4.7.2 Inviting Audience Participation: A Novel Style of Write-Up? ....................... 205
       4.7.3 Some Final Points on Dunn and Geeraert’s Scholarship ............................... 208
   4.8 Conclusion ............................................................................................................. 210
       4.8.1 Revisiting Researcher Accountability in Survey Research ............................... 211
       4.8.2 Extending Research Options ........................................................................... 212
## Contents

### 5 Intensive Interviewing as Research: Generating In-Depth Talk to Explore Experiences/Cognitions of Racism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1</td>
<td>Backdrop to My Discussion of Examples</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.2</td>
<td>Examples Discussed and Revisited</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Essed’s Intensive Interviewing</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1</td>
<td>Focusing on Experiences/Insights of Black Women</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2</td>
<td>The Link Between Lay People’s and Professional’s Understandings</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.3</td>
<td>Analytic Induction Combined with Structural Interpretation for Theorizing</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.4</td>
<td>Essed’s Discussion of Research Results</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Revisiting Essed’s Discussion</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1</td>
<td>Essed’s Nondirective Interviewing Approach</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2</td>
<td>Essed’s Theorizing in Relation to the Narrations (Storying) of the Interviewees</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3</td>
<td>Essed’s Account of Converging Systems of Oppression</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussion as Intensive Interviewing</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1</td>
<td>Some Conceptions of Focus Group Communication</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Romm’s Organization of a Focus Group Discussion Around Post-apartheid Friendships</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Reviewing Romm’s Focus Group Interviewing Approach</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.1</td>
<td>The Social Significance of Focus Group Inquiry to Deliberate on Nonracism</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7.1</td>
<td>Revisiting Researcher Accountability in Intensive Interviewing</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7.2</td>
<td>Extending Research Options</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6 Ethnographic Research: Exploring the Quality of Social Life in Social Settings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1</td>
<td>Controversies Around a Case Study as Reported by Hammersley</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.2</td>
<td>Criticism of Hammersley’s Methodological and Theoretical Orientation: Moving Beyond Middle Range Theorizing</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.3</td>
<td>An Alternative Provided by Discourse Ethnography</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.4</td>
<td>Examples Discussed and Revisited</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>DeCuir and Dixson’s Study of a High School in the USA</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1</td>
<td>Writing Up the Results in Relation to CRT Literature</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2</td>
<td>DeCuir and Dixson’s Summary Discussion: Implications for Practice</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Revisiting DeCuir and Dixson’s Approach</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.3.1 The Status of Stories and Counter-Stories ........ 287
6.3.2 The Link Between Theorizing and Quests for Social Justice ........ 290
6.4 Some Views on Autoethnography as Social Inquiry .... 299
6.5 Romm’s Involvement in a Case of Felt Discrimination at a University in the United Kingdom .......... 301
6.6 Review of Romm’s Autoethnographic “Report” ...... 308
6.7 Conclusion ........................................ 311
   6.7.1 Revisiting Researcher Accountability in Ethnographic Research ........ 312
   6.7.2 Extending Research Options .................. 312

7 Action Research: Exploring in Action the Meaning of Research as Change in Complex Living Systems .......... 315
7.1 Introduction ....................................... 315
   7.1.1 Action Research as an Inquiry Orientation in Relation to Alternatives ........ 317
   7.1.2 Deliberations Around the Epistemological Underpinning of Action Research .... 319
   7.1.3 Strategies for Action Research as Living Inquiry ........ 321
   7.1.4 Dearth of Examples of “Race-Conscious” Action Research ........ 323
   7.1.5 Examples Discussed and Revisited ............ 324
7.2 Weil et al.’s Action Inquiry Around Institutional Racism in Organizational Contexts in Britain .......... 325
   7.2.1 Some Contextual Background ................. 325
   7.2.2 The Through a Hundred Pairs of Eyes Program ... 327
   7.2.3 Douglas’s Reflections on the Program .......... 336
   7.2.4 Weil’s Reflections on the Program ............ 339
   7.2.5 Summary Reflections on the Significance of the “Trigger Method” ............... 341
7.3 Revisiting the Through a Hundred Pairs of Eyes Program .... 342
   7.3.1 The Pragmatic Intent of the Inquiry Process ... 342
   7.3.2 Evaluation of the Worth of the Program ...... 345
   7.3.3 Theorizing Around Institutional Racism as Part of the Program .............. 348
7.4 Action Inquiry Toward a Peace Movement in Relation to Cyprus .......... 350
   7.4.1 Some Contextual Background ................. 350
   7.4.2 The Structured Design Process (SDP) Methodology ........ 353
   7.4.3 Cyprus Peace Revival Inquiries: August–December 2006 (as Reported by Laouris et al., 2007) .......... 359
7.5 Revisiting the Inquiries ................................ 363
   7.5.1 Reconsidering the Role of Facilitators as “Outside” the Discussion Process .... 363
7.5.2 Conceptualizing the Status of the Influence Tree Developed .................................. 366
7.6 Conclusion .................................................. 368
7.6.1 Taking into Account Researcher Accountability in Action Research ................. 368
7.6.2 Extending Research Options ....................... 369

8 Research Conducted in Terms of Retructive Processes:
Rethinking the Theorization of Racism ........................................... 373
8.1 Introduction .................................................. 373
8.2 Retructive Logic: The Potential for Theorizing Around Structures ......................... 378
8.3 Bonilla-Silva’s Approach to Rethinking Racism via a Structural Interpretation .............. 381
  8.3.1 The Marxist Focus on Class Analysis ................................ 382
  8.3.2 Bonilla-Silva’s Reconsideration of Marxist Analyses: Lacunae in Theorizing Racialized Social Systems ........................................ 385
  8.3.3 The Standing of Bonilla-Silva’s Theoretical Conceptualizations: Excavating Mechanisms Reproducing Racial Privilege ................................ 388
  8.3.4 Frames of Color-Blind Racism .................................. 397
  8.3.5 A View of Things to Come .................................... 401
  8.3.6 Some Possibilities for Action .................................. 405
8.4 Revisiting Bonilla-Silva’s Approach to Theorizing ............................................ 408
  8.4.1 A Note on Interpreting Texts .................................... 414
8.5 A Way of Considering Racism in Latin America with Special Reference to Brazil ................. 415
  8.5.1 Possibilities for Creating a Dialogue Around Issues of Racism ...................... 420
8.6 Revisiting Bourdieu and Wacquant’s Concerns with Reference to the Brazilian Case .................. 422
8.7 Conclusion .................................................. 424

9 General Conclusion: Reviewing Research Approaches, Conceptualizing Mixed-Research Designs, and Writing into One Another’s Stories ........................................... 429
9.1 Introduction .................................................. 429
9.2 Summary Overview of the Book ........................................... 429
9.3 Mixed-Research Designs ........................................... 436
9.4 Some Concluding Notes ........................................... 440
  9.4.1 A Note on the Terminology of “Mixing” in “Mixed-Research Designs” .................. 440
  9.4.2 A Note on Plurality of Cultural Expressions and of Methodological Approaches: Pluralism as an Opportunity for Learning .................. 441
9.4.3 A Note on the Discursive Intent of My Use of Categories 442
9.5 Some Unexplored Areas for Further Inquiry .................. 444
  9.5.1 Complicity by Africans in Africa Perpetuating
      Conceptions of White Superiority .......................... 444
  9.5.2 Not Only Black and White ................................. 446
  9.5.3 Black People’s Racial Labeling – Connections
      with Racism .................................................... 447

References ............................................................... 451
Author Index .......................................................... 477
Subject Index .......................................................... 485
About the Author

Norma R.A. Romm is affiliated as Research Professor to the University of South Africa. She has worked for universities in South Africa, Swaziland, the United Kingdom, and Cyprus – holding the position of Dean in social science and humanity faculties in Swaziland and in Cyprus. She is the author of the books The Methodologies of Positivism and Marxism (1991) and Accountability in Social Research (2001). She is the co-author of People’s Education in Theoretical Perspective (with Veronica McKay, 1992), Diversity Management (with Robert Flood, 1996), and Assessment of the Impact of HIV and AIDS in the Informal Economy in Zambia (with Veronica McKay, 2006). She is the co-editor of the books Social Theory (with Michael Sarakinsky, 1994) and Critical Systems Thinking (with Robert Flood, 1996). She has written over 85 articles in journals and in edited volumes on issues such as education (including adult education), social development, social theorizing in relation to development, the facilitation of co-learning in group processes, discursive accountability, systemic inquiry, and considerations of racism as a world problem.