White British Parents' Perspective on Talking to Children about Race

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ABSTRACT

In the United Kingdom there has been an increase in racially motivated hate crimes, overt racism and far right organisations. This comes after the divisive Brexit vote and an increase in awareness of the Black Lives Matter movement. There continues to be educational, social and health inequalities experienced by Black and Asian communities. These inequalities and experiences of racism can impact the emotional wellbeing and mental health of racialised communities. This raises the question of how racism continues with previous research exploring what White individuals are being taught regarding race to form prejudice opinions.

Research in the United States has explored how White parents socialise their children to individuals from different backgrounds including how parents speak about race to their children. Most research has found that White parents are unlikely to have conversations with their children and frequently adopt a colour-blind approach that believes in order to prevent racism we should not be acknowledging or noticing race. This approach has come under criticism as researchers have found that this can perpetuate racism and does not stop children from developing discriminatory beliefs.

The political climate in the UK is different to that of the US and therefore this research aimed to explore whether White British parents are having race related discussions with their children, how they are approaching these conversations and what the barriers to these discussions are.

Fourteen semi-structured interviews took place with White British parents. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the results. The four themes highlighted influential factors to race discussions, three different approaches to these discussions, and the barriers and potential impacts of having these conversations.

Professional implications, limitations of the study and further research are discussed.

CONTENTS

1. CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

1.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter summarises the literature search strategies including keywords and databases that were used to identify relevant literature for this research. The chapter then presents key definitions around race and racism, summarises the UK landscape, and explores relevant psychological literature, all of which form the context for this study. The rationale for the current study is then presented and the chapter concludes with the research questions.

This research has been written from my perspective and positioning. Therefore, my understanding of definitions, descriptions of the literature, and approach to this research have been influenced by my context and experiences. This is important to acknowledge as other positions could have been adopted, and it provides the rationale for using the first person throughout. I hope by acknowledging this, it will give the reader a greater understanding of my positioning while also inviting them to think about their stance regarding the research presented.

1.2 Literature Search Strategy

The literature search involved two stages. Firstly, a broad narrative review was conducted across the academic and grey literature. This served to highlight key research terminology as well as exploring broadly how views on race develop. It also helped identify gaps in the literature. Secondly, a scoping review was conducted electronically through EBSCO Host (Academic Search Complete, Child Development & Adolescent Studies, CINAHL Plus with Full Text, Education Research Complete, ERIC, and PsycInfo), SCOPUS, and Science Direct to explore an understudied area which was how White parents are socialising their children to understand race. Due to the limited literature on this research area, particularly within the context of the UK, I also explored grey

literature predominantly from the United States of America using Google Scholar, relevant books, and other unpublished theses to thoroughly understand prior findings in this research field. Further information on this scoping review can be seen in section 1.7 of the thesis and a detailed outline of the search strategies and inclusion criteria is outlined in Appendix A.

1.3 Terminologies

1.3.1 Defining 'Race' and 'Ethnicity'

As this study aims to explore parents' views of talking to children about race it raises the question of what is 'race'? Defining race is a complex task and one that cannot be fully accomplished here as there is little agreement on what the term means (Anderson & Feinberg, 2000; Fredrickson, 2015; Omi, 2001).

This term race was first used back in the 16th century. However, it was not until the 19th century that it was used to categorise people based on their physical features including facial features, skin colour, and the shape and size of one's head (Barkan, 1992). Race was used to rank and denote status of individuals in society based on the colour of their skin (Russell, Hall & Wilson, 1993). Categorising people into 'races' was also used to justify the slave trade (Davis, 1997).

While some argue that race is based on genetics and biology, it has been found to have no scientific basis; a concept that does not exist (Appiah, 1996; Davis, 1991; Mahiri, 2017). Since the 1990s, more people have begun to argue that race cannot be defined purely based on skin colour (Hall, 1989). Researchers have noted race is a socially constructed concept used to divide humans into groups based on physical characteristics and has been enforced societal and legal definition rather than having any true scientific meaning (Davis, 1991; Zack, 1993). Bhavnani, Mirza & Meetoo (2005 p.15) take this one step further and say that the changing manifestations of the definitions of race reflect society's legitimate attempts to dominate and control others throughout different

historical and social contexts. They argue that racism is therefore not about social and physical characteristics that can be measured, but subordination and domination.

Within the UK context, the British Government still uses classification systems based on social constructs of 'racial groups' such as 'ethnicity' when collecting large-scale data for the census (Office of National Statistics, 2011). The word ethnicity is still being used interchangeably with the word race, both of which can be seen as socially constructed. These categories are supposed to be used to understand and provide services to meet individual needs and address racial discrimination (Aspinall, 2009). In reality, however, it simply means ticking a box on a form, where there is often not the option to tick the ethnicity, a person may identify with, and this may reinforce ill definitions of race. Race can therefore be linked to power rather than biological differences (Phillips & Rathwell 1986). The term also differs depending on the time and place it is used in (Omi & Winant, 2015).

The term 'culture' is also used interchangeably with race among academic literature and while I believe these words are socially constructed, they are commonly used and have become a shared language amongst those residing in the UK. A definition put forward by Omi and Winant (1993) will be used for this research that sees race as a socio-political construct that is used to define groups of individuals that share similar historical treatment, beliefs, traditions, heritages, and physical characteristics.

As the term can be used with different meanings depending on the individual the first interview question in this research is to ask participants what the term race means to them.

1.3.2 Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic

The term 'Black and Minority Ethnic' (BME) was first introduced in the 1980s in local authorities where the population from 'other' communities was growing

(Aspinall, 2021). The supposed rationale for this terminology was to preserve the word Black that was used for ‘political effectiveness’, however, the census at the time found that areas were becoming more ‘ethnically diverse’, and this was captured with the term ‘Minority Ethnic’ (Saeed et al, 2019). The term ‘Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic’ (BAME) started to gain popularity in the 1990s when the 1991 Census took place, which was the first Census to ask questions about ‘other ethnic groups’. The Census found that individuals from the South of Asia were the largest ‘minority group’ in the United Kingdom at the time (Aspinall, 2021). This term was agreed by the Institute of Race Relations and the Commission for Racial Equality and has been used since.

This acronym ‘BAME’ has become increasingly popular within the UK. It is a term that has been adopted by multiple organisations that focus on race equality, including Race on the Agenda, Institute of Race Relations and other organisations in the private and charity sectors (Aspinall, 2021). Most civil service organisations also use this acronym and in the last year, the government has increasingly used the term when discussing the stark differences experienced by BAME communities in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic (Milner & Jumbe, 2020). One Public Health report was found to have used the term BAME around 220 times without ever defining it (Public Health England, 2020).

BAME is used within the UK to essentially group together many ethnicities who are ‘non-White’ and usually from non-European origin (Agyemang et al, 2005). BAME and ‘BME’ are used interchangeably within the literature, particularly in the UK. However, other terms such as ‘People of Colour’ are used more commonly within the United States and Canada (Bannerji, 2000).

These categories have come under criticism for being too broad, and ‘othering’ those from different communities (Canales, 2000). Interestingly, we do not use the term ‘White Majority Ethnic’ and the use of BAME implies that Whiteness does not exist, that it is invisible, thus implying that it is the ‘norm’ and anyone who does not fall into this category are ‘others’ (Wood & Patel, 2017). The term

is problematic as it treats those from any ethnicity other than 'White British' as a homogenous group (Fernando, 2010). 'White' is not seen as an identity, lacking culture, and is frequently used as the normative, which is problematic and implies that Black and Asian communities can only exist in marginalised positions. By putting individuals from all different communities under the same umbrella term, it can allow people to think that change is happening for all when this is not the case. The term dismisses the different inequalities experienced by racialised minorities (Aspinall, 2021).

Milner & Jumbe (2020) and many other researchers have called for the term BAME to be replaced with the term racially minoritised or racialised minorities. The use of the word 'minoritised' was adopted from a social constructivist approach, which shows that people do not exist as a minority, but rather are minoritised actively by others (Gunaratnum, 2003). This term shows that being minoritised is a social process based on power (Milner and Jumbe, 2020).

While the terms racially minoritised and racialised minorities fit best with my beliefs and positioning, the terms 'BAME', 'BME' and 'People of Colour' have been used in the research literature. Therefore, at times I will use these terms when referencing particular research, but I will be using these critically, acknowledging the complexities of adopting this terminology.

1.3.3 Racism

The key rationale for conducting this research was to identify how parents speak to their children about race and to explore whether they take an anti-racist stance over a more neutral or 'colour-blind' stance. Therefore, it makes sense within this context to define what racism is. Racism is an incredibly real experience encountered by those in society based on the social construct of categorising people by their race. It is not a single static thing, it can take a particular shape at certain points in time depending on the context (Goldberg, 1993; Hall, 1996).

Racism can take place at all levels in society including individual, interpersonal, organisational and institutional and is based purely on an individual's ethnic, cultural, racial and religious characteristics (Berman & Paradies, 2020).

1.3.4 Colour-Blind Approach

This chapter will highlight research, particularly from the US, that explores the 'colour-blind' approach and whether taking a colour-blind approach to race is a way to eradicate racism. This term was originally rooted in the idea that race should not be considered when thinking about decisions, impressions, or behaviours (Apfelbaum, Norton & Sommers, 2012). This ideology contends that to have equality among different groups of people it is best to downplay differences (Markus, Steele & Steele, 2000). People who take this stance often comment that they cannot act racially biased as they do not notice race (Apfelbaum, Norton & Sommers, 2012). Within this chapter, we will see why this approach is flawed and the rationale for some of the research questions.

1.3.5 Ethnic Racial Socialisation

While this is not a term that is commonly used within the context of the UK, where this research has been conducted, it is widely used within the US literature. The term is used to explore how children learn about race. It refers to processes in which children learn about different cultures and ethnicities, through spoken communication and behaviours but also non-verbal cues about group identity and membership, and intragroup and intergroup dynamics (Priest et al., 2016).

1.3.6 Language

As discussed throughout this section, the terminology is flawed. Instead of agreeing on one single definition of these terms, it is important to note that all individuals have their preference on which terminology they prefer or tolerate due to the unsatisfactory nature of the terms we have at our disposal. In this thesis, I acknowledge that language can perpetuate racial inequalities, and therefore we need to be committed to thinking about the history and the context of the terms we adopt.

Therefore, while these terminologies will be used when discussing previous literature, this will be done from a critical position. This will be discussed further in the Methodology section where I will state my epistemological position.

1.4. Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory

To aid my understanding of the different contexts in which discriminatory and prejudiced beliefs are present but also develop, it was helpful to hold in mind Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986). While the theory was originally used to understand different systems that influence children's development, it has now been adapted and used to guide psychologists in understanding the multiple contexts in which humans exist and interact.

This theory emphasises that there are proximal and distal influences that can impact on a child's development, and these are known as systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). These systems are the chronosystem, microsystem, exosystem, mesosystem and the macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This research focuses on the microsystemic influence of White parents' racial socialisation. However, it cannot be ignored that parent's socialisation and children's understanding of race will be influenced by different systems in their environment including individual, societal, and environmental influences (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011).

Therefore, a contextual overview will first be provided that will focus on the macrosystem, exosystem, microsystem and the individual system that shows how there are inequalities present at all system levels and how these inequalities can influence how parents socialise their children to other cultures. This will then provide a rationale for why this research chose to focus on White parents in the microsystem.

1.4.1 Race and the Macrosystem

The macrosystem is often seen as the heart of the model that looks at the ideologies and attitudes of the culture around the individual and the global context that can influence the individual's perception and beliefs (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). Globally, in the last year, we have seen an increase of awareness from White individuals of the Black Lives Matter movement. The organisation gained significant attention after a Black man named George Floyd was brutally murdered by a White American police officer in May 2020. This is however, not the first time this has happened, and it is important that we do not see George Floyd's murder as something out of the ordinary as Black individuals have been continuously subjected to not only police brutality in the US, but also to racism and racial disparities daily (Joseph-Salisbury, Connelly & Wangari-Jones, 2021).

The Black Lives Matter protests have highlighted what many people have been advocating and trying to shine a light on for hundreds of years, that White supremacy is not only an issue for America but worldwide (Grzanka, Gonzalez, Spanierman, 2019). The protests that occurred here in the UK did not only take place because of the police brutality in the US but also due to the treatment of racialised minorities here in the UK including the Windrush scandal, the Grenfell Tower fire and now the inequalities experienced concerning COVID-19 (Joseph-Salisbury, Connelly & Wangari-Jones, 2021).

The culture dominance of whiteness continues to be evident in the UK whereby individuals have chosen to re-elect the Conservative party in 2019, despite Prime Minister Boris Johnson's history of openly racist and discriminatory comments (Gusterson, 2017). This party is also responsible for continuous policies of austerity that have created increasingly stark inequalities and an unstable context where Brexit continues to divide the country (McGrath, Walker, & Jones, 2016). These policies in combination with Brexit have perpetuated racism evidenced by the increase in overt racism and xenophobia with a forty-one percent increase in religious and racially motivated hate crime in the first month after the 2016 referendum and further prejudice against the Muslim community that has continued over the years (BBC, 2016; Bhui, 2016;

Robinson & Lawthorm, 2017). There was also a thirty-four percent rise in hate crimes during June and July 2020, which coincided with the large-scale Black Lives Matter protests that were taking place and the increase in far-right organisations that were counter-protesting the movement (Allen, Zayed & Lees, 2020).

Despite racially motivated hate crimes increasing by four thousand cases in the last year (Allen, Zayed & Lees, 2020), the recent government report that investigated racism within the UK denied that systemic institutional racism occurs in this country (Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, 2021). While the report acknowledged that overt racism persists and was aware that some communities had experienced historic discrimination that still 'haunted' them, the report downplayed inequalities as a result of systemic racism. This failure to acknowledge the importance of race and racism has been criticised by the Runnymede Trust and the Institute of Race Relations. They have argued that the British government post-Brexit is attempting to portray the United Kingdom as a beacon of diversity.

These reports, policies, and clear messages from the government symbolise the prevalence of whiteness. These ideologies and attitudes in the macrosystem can influence White individuals' attitudes towards other cultures. By receiving messages that systemic racism is no longer an issue it downplays and ignores contemporary racism. It also shows that White individuals can be ignorant to inequalities that do not directly impact them as evidenced by the fact that individuals continue to vote for political parties that openly endorsed prejudiced behaviour.

1.4.2 Race and the Exosystem

The exosystem refers to social structures that indirectly influence individuals due to their influence on the microsystem. This includes the criminal justice system and health and social care settings (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

1.4.2.1 Criminal Justice System

The Lammy Review highlighted that racially minoritised communities were overrepresented in the criminal justice system (Lammy, 2017). The review noted that certain words such as ‘gang’ are more likely to be attributed to Black individuals in comparison to White individuals who would be classified as a ‘group’. The review concluded that individuals from BAME communities continue to face bias in all parts of the justice system with Black men being twenty-six percent more likely to be remanded in custody than White men.

Whiteness is apparent in other areas of the criminal justice system including policing, which is evidenced by which groups are the focus of, and primarily subjected to, stop and search policies (Goodfellow & McFarlane, 2018). Black individuals continue to be nine times more at risk of being stopped by the police than White individuals (The Home Office, 2020). This figure increases to forty-three times more likely outside London (Liberty, 2020). Despite the evidence that this strategy has been unsuccessful in crime reduction, the policy persists (Bradford & Tiratelli, 2019).

1.4.2.2 Health and Social Care Systems

Within health and social care structures, there are persistent examples that show the inequalities experienced by marginalised communities. Families from BAME communities throughout the UK in comparison to White British individuals are more likely to live in poverty (Institute of Race Relations, 2015). The Social Metrics Commission Report found that forty-six percent of Black households in the UK were in poverty in comparison to one in five White families (Nussbaum, 2019). This means that individuals from Black and Asian communities are disproportionately exposed to job losses, pay cuts, as well as low paid work.

It has also been found that health outcomes are worse for those from BAME communities (Public Health England, 2018). This report highlighted that BAME communities report higher levels of dissatisfaction regarding treatment in primary and secondary healthcare and reported lower levels of mental health and wellbeing. The COVID-19 pandemic has also continued to highlight the racial discrepancies in health outcomes (Milner and Jumbe, 2020). The first

eleven doctors that passed away from COVID-19 here in the UK were from a BAME background and the mortality rate for Black African individuals in hospitals in England was almost four times higher than in comparison to White British individuals (Otu, Charles & Yaya, 2020). These inequalities are influenced by discrimination, exclusion, as well as fear of having a negative experience, all of which are found to have a substantial impact on physical and mental health (Public Health England, 2018).

Other research has confirmed that individuals from BAME communities have reported problems when trying to access mental health support (Toleikyte & Salway, 2018). Increasing Access to Psychological Therapies (IAPT) data found that talking therapies are often less accessible for those from ‘minority ethnic’ communities (Toleikyte & Salway, 2018). Research has further found that Black individuals are more likely to be dismissed by services when seeking mental health support (Rethink, 2004).

Research continues to show that individuals who are exposed to racism have a higher chance of experiencing mental health difficulties including ‘depression’ and ‘psychosis’ with Black men having an increased likelihood of being diagnosed with ‘schizophrenia’ (Bhui, 2016; Gibbons et al., 2012; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). Fernando (2017) found that racialised minorities are more likely to have negative experiences of mental health services in comparison to White individuals. This is due to the increased likelihood of being restrained and sectioned. Black individuals are also more likely to be given higher doses of medication instead of being offered talking therapies. These negative experiences can lead to mistrust in services, and this can result in individuals not wanting to seek help and then being brought to services in crisis situations (Latif, 2010).

Children’s mental health research has found differences when it comes to behavioural concerns, diagnosis, treatment, and access to mental health services among White children and children from Black heritage (Pastor & Reuben, 2005; Stevens, Harman, Kelleher, 2005). Racial discrimination experiences have been linked to an increase in emotional and mental health diagnoses (Ferguson 2000; Lewis 2003; Nyborg and Curry 2003). Self-reported

discrimination and expectations of being discriminated against due to ethnicity have been associated with low mood, self-esteem difficulties and anxiety in children and young people (Brody, et al., 2006; Fisher, Wallance & Fention, 2000; Greene, Way & Pahl, 2006; Preist et al., 2014; Rumbaut, 1994; Sellers et al., 2003; Szalacha et al.,2003).

1.4.2.3 Exosystem Influence

These are only a few examples of the inequalities experienced by racialised communities in the exosystem. These examples could impact parents' ethnic racial socialisation with racialised communities having to prepare their children for these inequalities. Whereas for White parents due to these false narratives and biases within the exosystem such as the criminal justice system, it could be that White parents believe these negative stereotypes and pass these beliefs onto their children. We as clinical psychologists, therefore, need to be thinking about how we can reduce these inequalities and educate individuals and this includes finding ways to reduce, prevent and eradicate racism within society.

1.4.3 Race and the Microsystem

The previous sections have focused on how racialised minorities are impacted at all levels in society and how these systems can influence how children are socialised in their immediate environment known as the microsystem. The microsystem includes children's peers, school and family (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Research has found that children's development of their identity and their attitudes and behaviours towards those from different ethnic backgrounds is shaped through explicit and implicit socialisation processes by those in their proximal environment including peers, teachers and parents (Bigler & Liben, 2007; Katz, 2003; Priest et al., 2014).

1.4.3.1 Relevant Psychological Theories

It is firstly important to think about how racial attitudes are transmitted within the microsystem. This is an area that has received growing interest from developmental and social psychological research that has wanted to find out more about how racial bias is formed (Levy & Killen, 2008). Several theories that have been influential in understanding how attitudes and behaviours

develop is the social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) and social identity theory (Tajfel et al., 1997).

Social learning theory in its simplest form believes that attitudes and behaviours are learned through modelling, reinforcement, and association (Bandura, 1977). For example, children may imitate some of the prejudiced or discriminatory opinions that their family and friends have and may have learned to associate certain ethnicities with crime, violence and over negative stereotypes and these opinions are then reinforced through their immediate environment. How parents and teachers socialise their children to other cultures is therefore very important.

The social identity theory also explores why attitudes develop towards those who are perceived as the ‘out-group’ (Tajfel et al., 1979). The theory states that individuals find their identity through their membership to a group, and this can be based on things such as religion, ethnicity, class, gender, and other characteristics. Being part of a group can increase a sense of pride, self-esteem, value and belonging. Individuals who want to be seen positively by other group members and increase their self-image will critique and focus on the negative aspects of out-group members thus creating an ‘us’ and ‘them’ ideology. By focusing on the negative aspects of other individuals can create a divide and result in racism. This can be expressed as explicit forms of discrimination to outgroup members or implicit preferential treatment to ingroup members. Examples of this are discussed throughout the prior sections whereby White individuals have benefited from the oppression of racialised minorities. Children will see how those around them categorise individuals and create group membership and without explanation, this could result in children developing a preference towards certain groups.

The Developmental Intergroup Theory supports this view and states that young children have limited knowledge of what racial differences mean and without clear guidance from those around them they will start to construct their own ideas, and this is often in favour of those who they identify as being like them Bigler, Jones & Lobliner, 1997; Bigler & Liben, 2007). Children need to acquire the skills and capability to think about people from different ethnicities and

cultures in a positive manner, and these attitudes need to be formed in their early years (Katz, 2003; Levy & Killen, 2008; Ramsey, 2008).

We, therefore, need to examine the messages that are being passed onto children in the microsystem.

1.4.3.2 School Influences

In the school system, there are messages about race that children will be picking up on. For example, there are inequalities that privilege White children and disadvantage Black children with studies finding that four times as many Black Caribbean children are being excluded in comparison to any other children in primary, secondary, and special education schools (Timpson Review, 2019). Research has found that teachers can often use language that labels and stereotypes individuals from Black Caribbean communities and positions them as 'troublemakers' (Kailin, 2002; Okonofua & Eberhardt, 2015). These labels can reinforce negative stereotyping and can impact on Black children's mental health and self-esteem (Gibbons et al., 2012; Obsuth et al., 2017)

The curriculum also promotes the idea that 'whiteness or white Britishness' is the only history that is important (Maylor, 2014). At present, the only study of Black History in the National Curriculum is in the context of the slave trade, which is optional and how this is taught varies (Bracey, 2016). The curriculum is positioned to celebrate the impact of the British Empire rather than acknowledging the harm caused by colonialism (Harris, 2013). Furthermore, there has been an increase in incidences of racism in schools over the last ten years which could highlight that White children are internalising some of these implicit messages that are occurring within the school system or in other areas of their microsystem (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020).

While teachers are influential in the development of children's beliefs and attitudes, there have been a multitude of research that has explored teachers' perspectives of teaching children about race (Priest et al., 2016). Therefore, the next section will focus on how families specifically parents choose to socialise their children to race.

1.4.3.3 Parental Influences

The family system according to Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory is generally considered to be the most influential social structure in the microsystem (Bronfrenbrenner, 1986). Children's attitudes are found to be dependent on early socialisation experiences with the significant adults around them, such as their parents, who can disprove or confirm their biases (Carlson & Lovini, 1985; Bigler & Liben, 2007).

In their early years, children are dependent on their parents, and parents must take on multiple roles including being the teacher and the role model (Holden, 2010). Children, therefore, have limited access to other answers or explanations, so essentially the world is filtered through their parent's perspectives and biases (Milner, 1993). Parents have both indirect and direct influences on their children's racial attitudes (Vittrup & Holden, 2010). Direct being that they themselves explicitly teach children about race, informing them how they should interact with people from different 'races' and disciplining them when they display behaviours and attitudes they do not agree with. This can be positive or negative but is based on the value parents place on interracial contact and parent's racial attitudes (Castelli, Zogmaister & Tomelleri, 2009). Implicit messages of how parents' treat others from different ethnicities or cultures are also noticed by children (Sinclair, Dunn & Lowerey, 2005).

Several studies have confirmed that there is a similarity between children's attitudes towards race and their parents' views (Dhont, Roets & Van Hiel, 2013; O'Bryan, Fishbein & Ritchey, 2004; Meeusen, 2014; Rodríguez-García & Wagner, 2009). These similarities have been found to be stronger when children identify with the significant adult (Sinclair, Dunn & Lowerey, 2005). Other studies have also found that children who express prejudiced views have learned this from their parents, particularly towards 'immigrants', and that this continues into adolescence (Miklikowska, 2016).

Degner and Dalege (2013) examined one hundred and thirty-one studies in a meta-analysis and found a moderate correlation between children and parents' intergroup attitudes and beliefs from the age of eight and throughout adolescence. This correlation was highest for White children who reported similar beliefs to the perceived racial attitudes of their parents. The researchers found that studies often explored children's perceived interpretation of their parent's beliefs and attitudes and hypothesised that this might be because White parents often refrain from conversations about racial differences with their children.

On the contrary, Aboud and Doyle (1996) found no correlation between children's and parents' racial bias and other research has found similar findings (Hello et al., 2004; Vittrup and Holden, 2011). However, much like Degner and Dalege's (2013) conclusions, some of this research reported that these findings could be due to White parents' unwillingness to have racial discussions as children's racial attitudes correlated with their perception of parent's racial attitudes (Vittrup and Holden, 2010). Aboud and Doyle (1996) state that while there was no evidence that suggested a link between children and parent's racial attitudes, they state that parents may influence children indirectly through their view and attitudes towards outgroup members as being different or like them. Castelli, Zogmaister and Tomelleri (2009) supported this viewpoint and found that children were influenced by their mother's implicit attitudes with Pirchio et al. (2018) confirming in their research that parents' prejudice is a predictor of children's display of implicit prejudice. Thus, there is a clear suggestion that racial attitudes and beliefs can develop within the family.

1.4.3.3 Parental Approaches to Discussing Race

Research has found that speaking to young children about racial differences leads to lower levels of bias (Aboud et al., 2012; Katz, 2003; Hagerman, 2014). However, to date most of the research looking at parents' approaches to discussing race and ethnic-racial socialisation has occurred in the United States and has predominately explored communities that have been marginalised including African Americans, American 'transracially' adopted children and

Asian and Latino communities (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Brown, et al., 2007; Berbery & O'Brien, 2011; Hughes et al., 2009; Mohanty, 2010; Moua & Lamborn, 2010; Priest et al., 2014; Tynes, 2007). These families often have explicit conversations to prepare their children for bias, which alerts children and young people to the notion that they are likely to experience discrimination, prejudice and racism because of their cultural background (Hughs et al., 2006).

Studies have found that Black families are more likely to have explicit conversations about the relationship between different ethnic groups and the discrimination that can occur (Copenhaver-Johnson, 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Research in the US has found that Black and Hispanic families frequently have conversations regarding race and socialisation between races with their children (Hughes, 2003; Suizzo, Robinson & Pahlke, 2008). This research has explored how families support children to hold on to their cultural heritage in a society that is dominated by White individuals (Neblett, Rivas-Drake & Umana-Taylor, 2012).

While studies looking at several ethnic-racial socialisation practices have found that many parents, including White parents, feel it is important to promote egalitarianism and cultural socialisation, the conversations differ depending on the ethnic or racial background of the parents (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents who are White do not have to navigate the complexities of race and discrimination in the same way and because of this they can refrain from having these conversations (Loyd & Gaither, 2018). This silence however does not mean that children will not notice race or develop racial prejudice, instead, it just prevents children and young people from being able to have open conversations about the subject matter (Aboud, 2005; Tatum, 2017).

Few studies have, however, explored White children's ethnic-racial socialisation. More research is needed as these children need to understand their Whiteness and learn about other ethnicities and cultures in order to reduce racism (Priest et al., 2014).

1.4.4 Race and the Individual

This section thinks about how these systems previously discussed influence the individual. Many adults argue that pre-schoolers are too young to discuss race and discussing race will in fact put 'ideas in their head' thus implying that children do not notice race (Husband, 2010; Winkler, 2009). Children have however been found to express prejudice but when this happens it is often dismissed as 'they don't understand what they are saying' or 'they must have got this from someone' (Winkler, 2009, p. 1).

Adults who are well-intentioned, including teachers and parents, will often say that to reduce racism we should not be talking about race (Hagerman, 2019). This viewpoint argues that by avoiding the conversation of race and racism, it will allow kids to view everyone as equal. Decades of research, however, has repeatedly shown that from a young age, children notice racial differences (Katz & Kofin, 1997).

Mamie and Kenneth Clark, conducted several studies at the end of the 1930s and throughout the 1940s, looking at how one understands race in the United States (Matias, 2016). One of their most famous studies found that children displayed a preference towards White dolls in comparison to Black dolls (Clark & Clark, 1939). This began to raise questions about children's development and the learning processes involved in the development of racial beliefs.

Throughout the decades, psychologists have continued to explore children's development of the concept of race, and when these concepts are developed. Several studies have found that children notice differences at a much earlier age than expected. The Katz and Kofkin (1997) study looked at children from six-months-old up until six-years-old and discovered that infants were non-verbally categorising people by 'gender' and race from the age of six months. A further study found that babies as young as three-months-old were able to categorise individuals based on race (Kelly et al., 2005).

Aboud et al. (2012) found that when children's social and cognitive abilities develop around the ages of three-to-six years old that this is when children display more prejudice. Several studies have found this to be the case and that this is the age when children develop internalised racial bias and express these biases (Aboud, 2008; Patterson & Bigler, 2006). A study that took place over a year found that children in this age range used race to exclude children and create social hierarchies, negotiate 'power' in their class by using racist language to elicit emotional responses (Feagin & Van Ausdale, 2001). By the age of five, many children have started to associate certain 'groups' with higher 'status' than others (Kizler & Spelke, 2011; Olson et al., 2012).

Other research has found that children display more explicit prejudice around the age of four-to-seven years of age, but by seven this appears to reduce (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). Raabe and Beelmann (2011) however, found that White children by eight years old had learned that being explicitly racially biased is socially unacceptable, which led to an increase in implicit forms of prejudice such as negative trait attributions and maintaining a social distance. Dunham, Baron & Banaji (2008) found that Latino and Black Children displayed no preference towards children of the same ethnicity, in comparison to White children who remained biased in favour of Whiteness.

White children in comparison to children from other ethnicities are more likely to display racial bias (Corenblum & Annis, 1993; Katz, 2003). Multiple studies have found that children show implicit preference towards White communities than racialised communities (Baron, 2015; Dunham, Chen & Banaji, 2013; Rutland et al., 2005). These biases are also more likely to be prominent in areas where there is less diversity (McGlothlin & Killen, 2006). A meta-analysis found even in schools that were 'diverse' there was only a reduction in student's biases when they were in highly diverse friendship groups (Joyner & Kao, 2000). Children attending a school that is considered diverse or living in a multi-cultural area does not automatically lead to a reduction in bias, as individuals mostly stay in groups with children of the same ethnicity. This implies that it is not necessarily the environment the child is in but what has been modelled to them in their environment.

These studies suggest in addition to children noticing race they are also being socialised to develop certain attitudes about individuals from different ethnicities to their own (Boutte, Lopez-Robertson & Powers-Costello, 2011). Once prejudiced attitudes have been formed, they can be difficult to change particularly when we reach adulthood (Vittrup & Holden, 2010). Research shows that by the age of twelve many children are set in their beliefs, therefore, suggesting that parents have around a decade to shape and help mould this learning process to ensure that children have a greater understanding of different cultures which in turn can reduce racial bias (Bigler & Liben, 2016; Knopf, 2017).

1.5 Summary of Background Literature

The literature has shown that racism is prevalent in the United Kingdom at all levels of society. These experiences of racism are not only having a profound impact on education, poverty, unemployment, and future outcomes but also on mental well-being.

We, therefore, need to think about ways to tackle these inequalities and in order to do this we need to understand how we learn about race. Research has consistently shown that children distinguish race from as early as three months old. Research has also found that White children are more likely to display explicit and implicit forms of racism. The way to improve prejudice and racial bias is to have conversations with children about racial differences.

While there has been research exploring how racialised minorities have race-related conversations with their children, there is limited research exploring White parents' ethnic-racial socialisation. This, therefore, provides a rationale for focusing this research on White parents. The next section will therefore focus on White parents and will review what research has taken place.

1.6 White Parents

Research within this area is limited with most of the research coming from the United States. Research looking at White individuals, in general, found that White people are uncomfortable using racial labels, discussing race and racism, and often tend to avoid these conversations or take a colour-blind approach (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Karmali et al., 2019; Pauker, Apfelbaum, & Spitzer, 2015). White individuals often see themselves as the 'norm' and 'raceless' (Jackson & Heckman, 2002).

Colour-blind approaches show that White people have the luxury of not noticing colour (Neville et al., 2013; Nolte, 2007). These socialisation messages from White individuals maintain whiteness, and this perpetuates systems of inequality and privilege (Bonilla-Silva, 2001). The ideology allows White individuals to explain race without having to acknowledge the benefits of Whiteness relieving them of the guilt that they could feel if they acknowledge the ways in which they have benefited from, contributed to, and perpetuated racial inequality (Gallagher, 2003).

White individuals are also less likely to view racial identity as being important in comparison to individuals from racialised communities (Lewis, 2004; Perry, 2001; Todd, Spanierman, & Poteat, 2011). Looking at identity can therefore be important to understand how parents may socialise their children to race (Helms, 1995)

1.6.1 White Racial Identity Development Theory

Whether White parents think ethnic-racial socialisation and the discussion of race with their children is important can be influenced by what stage they are at regarding their White identity and awareness of racial bias (Helms, 1995; Perry, Skinner & Abaied, 2019). Several theories have been put forward that examine how we develop racial identities. These theories originally explored racialised communities (Cross, 1995) looking at how individuals' group together based on

shared racial characteristics and heritages that enable them to feel a sense of community and belonging.

Cross' model on Black identity was fundamental to the development of White identity models (Lund, 2009). The White Racial Identity Development Model (Helms, 1995; 2005) is a helpful conceptual framework to hold in mind for the purpose of this research when examining White parents approaches to racial discussions with their children. This model focuses on how individuals progress from contributing to racism within society consciously or unconsciously to becoming an ally and advocate for racialised communities (Lund, 2009).

The statuses in Helm's model (1995; 2005) include: Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Immersion/Emersion, Pseudo-Independence, and Autonomy. People may be in multiple statuses at once and certain situations may result in different statuses being prioritised. Statuses instead of stages are used in this framework as stages are seen to be static in nature and statuses fluid (Lund, 2009). The Contact status refers to unawareness of one's own identity, White privilege, and the prevalence of racism often as a result of having limited contact with racialised minorities. People in this stage will often adhere to colour-blind ideology and view racial differences as unimportant, and that acknowledgement of these differences creates the issues. They may hold naive or negative opinions of individuals from different backgrounds based on stereotypes learned in their environment. It is only when their beliefs are challenged, or they are encounter real-world experiences of racism that they move to the next stage (Helms, 1995).

In the Disintegration status (Helms, 1995), White individual's increased awareness leads to emotions of guilt, shame and sometimes anger when confronted with how Whiteness maintains inequalities. These feelings can lead to denial and resisting change, or in contrast lead to action to change other's opinions on racialised communities. When they speak with others about these feelings this can be met with social pressure from other White individuals to maintain the status quo, whiteness. This fear of being isolated from people they perceive to be like them can lead to a third shift known as Reintegration (Helms, 1995).

The Reintegration status (Helms, 1995) is where a White individuals shame, guilt and denial can be replaced by feelings of fear towards racialised communities whom White individuals blame for their discomfort. This is due to the prevalence of White supremacy in society and wanting to be accepted by their racial group. If the individual remains engaged and focus on identifying personal contributions to racism, they can push back against the status quo and progress in their thinking to the next status.

In the Pseudo-Independent status, people often seek information about communities from different backgrounds and understand systemic racism and the need to dismantle it (Helms, 1995). While they are trying to abandon their beliefs, they may still act in ways that perpetuate racism and will look to racialised communities to help them understand and confront racism. They may also experience alienation from other White individuals who have not reached this point of examining their own racist beliefs and seek new relationships with Black and Asian communities. In this stage, the individual has not developed an understanding of how they can be both anti-racist and White but the increase in interracial contact may heighten their awareness of whiteness.

The Immersion/Emersion (Helms, 1995) status is where the White individual is trying to find answers to what it means to be White in society and feeling discomfort in relation to their whiteness. They try to build connections with likeminded White individuals who have similar beliefs and with this support find ways to resist falling back into patterns in their environments that perpetuate racism. The last status, Autonomy, happens (Helms, 1995) when a person has a positive White racial identity and is engaging and committed to anti-racism practices and social justice.

These White identity statuses that have been put forward in this framework have been linked to colour blind and ‘colour conscious’ ideologies (Gushue & Constantine, 2007; Flagg, 1993). While models are limited and can never be seen to be fully comprehensive, this framework can be used to inform our thinking and understanding of why White parents within this research used certain approaches to racial discussions.

1.6.2 Why is it important for White Parents to Discuss Race?

Before examining the research in this area, it is important to think about why it is important for White parents to be discussing race with their children. Research has shown that educating children around racial issues can increase awareness of racial bias and lead to a reduction in forming negative stereotypical views of other cultures (Bigler & Wright, 2014; Johnson, Rush, & Feagin, 2000). Children that are encouraged to talk about race can understand different perspectives, develop empathy and are more likely to avoid engaging in factors that contribute to structural and institutional racism (Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Connolly & Hosken, 2006; Hagerman, 2018; Kempf, 2012). It can also lead to children pointing out social inequality which can lead to change (Bigler & Wright, 2014).

While racial diversity in neighbourhoods was found to have no impact on racial bias in one American study (Pahlke, Bigler & Suizzo, 2012), children, especially those not exposed to people from other communities, will not think to have these conversations. Children will often be immersed in negative stereotypes that are perpetuated through their social environment and the media. Exposing children to positive images through books, films and other stories to positive stereotypes that dismantle negative stereotypes can lead to a reduction in bias (Gonzalez, Steele & Baron, 2017). Apfelbaum et al. (2010) found that those who read books where individuals from other cultures and ethnicities were discussed in a positive manner were more likely to recognise and stop acts of racial discrimination and interact with peers in school from different ethnic backgrounds.

If White parents speak to their children about different ethnicities, they can also encourage friendships between different communities which can decrease prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Interracial friendships can lead to White children having a greater understanding of racism. Intergroup contact, where parents are friends with people from other ethnicities, has been found to be one of the greatest predictors to reduce racial bias and relieve intergroup anxiety (Norton et al., 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2013). Attending cultural events can

also help facilitate parent-child conversations around race by White parents (Brown et al., 2007).

As discussed, children are aware of racial differences but as highlighted by the developmental intergroup theory, children do not understand the meaning behind these differences and therefore explicit discussion with children is needed to help with this understanding (Bigler & Liben, 2007). Further developmental research has shown that White children in the classroom and at home report lower levels of bias when racial bias is discussed explicitly (Aboud, 2008; Bigler & Liben, 2006; Degner & Dalege, 2013). The next section will therefore provide all prior research that has explored White parent's racial socialisation messages with their children.

1.7 Scoping Review

1.7.1 Rationale of Scoping Review

The previous sections have shown why it is important for White parents to be discussing race with their children in order to reduce racism and bias at an individual level. However, what prior research has shown is that White individuals, in general, do not feel comfortable discussing race. A scoping review of the current literature on White parents approaches to racial discussions was performed to provide an overview of the studies available and the findings of these studies. Scoping reviews not only determine the extent of the research available but also provide insight into the way the research was conducted (Arskey & Malley, 2005).

Scoping reviews do not aim to critically appraise and synthesise answers to particular questions but rather provide an overview of the evidence and therefore methodological quality is not generally assessed formally (Peters et al., 2015). Peters et al. (2015) guidance for conducting scoping reviews was followed and articles were appraised based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria. The process of the scoping review, including the inclusion and

exclusion criteria, the flow diagram used to identify articles and a chart of all the research included in the review can be seen in the Appendix (see Appendix A, B and C).

A total of fifteen articles remained following the application of inclusion criteria and are spoken to in the scoping review. Due to the scarcity of literature examining White parents' approaches to racial discussions grey literature was also included. Grey literature can include theses, dissertations and pre-published academic papers and can reduce publication bias and foster a balanced picture of available evidence in the search area (Paez, 2017).

1.7.2 Scoping Review: White Parents Approaches to Discussing Race

1.7.2.1 Colour-Mute, Colour-Blind and Colour-Conscious Approaches

Most of the research in this area refers to colour-blind, colour-mute, and colour-conscious approaches to racial discussions. As referred to in previous sections a colour-blind approach to racial discussions is where people claim to not notice race. A 'colour-mute' approach to race where there is no discussion of race and these conversations tend to be avoided (Pahlke, Bigler and Suizzo, 2012). Whereas a 'colour-conscious' is where parents not only acknowledge but also address race-related issues and place importance on ethnic racial socialisation.

Hamm (2001) was one of the first researchers to explore socialisation beliefs and include White European American parents in their study. This study found that in comparison to Black African American parents, White parents primarily took a colour-blind approach and found it easier to discuss social class rather than race. Hamm felt there was a discrepancy in what White participants expressed and their actions whereby they expressed wanting integration within society and expressed discomfort at the notion that individuals would use race as a reason not to form friendships but had very few friends from racialised communities. In comparison to the Black parents in the study who encouraged and promoted meaningful interracial friendships. This further highlights the

differences amongst Black and White parents in how they socialise their children to other cultures and how White parents continue to find race an uncomfortable topic (Zucker, 2019).

Katz (2003) in a longitudinal piece of research where parents were given a book to show their children that included people from different genders, ages and ethnicities that White parents would primarily take a colour-mute approach and never mentioned racial differences. If they did discuss race, they focused on those who were the same race as their children and were much more comfortable discussing different genders. Pahlke, Bigler and Suizzo (2012) found similar findings. In their study, White American mothers were asked to read two books that were aimed at raising issues of race. Mothers in the sample seemed unwilling to discuss race with their children and their approaches ranged from colour-mute to colour-blind messages regarding race. Mothers and children in this sample were also required to fill in a questionnaire about the others racial attitudes and neither were able to accurately report these attitudes for the other. If parents are unable to talk to their children about race or cannot predict their children's biases, then this could result in children developing bias.

In Vittrup and Holden's (2011) study parents were instructed to have conversations that were race-related but only ten percent of White parents were able to do this showing that parents may not be motivated to have race-related discussions with their children. When parents did have these conversations, they mainly used colour-blind approaches. Children in this sample were also unable to predict their parents' racial attitudes and this could be problematic as children need support in understanding race and racial bias in order to prevent prejudiced attitudes from developing. In a later study conducted by Vittrup (2018) in two neighbourhoods, one that was predominately white and the other a multicultural neighbourhood found that seventy percent of White American mothers despite stating that that talking about racial differences is important in reducing racial bias and discrimination adopted a colour-blind approach.

An ethnographic study that took place in several towns in the midwestern US found that colour-blindness prevailed (Hagerman, 2014). In that race was not seen to be important and was rarely discussed amongst this sample of thirty White middle-class families. For those that tended to adopt a more colour-conscious approach and felt race was important their implicit socialisation processes said otherwise. The schools, neighbourhoods, and activities they choose for their children formed a homogenous social environment. Parents would then try to justify their avoidance of action and the researcher found this to be a new form of racism where individuals want to be portrayed as a progressive liberal but still behave in ways that maintain White privilege. The children in this sample did not always express the same views as their parents but their views were found to be connected to the social environment their parents had implicitly created. While parents may not be directly speaking to their children about race have designed these contexts that can perpetuate whiteness.

Bartoli et al. (2016) also investigated the intended and unintended messages White parents convey to their children about race. Most parents in the study adopted a colour-mute and colour-blind approach and would guide their children away from any recognition of race and felt that naming race was irrelevant with some stating that it was disrespectful or racist and these findings were reflected in the interviews with their teenage children. The parents in this sample tended to focus on values rather than race but would speak about meritocracy and working hard rather than structural racism. The parents, therefore, tended to define racism in the United States at an individual rather than a systemic level and expressed that racism was a thing of the past mentioning Obama being president and talking about the history of slavery.

Underhill published two journal articles in 2018 and 2019 based on their dissertation exploring forty White middle-class parents' racial socialisation processes. The participants that took part in this study were from two different areas in Ohio. One multicultural area and a mainly White populated neighbourhood. The study drew on observational data and qualitative interviews

that focused on parent-child explicit discussions of race and class and the implicit messages that parents promote. Underhill found that parents predominantly adopted ‘happy’ socialisation practices that promoted interracial interactions and positive narratives around people from different cultures while also downplaying and minimising conversations around racial inequality. When they did have conversations with their children, they used colour-blind socialisation messages that ‘we are all the same but different’. They did not believe racism was a structural issue and seventy percent of parents did not speak to inequality, tensions or protests even when highly visible in the media (Underhill, 2018).

Underhill’s (2019) study explored the implicit racial socialisation messages these White parents used. Implicitly, parents tended to think that exposing their children to diversity was a way to foster small-scale change. While parents claimed to value racial diversity, their parenting practices revealed that this is not always the case. They embraced middle-class ‘people of colour’ but feared that contact with people from lower socioeconomic backgrounds could diminish their children’s class status. Their ambivalence to questions about Black individuals from low incomes contradicted their egalitarian and celebratory viewpoints they expressed. There were also hints that parents were intolerant towards difference, and Underhill felt that these contradictory messages parents were expressing could reinforce messages of White superiority.

One critique of the previous studies reported is the use of self-report measures whereby parents could report themselves in a positive manner. Zucker (2019) therefore used a mixture of methods to explore how White parents talk to their children about race. Ten parent-child dyads were observed and interviewed in this sample. Parents and children had to watch two videos that focused on the taking of the knee by NFL player Kaepernick due to racial inequality and another video regarding the removal of statues. Parents were then asked to facilitate discussion with their children about the videos and were given prompts to help with this. While self-report scales indicated that parents subscribed to an egalitarian racial socialisation strategy and reported discussing race at home in

their interview's parents were unable to provide an explicit example of racial conversations. When it did come up parents mainly used colour-blind ideology. After the videos, some parents were able to initiate the conversations but would discuss historical racism instead of focusing on why this was a recent news story similar to the findings by Bartoli et al. (2016). Children in this sample, like their parents, also mainly adopted a colour-blind approach to race although some children were defensive in their conversations and felt that race was no longer an issue, which highlights that even when parents are not having these conversations directly, children are picking up on the messages around them.

Zucker and Patterson (2018) examined the racial socialisation messages of White American families and how this relates to their racial attitudes and identity based on Helms (1995) White Identity Development Theory. To understand these messages both qualitative and quantitative measures were used. Most of the parents adopted a colour-blind approach in that they did not discourage or encourage racial conversations and stated that race had not been brought up when interacting with their children. When parents were asked how they would respond to their child informing them that they had heard a racial slur, eighty percent of parents said that they would respond in a colour-blind way and acknowledge that it was wrong but would not connect this to racial inequality. Participants were also given vignettes regarding Black Lives Matter and hate crimes and asked how they would respond and again most would respond in a colour-blind manner that would condemn the behaviour of the hate crime but not address the motivation for the crime. Some parents were also critical of Black Lives Matter movement and felt that it was not worth their time or were vague and avoidant in their responses. These findings are consistent with previous research that parents are unwilling to have racial discussions with their children even when given the opportunity to do so.

Parents own racial identity was linked to their racial socialisation methods Zucker and Patterson (2018). It was found that those who identified as being in the disintegration phase (whereby there is ambivalence regarding race of self and others) were less likely to discuss race and racial history. Parents who

scored highly in the reintegration phase (idolise their own racial group and intolerance of other groups) were also less likely to relay messages regarding discrimination. The pseudo-independence stage subscale and immersion subscale were found to be significant predictors of racial socialisation messages, with parents who scored highly on these subscales being more likely to encourage racial discussions with their children, discuss group differences and discrimination. This research highlights the importance of understanding our own identity and biases in order to be able to facilitate conversations

Some researchers, therefore, have tried to explore whether those parents that identify as anti-racist are more likely to adopt a colour-conscious socialisation approach to racial conversations with their children. Matlock and DiAngelo (2015) found that parents said it influenced their choice of schools, the neighbourhoods they lived in and the resources they used with their children. While parents did mention racial diversity as a reason for moving to their neighbourhood, they also acknowledged that this was after gentrification had occurred. Most of the parents believed their children were not aware of racism and almost half of the participants reported that they believed that their children do not notice race and thought this was great. These findings highlight that even those parents who identified as antiracists and were aware of privilege did not model this in their parenting.

Similar findings were found by Hagerman (2017) who explored progressive fathers as most of the research in this field focuses on mother's socialisation messages. These fathers stated that they spoke with their children about inequality and were committed to anti-racism and chose to live in an area that was multicultural and send their children to a diverse school so they could form interracial friendships. They also used resources to speak to their children about race and racial inequality including books, documentaries and visiting museums. However, these fathers would still reproduce educational inequalities by sending their children to private music lessons and tutoring. They felt that the solution to whiteness was forming interracial friendships and less about structural racism. The fathers in this sample also did not discuss any examples

of how they would help their children understand their structural advantages due to their whiteness. This shows how prevalent White privilege is as these fathers were able to create the contexts they wanted for their children's lives whereas parents of racialised minority children do not have the option to pick the racial and social context for their children. Hagerman (2017) stated that these fathers at times reproduced the social hierarchies they claimed to want to dismantle which shows that even those who view themselves as liberal and progressive do not recognise how they unintentionally perpetuate whiteness.

White Parents however who show an awareness of their own racial biases, were more inclined to adopt a colour-conscious approach to racial discussions and were less likely to deny racism and would instead speak to their children about the impact of racism (Perry, Skinner & Abaied, 2019). In a more recent pre-published study, Perry et al. (2021) found that when parents were given prompts after watching several videos that showed subtle, blatant or no bias towards a Black child that included specifically mentioning race and asking who was responsible and encouraging empathy, parents were able to use more colour-conscious socialisation processes. This included pointing out prejudice and making links between the videos and racism within society. There were however some parents that even with these prompts still used colour-blind messages or gave the benefit of the doubt to the White child in the video, blaming adults and the media for the child's attitude. Some parents even spoke about what the Black child could do differently. Parents also rarely went beyond instructed prompts and needed scaffolding to be able to do so. Thus, highlighting how prevalent whiteness is within society.

1.7.2.2 Barriers to Discussions

There have been several barriers identified in why White parents are not having conversations with their children about race and racial issues. Some White parents felt that acknowledgement and discussions of race and race-related differences were racist (Hagerman, 2014; Bartoli et al., 2016). Parents were concerned that it would 'plant a seed' in their children's heads that could lead to prejudice by acknowledging racial differences (Katz, 2003; Vittrup, 2018;

Zucker, 2019). Many parents felt it was unnecessary to have these conversations as they believed their children were colour-blind and this was because their children had interracial friendships (Vittrup, 2018).

Several researchers also found that parents did not initiate these conversations and would wait for their children to bring up these discussions (Bartoli et al., 2016; Katz, 2003) with some White parents saying that it not their role to discuss race and that this is something that should be discussed in school (Hagerman, 2014). This is however problematic as it is not guaranteed that children will learn about race at school as the curriculum can vary (Hughes, Bigler & Levy, 2007). Parents would also use developmental age as a reason to not have these conversations, as they felt that children were too young to understand the complexity of the conversation and felt that detailed conversations especially around racism could be distressing and damaging particularly to young children (Underhill, 2018; Zucker, 2019). Other White parents were avoidant and expressed discomfort as they were unfamiliar with these conversations due to their White view of the world and felt that they did not know how to have these conversations in an age-appropriate manner (Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Underhill, 2016; Zucker, 2019).

Bartoli et al. (2016) found that while participants acknowledged that race was important in society, they wished this was not the case and therefore acted as if it were not. In other studies, participants feel that racism had been eradicated and would only discuss racism from a historical perspective and therefore felt there was no need to have these discussions (Pahlke et al., 2012, Vittrup, 2018; Zucker, 2019). Some research also found that White parents expressed never thinking about their race, that race was meaningless and did view themselves as having a racial identity (Bartoli et al., 2016; Katz, 2003). This however could increase racism, as if we do not notice race then that suggests that racism cannot exist. White individuals are not equipping their children with the knowledge to understand the function of race and how racial inequality persists when they fail to acknowledge racial differences.

1.7.2.3 Summary of Scoping Review

The research from the scoping review highlights that White parents in the US are mainly adopting a colour-blind approach to racial discussions where race would be downplayed and not discussed. Several reasons have been put forward for this and this includes not knowing how to have these conversations, the child's developmental age and mainly that people felt that by discussing racial differences it could potentially lead to their children developing prejudiced attitudes that were not previously there. However, some White parents felt that racism was a thing of the past and that it was unnecessary to have these conversations.

There are however several critiques of the research included in the scoping review. Most studies tended to focus on mothers from White middle class or affluent backgrounds who were degree educated. Therefore, only certain populations have been discussed and these findings cannot be generalised. This study however aimed to try and recruit a diverse range of participants from different backgrounds and genders.

1.8 Research Relevance and Rationale

1.8.1 Clinical Psychology Relevance

The clinical psychology relevance of this study depends on how we view the role of a clinical psychologist to be. From my position, a clinical psychologist's responsibility is to work to decolonise the profession and academia while advocating for others (Wood & Patel, 2017). This involves being actively anti-racist and finding ways to reduce suffering in society, including racism which should be also be considered a pandemic (Laurencin & Walker, 2020).

We, therefore, need to be looking at what our profession can do to help. As discussed, people who are marginalised due to their race are more likely to be sectioned, restrained, given high doses of medication instead of being offered psychological therapy, and be diagnosed with certain mental health conditions (Fernando, 2017). As the literature review has shown there is a clear link

between experiences of racism and discrimination on mental health and well-being.

By exploring parents' perspectives on how conversations around race are facilitated this could give insight into possible solutions to reduce racism. That in turn would hopefully lead to better outcomes and improve the mental well-being of children and young people from racially minoritised communities. Clinical psychologists are also working more frequently with schools and the research could provide insight into how to speak with White people about race and racism, that could become part of a wider conversation with schools on what children are learning about at home, and how schools can support or challenge some of these viewpoints to educate children on race, and the very real experiences and consequences of racism.

This research also fits with current government prevention strategies that are focusing on increasing young people's mental well-being in the hope of reducing later life distress (Department of Health & NHS England, 2015). The British Psychological Society (2020) has also stated that tackling racial and social inequalities is the responsibility of all including clinical psychologists and this research is a way to raise awareness and facilitate conversations to get people to start thinking about their position and whiteness.

1.8.2 Research Rationale

Most of the research in this field has stemmed from the United States of America, where the political climate is sufficiently different. To my knowledge, there has been no research in the UK that looks at parents' views of having conversations with their children around race and the barriers that may prevent parents from doing this. There is also limited research in general, exploring the perspective of White parents' views on discussing race with their children.

As the researcher, I aim to understand how children develop a sense of race, and parents are fundamental figures in their child's development and learning. More specifically, I want to see if White British parents in the UK are talking to

children about race, and what approach they are adopting when doing so, as this can give insight into how individual and interpersonal racism persists. It is hoped that by exploring this, it will open conversations that could in turn potentially inform parenting work and educational policies.

1.8 Research Questions

Based on the rationale and aims presented the current study tends to explore the following three questions:

1. Do parents think we should be talking to children about race and if so when and how do we have these conversations?
2. What are the barriers preventing parents from having these conversations around race with their children?
3. What do parents think could be the potential impact of having or not having these conversations?

2.0 CHAPTER TWO - METHODOLOGY

2.1 Chapter Overview

The methodological chapter will start by outlining the underpinning ontology and epistemological standpoint of the research. This will then provide a rationale for the research questions and the research design used. The recruitment processes, method of data collection and analysis will also be discussed. Lastly, this chapter will outline the ethical issues that were considered and how these were addressed.

2.2 Ontology and Epistemology

While research tries to remain objective, all research derives from the researcher's ontological and epistemological position (Crotty, 1998). Ontology relates to the researcher's view of what constitutes reality, e.g., what exists for us to know (Bryman, 2012; Willig, 2013). Epistemology can be understood as our beliefs about how we create, acquire, and communicate knowledge. It is curious about what we know and how we came to know this (Willig, 2013).

2.2.1 Research Position

For the research, I have taken a critical realist position that fits with the overall aims of the research. Critical realism states that the 'real' world is independent of the perceiver and the 'observable' world is constructed through human perceptions and experiences and that knowledge of this observable world is biased (Bhaskar, 1978). This means that our view of 'reality' is influenced by our values (Archer et al., 2013).

Critical realism allows the research to take a realist ontology that argues that a 'reality' does exist outside of my own and other individual's constructions and

perceptions. This approach can therefore be used to acknowledge that there is a reality faced by Black and Asian communities regarding access and opportunities that are available, as shown by the disparities revealed in numerous national censuses, audits, and research (Committee of Human Rights, 2020; Cabinet Office, 2017). It could be argued from a realist ontological perspective that racism is a very real experience that exists and can be observed, as a consequence of socially constructed labels.

These socially constructed labels make up the ‘critical’ aspect of this epistemological approach. This approach states that we make sense of ‘reality’ through discursive constructs with a shared set of language that has been socially constructed (Burr, 2003; Georgaca & Avdi, 2011). The critical element also provides us with a way to understand socially constructed concepts such as ‘race’, ‘BAME’ and ‘ethnicity’ that have been widely contested (see Chapter One). While the terms have been socially constructed, groupings based on race and ethnicity are unfortunately used in all levels of society, and this impacts the reality of Black and Asian communities.

By adopting this research position, it allows me, the researcher to navigate the complexity of the topic. Not only acknowledging the social construction of the terminology used but the material realities that racialised minorities face, that is mediated through policies based on these constructs that shape people’s lives in the UK. The approach also allows me to think critically and consider ideas of power, both explicit and implicit forms that can be more difficult to quantify and take a moral political position (Lukes, 2005; Price & Martin, 2018).

The critical realist approach will make it possible for me to collect data that will provide insight into how White British communities might contribute to the disparities and racism that racialised communities face. The information that is gathered in this research hopes to support recommendations on how we can begin to communicate with parents to speak with children about race with critical realism being well suited to influence change and provide information on current societal and political situations (Fletcher, 2017).

As discussed, while findings can be biased this should not stop us from trying to discover a shared understanding of reality. Critical realism can therefore be used when collecting and analysing qualitative data to identify similarities amongst the participants' responses that goes beyond the reading of the text, that aims to make meanings of the data to improve understanding, while also recognising the fallibility of the research findings (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Cruickshank, 2003).

2.3 Rationale for Qualitative Approach

A qualitative approach as mentioned in the previous section aligns with critical realism. Qualitative research aims to gather detailed insightful information from participants that explores how these individuals experience and make sense of the world around them with the focus being on meanings and processes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative approaches allow participants to share their own stories in their terms about their experiences and beliefs, which is important for this research. It also thinks about the researcher's position in the system and their influence on the research processes (Lyons & Coyle, 2007).

2.4 Reflexivity

Critical realism is also committed to reflexivity (Price & Martin, 2018). While it is difficult to be aware of all the ways that a researcher's experiences can influence the research (Harper, 2011), reflexivity helps the researcher interrogate their impact on the research findings (Willig, 2013). A bracketing method was used to address my preconceptions about what the research may find and to ensure a rigorous process was followed (Tufford & Newman, 2010). It is a process of setting aside biases, preconceptions, and personal experiences. It can also help the researcher when examining material that does not fit with their beliefs and may be emotionally challenging. It is a method that should be used at all stages of the research (Tufford & Newman, 2010). My

supervisor and I therefore had several meetings where a bracketing procedure was followed, and this included a pre-interview meeting to ensure that my biases did not impact the interviews. Regulation supervision was also provided, and a reflective diary was kept. This helped me to continue reflecting on my values and beliefs that could shape and influence the direction of the study.

Given the context of the research, it is also important that I share what ethnicity identify with, a White British female. My identity brings privileges, possibilities, and limitations. In that, I have an incomplete view on issues around race and racism due to the privileges I have been afforded due to my race. My knowledge around these topics has progressed in the last 10 years, where if using Helms (1995) White Identity Development Model, I would feel that I am in the autonomous stage. For this, I am so thankful and indebted to those who have taken the time to educate me. It has made me more aware of social injustices and inequalities that persist and are perpetuated through Whiteness (Wood & Patel, 2017).

My ethnicity may have also afforded me opportunities in terms of recruitment. Interviewing participants from the same ethnic background may have allowed participants to feel more comfortable discussing race, as they may have felt that we shared similar beliefs. In my recruitment flyer and information sheet (see Appendix D and E), I refrained from taking a particular stance, so participants felt able to freely discuss their views, which would allow me to understand how parents think children develop a sense of race and ‘other’ (Derman-Sparks, Higa, Sparks, 1980), keeping open the possibility that participants may talk to racism.

2.5 Recruitment

Purposive sampling was used to recruit parents. Parents were recruited via children centres, primary schools, and local Facebook pages in a London Borough and throughout Suffolk. Two areas were used as one is a diverse

borough with a large multicultural population and the other a county where the population is predominantly White. This was to ensure that participants' experiences were somewhat representative of other White British individuals in the UK, who may live in areas similar to the ones explored in this study.

Managers of the children centres and head teachers of primary schools were contacted via email and given an overview of the research. In the email, they were also asked whether they would be happy to share the recruitment flyer and information sheet with potential participants who fitted the criteria. The managers and head teachers who signed up shared the recruitment flyer and information sheet with parents by either emailing or posting on their Facebook page. I also shared the information sheet and recruitment flyer on local London Borough and Suffolk Facebook pages.

For doctoral research and thematic analysis, the researcher should aim to conduct between six to fifteen qualitative interviews (Braun, Clarke & Hayfield, 2019; Guest, Bunce and Johnson, 2006). I, therefore, attempted to recruit around twelve to sixteen participants.

2.5.1 Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

Various inclusion criteria were used to recruit participants. Participants had to identify as White British and were required to have children between the ages of five and twelve years old. The rationale for focusing on this ethnic group and age range has been discussed in Chapter One. Participants were also required to have access to a phone or smart device due to the COVID-19 restrictions in place. Based on the limitations of prior studies there were no requirements in terms of gender, socio-economic status, family household structure and education. It was however hoped that there would be a wide range of participants in this regard.

2.5.2 Participants

There were fourteen participants (twelve female and two male) who were interviewed that met the inclusion criteria. There were six participants from a London Borough and eight participants from Suffolk.

Demographic information can provide useful contextual information to better understand the position that the participant is speaking from. The demographic form did not require participants to tick a box, but rather provided an empty space for participants to fill in to help prevent labelling and categorising individuals (see Appendix F). It was decided not to ask about participants education and income in the hope that more participants would feel comfortable signing up to take part in the study. The demographic information is shown in Table 1. This table highlights that there was a mixture in terms of the age of parents and their children.

Table 1

Demographic Information

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	County	Age of Child
Natalie	28	Female	Suffolk	10
Lesley	29	Female	Suffolk	10
Ariel	40	Female	London Borough	7
Rachel	48	Female	London Borough	8
Ellie	33	Female	Suffolk	5
Jamie	42	Male	Suffolk	10
Emily	33	Female	London Borough	8
Jack	56	Male	London Borough	8, 10

Teresa	49	Female	Suffolk	28,20,12
Naomi	49	Female	Suffolk	12
Erin	38	Female	London Borough	5,3
Hayley	49	Female	Suffolk	11
Sarah	49	Female	London Borough	8
Elizabeth	27	Female	Suffolk	6

2.6 Research Technique

In line with a qualitative approach, semi-structured interviews were used to collect the data. This form of data collection was seen as the most appropriate. It is ideally suited to researcher's who aim to discover the views and opinions of those interviewed (Howitt, 2019), which this research aims to do. Semi-structured interviews differ from structured interviews in that they allow for open questions, detailed meaningful responses to questions and flexibility to clarify, gain further information and expand on participants viewpoints (Smith, 2003; Eatough & Smith, 2006). This style of interviewing enables conversational flow that can put participants at ease and reduce the potential perceived power difference that may arise between the 'professional' positioning of the clinical psychologist and the interviewee. As the participants have more control over the direction of the conversation which sometimes elicits novel areas in research (Smith, 2003). Further, it still enables the researcher to maintain structure and direction and to always keep in mind the research questions (Howitt, 2019).

2.6.1 Interview Schedule

Before the interviews took place, a draft interview schedule was constructed by me and my research supervisor to ensure that the interview schedule was appropriate and of high quality. The questions aimed to attend to all possibilities on parents' views of discussing race with their children.

To ensure the standard of the interviews, I met with three White British parents and trialled a ‘pilot interview’. After the interviews, parents were asked for feedback. After their recommendations and a further meeting with my research supervisor, the schedule was adapted (see Appendix G). The schedule included numerous neutral open questions with each question having minimal assumptions attached. This gave space for participants to share their views. Prompts were accounted for to allow for follow up questions and to allow me, the researcher to ‘guide’ participants if they needed further clarification.

2.6.2 Interview procedure

The interview processes were discussed with the participants via phone or email before the interview. During this contact, participants were able to ask any questions. We also discussed the participant’s preference for a phone or video-calling interview, due to the COVID-19 restrictions. Participants were sent a further copy of the information sheet in addition to the consent form (see Appendix H) before the interviews took place. Interviews were scheduled at a time suitable for participants with participants being encouraged to have the interview in a setting of their choice, where they could have privacy and limited interruptions.

Before the interview took place, participants were asked ‘engagement’ questions. This was to develop a rapport and ensure that participants felt comfortable before discussing their opinions and beliefs. Participants were then again asked if they had any questions and given an option to review the information sheet. Confidentiality and data sharing were discussed, and participants were reminded that they could end the call and withdraw their consent at any point throughout the interview. Interviews lasted between 25 and 56 minutes.

When the interviews finished, I checked whether participants had any questions. This debrief involved asking how participants found answering these questions and they were able to reflect on their experience of the interview. I also read through the debrief sheet and the participants were told that they

would be sent a digital copy via email (see Appendix I). No participants showed any signs of distress, but all were given contact details on the debrief form of services that were deemed suitable to provide a space in case the conversation later impacted them. The debrief form also included resources on how to facilitate racial conversations with children if participants wanted to read this following the interview. My contact details and my research supervisor's details were also given in case they had further questions or if they wanted to retract their data.

2.7 Transcription

Interviews were audio-recorded using the recording functioning on MS Teams if the interview was over video. If the interview took place via telephone, a digital recording device was used. Once the interview was over, the recordings were transferred to a password-protected encrypted personal computer.

Participant interviews were transcribed within two weeks of the interview and given a code of 'P1' that represented 'Participant 1', and an anonymised name throughout the transcript to maintain confidentiality. Any personal information was omitted or anonymised (for example, if they discussed the names of their children or other family members, places of work or geographical locations). Participant's interviews were deleted immediately once they had been transcribed.

The 'Jefferson-lite' transcription model was followed (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) which is a simplified version of the detailed Jefferson transcription scheme (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984). This means that all spoken words including interjections such as 'hmm' are transcribed. The reason the Jefferson-lite transcription scheme was chosen was that it gives more of the conversational and interactional context and focuses on what the interviewee is responding to. Punctuation was also added to the transcripts to improve readability whilst

ensuring the meaning intended by participants was maintained (Parker, 2005, 2004). An extract from a Transcript can be in Appendix J.

2.8 Ethical Issues

For the research to take place the University of East London School of Psychology Ethics Committee granted ethical approval. This process is in accordance with the British Psychological Society Code of Ethics and Conduct (BPS, 2018). The Ethics application and Ethical Amendments can be seen in Appendix K.

2.8.1 Informed Consent

As previously discussed, in addition to receiving the recruitment flyer, information sheet and consent form prior to the interview, informed consent was verbally sought before the interview started. Participants were reminded there was a three-week timeline to withdraw their consent for using their interview data and that this information would also be included in the debrief sheet.

2.8.2 Confidentiality

Before the interview started confidentiality was discussed with every participant. When the interview ended, participants were asked if there was anything that had arisen that they wanted to discuss or if they had any concerns regarding anonymity.

Participant anonymity was retained by assigning a number and pseudonym to each participant that was used throughout the whole research process including in the transcriptions. Identifiable information from email correspondence or consent forms were kept securely and separately from the research data. Interview recordings were stored securely and deleted once interviews were transcribed. The information sheet outlined these details and made clear that anonymised transcripts would be kept for up to three years in case of future publication. They were also informed that it was only me and my research

supervisor that had access to the recordings, and my research supervisor and examiners who could have access to the anonymised transcripts.

2.8.3 Possible Distress

Due to the nature of discussing race, I recognised the research questions had the potential to raise certain emotions, dependent of course on how participants viewed the necessity of these conversations and their standpoint. The conversations may have led to discussions of difficult experiences or experiences of shame. The way this was managed was to hold a neutral stance of curiosity and offer consistent 'check-ins' throughout the interview to allow the participants to be as open and comfortable as possible. It is worth mentioning that due to the prevalence of whiteness that dominates society, for some people it may have been the first-time having conversations like these. It is also important to note that holding a neutral curious stance was difficult for me at times, and this was reflected on with my supervisor and discussed in my reflective journal.

2.8.4 Debrief

Participants were given space to reflect at the end of the interview on how they found the process. During this time, they could also raise any worries or concerns and were given the option to withdraw their data. This follows the BPS (2018) ethical guidelines.

2.9 Data Analysis

2.9.1 Rationale for Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a qualitative method that aims to try and find, analyse and summarise themes that arise in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The approach is helpful when trying to explain specific groups understanding and conceptualisation of certain phenomenon (Joffe & Yardley, 2004). Furthermore, the thematic analysis does not only provide a detailed, rich, and a complex description of the data, but can help interpret and identify meaning and mechanisms that are related to the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The approach is well suited to the critical realistic standpoint that this research has taken and the aims of the research which is to provide a holistic interpretation of the data using a reflexive, curious, ethical and conscious approach to gain a detailed understanding of how parents making meaning of their experiences and decisions to discuss or not discuss race with their children and how this is influenced by their context (Nightingale & Cromby, 2002). Thematic analysis was therefore seen as the most appropriate method to answer the research questions.

2.9.2 Thematic Analysis Process

Qualitative research is often scrutinised for not detailing 'how' analysis was conducted (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Therefore, in this section, I will outline the process that was followed which was Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-stage guidance to carrying out thematic analysis. Analysis was mainly inductive and semantic, as I wanted themes to emerge from the data. However, it cannot be ignored that due to the inevitable influence of prior theories, frameworks, and studies in my understanding of the research area, it was also somewhat deductive. Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases can be seen below:

2.9.2.1 Familiarisation: This stage starts early in the research process. It began with me listening intently to what the participant was saying and trying to make meaning of this. The transcribed dialogue was 'actively' read and reread multiple times. During these readings, I wrote notes and searched for meaning, patterns and brainstormed initial coding ideas.

2.9.2.2 Generating Initial Codes: This is the initial stage in discovering patterns and categorising the data. Each code was given a name and definition (Joffe, 2011). The whole data set was explored to ensure that codes were not only related to my research questions and theoretical interests (Bryman, 2012). Please see Appendix L for an initial codes list.

2.9.2.3 Searching for Themes: The codes that were identified in the previous stage were clustered together and organised into potential themes starting with individual transcripts and then focusing on the entire dataset. Initial thematic maps were developed as per Braun and Clarke (2006) instructions (see Appendix M). This resulted in themes and sub-themes being identified.

2.9.2.4 Reviewing Themes: In this stage, each theme and subtheme was reviewed using a thorough process that looked for repetition and distinctiveness to see if they fitted with the data that had previously been coded. This allows for the themes to be merged, discarded, or split. Transcripts were re-read to ensure the themes represented the data.

2.9.2.5 Defining and naming themes: Themes that were found in the previous stage were refined and a written definition of each theme was devised to ensure clarity and that they spoke to the wider narrative of the data set (see Appendix N).

2.9.2.6 Producing and writing the report: Thorough attention was given during the analysis to ensure that validity and reliability. The next chapter details the analysis report that aimed to be clear and provide detailed examples that capture each subtheme to go beyond just description of the data but an emphasis on mean-making.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE - ANALYSIS

The thematic analysis findings in this chapter will be discussed. Initial codes were developed, and thematic maps were drawn from these codes. After reviewing the codes several times, the final four themes and corresponding sub-themes were found which can be seen in Table 2. In the Appendix, you can find a coded transcript example, the initial codes from all transcripts and the thematic maps (see Appendix J, L and M).

Table 2

Themes and Corresponding Subthemes

Theme	**Sub themes**
Theme 1: Parental Established Beliefs from Upbringing and Life Experiences'	Prior Generational Influences
	Limited Exposure to Other Cultures
	Own Life experiences
Theme 2: Approaches to Race Discussions	Proactive Approaches
	Reactive Approaches
	Discouraging Approaches
Theme 3: Barriers to Race Discussions	Active Avoidance
	Self-Doubt
	Culture of Disbelief
Theme 4: Potential Impact of Race Discussions	Understanding and Awareness
	Generates Change

3.1 Theme 1: Parental Established Beliefs from Upbringing and Life Experiences

Within this theme, participants detailed how their upbringing and life experiences have shaped their views. This theme felt particularly important as the following three sub-themes directly impacted their approaches to race discussions.

3.1.1 Prior Generational Influences

Participants often remarked that there had not been any conversations around race as a child. Some of the participants felt that this was because it was not seen as an issue.

> …No. No. I don't remember ever having any conversation about race at all. It was just never spoken about…I literally don't remember ever having one single conversation with my mum or dad about it. *(Ellie)*

> … We didn't really talk about it in my house. There was just no need, it just wasn't an issue. *(Teresa)*

One participant spoke about the meaning she took from that as a child.

> So, I internalised that as a child that we shouldn't be talking about race. That it was bad to talk about race and the best thing was to just ignore it. Which now I realise is completely wrong. But that's what my own parents do… I don't, as I say I don't recall ever having a conversation with my parents about race. And they probably didn't think that it was relevant to me. *(Erin)*

Some of the participants also spoke about how their families expressed racist views.

> Umm I keep thinking about my dad and how he would come home from work with racist jokes and things and didn't see that as problem cause he worked with Black people who didn't raise it as an issue. Umm whereas yeh my mum had sort of moved to Suffolk from South East London and used to talk about when she was little it was all White people and then by the time she left it was all Black people. Yeh that's all that was ever really said to me. *(Jamie)*

Jamie then goes on to discuss how it was hard to know any differently as a child based on the views he was surrounded by.

> …a lot of what I used to hear about sort of Black people in particular was negative. And I think it would have been really easy, easy to kind of take that as a given… It's hard to know like what to think about people who are different if you are just never around anyone who's different at all and you have nobody talking to you about it. *(Jamie)*

Other parents shared similar discussions that they associated with generational differences.

> …I know my grandad was very racist. And like some of the things he used to say. And to be fair Jake my partner, his dad is quite still now. And my nan saying things. But I don't know whether that is just because a generation thing. *(Ellie)*

One participant explained how her parents thought that they were expressing nonracist views by using a hierarchy that placed occupational status above race.

> …She had said to my dad umm would you be comfortable if Erin had a Black boyfriend and my dad saying well, I'd rather that she was going out with a Black lawyer than a White binman. And my mum said that to me

> as if that was a really kind of, not exactly progressive but a very non-racist statement to have made… Because you're not judging based on the race, now you're judging based on race and class or achievement or whatever you know, you've made a judgement that White is better than Black and that lawyer is better than binman. *(Erin)*

Rachel, who now works for an Equality and Human Rights organisation spoke about where her beliefs come from. Her experiences growing up were in stark contrast to several other participants.

> In particular my dad, who was a psychiatrist, who worked very very closely with Black and other Ethnic Minority communities around mental health issues. And I remember having you know, conversations from a very, very young age about racism and the experiences of Black people, particularly Black British people or immigrants into the UK. So, I've always had a very kind of strong understanding of race and racism and how it manifests in Britain… that's been an integral part of my kind of outlook ever since. *(Rachel)*

3.1.2 Limited Exposure to Other Cultures

Something that seemed to impact participants own beliefs was their own exposure to other cultures. Whether that was through the area they grew up in or through exposure to other means such as books, media and TV.

Many of the participants spoke about how they grew up in areas that were predominantly White and not knowing anyone of colour until they were older.

> I lived in a small village…everybody kind of knows each other and at one point, I don't remember for years seeing anybody that was Mixed-race. *(Hayley)*

> I grew up in a very White middle class umm so. I probably didn't see a Black person and I'm not even kidding until I was about 8 or 9 (Naomi)

> I went to a school where there was only one Black person. And the boys in our year would say things that were racist and now looking back the boy pretended to be ok but he probably had to do that cause he was in a minority. *(Elizabeth)*

Elizabeth goes on to explain the impact of growing up in an area that is predominantly White.

> ..It's a very White community and I was perhaps umm socialised to be more ignorant I'm not sure if that's the right word. But more umm, accepting of words that are not ok. And I should have spoken up more at the time but when you're surrounded by it. It can be difficult to know.. I think when you're in a White bubble. You can like I said umm almost become socialised to that environment. *(Elizabeth)*

Participants in the interviews also referenced how when they were exposed to other cultures through media it was not particularly positive.

> Yeh a lot of my learning about sort of people of different races would have come from TV. Which again was really very stereotypical and quite negative…This other show Mind Your Language about a lot of foreign people learning English in England. And yeh looking back at it now. It's awful, it's absolutely awful dreadful stuff. Umm but yeh I guess a lot of people from White areas of my kind of age that would have been where they got their ideas from *(Jamie).*

Some participants went on to explain that their awareness and understanding of other cultures developed when they moved to a city to start university.

> ...When I went to university in Nottingham which is way more multi-cultural and was more exposed to people of different ethnicities, I think you learn about different cultures. *(Elizabeth)*

Similarly, Jamie said it was not until he went to college that he started to question the messages he had been socialised into and realised how prevalent racism was when he was no longer in a predominantly White environment.

> …quite quickly I kind of realised these people were pretty much just like me... and the only difference was I think where I had some difficulties sort of coming from quite a poor background and sort of having to work through college... It was actually the similarity in noticing that the Black student's yeh a lot of what I considered to be real struggles that I have theirs were much worse. And also seeing them, being exposed to racism first-hand. That was pretty much something I had never encountered in my life. Yeh it sort of made it much more plain that their lives were a lot harder than mine. *(Jamie)*

One participant, Sarah explained how she was exposed to other cultures from a young age and what it taught her.

> … Also my Dad, he's an artist but he was a lecturer at university. But there was always people around from other countries…There was always people at our house for dinner that were from everywhere. And we travelled a lot, you know I went to India, I went to all sorts of places as kids. So I think the values that we had as a family and what I was exposed to just meant that I had a better understanding of the issues. And also, accepted things more.

3.1.3 Own Life Experiences

This subtheme emerged as participants gave an account of later life experiences such as their profession, having friendships across cultural groups, experiencing discrimination, or witnessing racism first-hand challenged some of their prior beliefs.

Several of the participants, due to their profession, witnessed racism for the first time and were made aware of White privilege.

> ...but I think in healthcare it's been good cause you come across lots of different people. So you can learn more. But no I've never really had anyone be racist towards me so I know that I'm lucky. Especially compared to other people at work. *(Lesley)*

> …I used to work with the equal opportunities officer, and she was a Black women… And I for the first time with her, I noticed there were people who would walk along the street towards us and hide their bag.. yeah I noticed older people particularly would cross over the street and I was just like. I don't know if I just grew up in such a little bubble, I was just shocked I was like why are people doing that. People looked fearful and she would be like 'see?'… I actually understand how White privileged I am. How lucky I am to not have experienced that in my life. I have got jobs I have got on in life because of the colour of my skin rather than despite it. *(Naomi)*

Contrary to these experiences people also discussed never having witnessed racism.

> So, you know, I've never experienced it because I've been lucky enough to not have seen anything first hand…or heard anything *(Ellie)*

> So, me I've never witnessed anything racist. Any racist at all. *(Teresa).*

When participants experienced discrimination themselves, it led to an increase in understanding of racialised minorities experiences.

> I guess that is how people may feel at school how I feel at work as White people were often the majority and it might be that people at work have more in common or that felt more comfortable around people similar to them. *(Natalie)*

> Yeah well I had that one incidence as a kid that made me look at things differently and helped form my opinion on the whole subject. Because you know, don't get me wrong I'm not like oh I've experienced racial prejudice, but I did experience something that made me believe that I understand to a greater degree the horribleness of what that must feel like. *(Sarah)*

3.2 Theme 2: Approaches to Race Discussions

One of the research questions specifically focused on whether participants felt we should be speaking to children about race, and if so, how as a parent they had done this. Three-sub themes emerged with the different approaches that participants tended to take when it came to racial discussions.

3.2.1 Proactive Approaches

Proactive approaches to race discussions included making their children aware of not only race but racism and anti-racism and providing representation and resources that were relatable.

Several participants felt it was very important for young children to have representation in their TV, books and toys.

> He's a boy, he's an only child and he had a doll when he was younger. It was actually a little Black baby. A little Black girl. Because his nanny was Black and she'd run a playgroup. She had lots of different nationalities… And mmm and so I always drilled into him. It didn't matter what he played with... *(Ariel)*

> What I do try and do is make sure he has representative media, so you know like books or films where there's a sort of diverse range of characters. *(Rachel)*

Rachel and other participants use resources as an opportunity for learning about race.

> …that really, really resonated with my son and then so he kind of got everything else that was going on. And he could put himself in that kid's shoes and we were saying you know what do you think you might feel if you had to go through the experience that Amit went through? So, you know we kind of would use this as a kind of a learning opportunity as well to talk about experiences that the characters have gone through. *(Rachel)*

Participants also found referencing known individuals in their lives from different communities useful in helping children understand the impact of racism through connecting it to those in their immediate sphere.

> …also because his nanny was Black. This lady called Kayesha. Mmm. When something would happen we would say can you imagine someone not trusting Kayesha. Or you know if someone Tayon, her grandson wasn't allowed to do something because of his skin colour... Cause he loves Kayesha and feels incredibly safe with her and incredibly comfortable…I think umm we tried to make it tangible so kind of referencing people we know. *(Ariel)*

Other participants also discussed making sure children were exposed to other cultures.

> …it's nice that we have friends from all different countries. When we go round to their houses, we have all different cuisines, we hear about different customs. We've been involved in you know different like Diwali you know all these celebrations with people because their friends of ours they involve us in these celebrations. It's really nice that we get to experience different cultures. So yeah I think embrace, embrace difference (Naomi)

For some participants adopting a colour-conscious approach was important to them whereby they informed their children about White privilege, racism and anti-racism.

> I would like him, even as a five- year-old, I would like him to understand that White people have a responsibility to be anti-racist. *(Erin)*

> …there are times when we have had conversations about race and about how, I've relayed stories about when people have felt racism towards them. To try and explain to him, that he can't really understand as a White male boy, goes to a private school, has a really positive life. How he, it's not what he thinks that somebody might be offended by but what they are offended by. So, we have had that conversation how it doesn't actually match with your, if you find it offensive or not it's not the issue. If somebody is Black and finds it offensive, then that's the issue *(Naomi)*

> …we have talked about the fact that some of the kids in his class at school now and he's in year 4. You know might be perceived as troublemakers and I was saying to him what you have to understand there's a lot of Black kids, particularly are pegged as troublemakers, primarily by White teachers. And you because it's its, you know, there is a whole heap of reasons for that *(Rachel)*

3.2.2 Reactive Approaches

Within this subtheme, the approaches participants employed to discuss race after the children had initiated the conversation, alongside those who would delay discussing race until a specific developmental age are discussed. Those using this approach would take a cursory standpoint and would often utilise a limited explanation when discussing race.

Participants expressed they have or would only have the conversations if the child initiated the discussions.

> …But if he was to come to me and say I don't like so and so because they're Black then 100% we would be having a conversation. Definitely. Or if I heard him say that I don't know another kid had been picking on someone and saying something about someone because of the colour of their skin then yeh we'd defiantly be having a conversation *(Ellie)*

Participants also felt that it would only be necessary when meeting people from different ethnicities.

> I think we should have these kinds of conversations as soon as they come into contact with a different race child we should start having these conversations. Like when they start to meet people from other places. It's good to have the conversation. *(Natalie)*

Some participant,s when the children had initiated conversations around race only offered limited explanations.

> She has asked and I just said to her it was because her dad was Black and that was it. I just say well people have different colour skin, and it could because their parents are from different places, or it could be cause of all sorts *(Lesley)*

> The first time my kids ever mentioned it was the day my kid went to school, and I picked him up. I said I've been playing with those kids over there, his skin's dark brown why is that? And I kind of sort of said to him because you know different people are different colours. He kind of went ok then. There were no follow up questions. *(Jamie)*

Participants also worried about the age of the child and felt that the reason they had not yet had these conversations was because they were waiting until their child was old enough to understand.

> Well umm, I think Liam is too little at the minute to have an in-depth kind of conversation. Like I don't think he'd understand… But umm, I think like maybe between the ages of like 8 to ten I would sit down with him and have a proper chat about it. *(Elizabeth)*

3.2.3 Discouraging Approaches

Discouraging approaches to race discussions refers to how some participants had used a colour-blind approach (Apfelbaum, Norton & Sommers, 2012), in that race should not be discussed. If race was discussed, participants were mostly dismissive.

Jack explains his reasons for this approach.

> Like I said I thought it would be wrong to try and tell them anything, we wanted them to make their own decisions and their own friends. To basically be colour-blind, to just take people on their merit. Which we think they have done that really. *(Jack)*

Other participants adopted a similar approach in that they did not feel race was important especially to children.

> In my opinion and my experience, they don't think about race. They get on well with kids they like… I don't think children care what race people are…For me, race is really like listen to me. Race, is nothing. Because we all believe the same, inside we are all the same. To me, race is just a colour. And that's what I said to her. I don't look at anything. I don't look into it more. For me, it's irrelevant. Because we are all the same…Yes fundamentally like we all look different, but we are all the same we are all humans so yeah. (Emily)

This approach can often mean that parents can be dismissive and shut down conversations when the topic is raised as they found it to be a negative thing if their child noticed race.

> When he was in nursery. I asked him who's that little boy you were playing with on the carpet. He was only about 3. He was like oh the one with the Black face. But obviously to him, he was just 3 and he was just describing. Luckily my mother-in-law was in the car and she was just like oh you mustn't say it like that. He looks different just like me and mummy look different just like you know.. just kind of making it out like that. *(Ellie)*

3.3 Theme 3: Barriers to Race Discussions

This main theme identifies some of the barriers that parents identified that prevented them or others from discussing race with their children. Three subthemes were found.

3.3.1 Self-Doubt on Subject Matter

In this subtheme participants spoke about experiences of self-doubt when it came to racial discussions. Participants felt they needed to know more and were concerned about saying the wrong thing or offending people due to their lack in knowledge.

Natalie spoke about never having the tools to know how to facilitate these conversations.

> …that would be what would hold me back, fear of getting it wrong. We were never taught about it in depth either, I never remember being taught about it at school it is just what we picked up along the way. I think also saying the wrong thing or just yeah being worried if Kiera repeats me and I haven't got someone's background right.

This was difficult for participants, particularly if they never had conversations at home and lived in a predominately White area. Other participants had similar fears and felt that their schools had also not equipped them for having these conversations.

> Only the fact that I don't know enough about it… I wouldn't want to get it wrong because that would or could lead into some issues or not explain it very well. Like I don't want to be naïve or simplify things or say something wrong about someone's culture. I also don't think it was explained the way that it should have been. I don't think school did a grand job. They could have done much better... I wish I could have learned more about it. Like I feel like I don't know enough. I wish I was taught more about race and you know racism *(Lesley)*

One participant went into further detail and believes these conversations are difficult because people are only taught in a way that paints British History in a positive light.

> …also whether you are taught about bad British history or not right? So many people think, they don't understand about Windrush, they don't understand why there's all these people from all round the world here. They know that it's about the commonwealth, but the commonwealth doesn't really exist anymore, they don't understand what that actually used to mean. And they don't understand that we were raping and pillaging other countries right. And therefore, people might not like us very much. *(Sarah)*

Several participants discussed that they struggled in terms of knowing where language derived from and what was acceptable.

> … One of his friends were banned from play station network for using that N word. Again, a White group of kids and I sort of tried to say to him it's not an acceptable word to use. You certainly shouldn't be using that as an insult towards anyone. And he sort of said where does it come from and I couldn't answer that... I just I don't know enough on the topic…but I think for me it's just not knowing enough and they probably know more than me. *(Jamie)*

Jamie also goes on to talk about his lack of understanding and wishes he had learnt more when he was younger.

> I think one thing that certainly limits me is yeh to an extent a lack of understanding… and not being able to give definitive answers…I really wish I made an effort to learn more about the issue. Particularly, when I was younger actually. Umm, but obviously learning is a lifelong thing. So yeh. Sort of difficulty in talking about it now has made me think this is something I do need to learn a lot more about. Yeh in terms of sort of talking about it with my kids I wish I just had more knowledge in the first place to be able to have probably more informative and constructive discussions with them.

Jamie was not alone in this thinking several others worried about saying the wrong thing, and really wanting to get the conversations right and that they themselves were still learning.

> I also think what might umm stop me is so like I feel like I'm still learning and I want to get it right and not really knowing what to say. *(Elizabeth)*

> To me it's really important to get that conversation right, I suppose, I don't shy away from the conversations, but I haven't actively instigated a lot of conversations about it because I want to make sure that I'm giving him the right information. And that I'm expressing my views in a way that he can understand, that isn't confusing. I suppose I probably have some of that fear of saying the wrong thing, that people talk about. It doesn't

> totally, it doesn't stop me from having the conversation, but it might make me delay it a bit I suppose. *(Erin)*

This was a commonality with Ariel who has also been having these conversations with her child but felt that thinking about how to word or phrase things, particularly to children would slow the process down.

> Not knowing what to say. Or not knowing how to phrase it. But I don't think it would stop me. It would slow me down. But I wouldn't want it to stop me. And I don't think it does stop me… I think the fear of saying the wrong thing can definitely stop people. *(Ariel)*

3.3.2 Active Avoidance of Subject Matter

In this subtheme participants would actively avoid conversations around race. Participants were worried children would not understand due to their developmental age, would view their friends differently and wanted to protect their children from knowing about the frightening aspects of the world such as racism.

Ellie, along with some other participants also spoke about their fears that having these conversations, could potentially impact on their children's friendships.

> I feel like, Jake just got an opinion at the minute that someone that has Black skin is exactly the same as his friend with White skin. And it's not been made an issue. But I feel like if I would have spoken to him now it would have been…I feel like if I set a seed in Jake head about it. He could then potentially go into school and look at that friend differently to how he looks at him now. *(Ellie)*

> …But also I don't want them to view their Black and sort of Asian friends any differently…yeh not wanting to affect their view that everyone is essentially the same. *(Jamie)*

People also wanted to avoid these conversations as they were worried about exposing their children to the more negative aspects of the world especially when they are unsure of how to help.

> I think, I think as a parent. I think it can really challenge you because you don't want to challenge their bubble. Their little bubble of happiness. *(Emily)*

> It's difficult because you want to protect your child from the bad things in the world and the sadness…And it's almost the question but at what point do you begin to open somebody's eyes. That things aren't easy for everybody. I have done it with the homelessness for a long time. But maybe I need to start bringing it in. But with that it was almost like we can help and this is how we can help… I think if I can find a way to make him involved. *(Ariel)*

Developmental age was also used as a reason for some active avoidance of conversations and the fear that their children wouldn't understand the complexities of the subject matter.

> Yeah Liam is only young, he's only little so you know he is so smart but also some things I think would scare him or he may not understand so I think you would have to use language he understands… So umm like I said I worry that he would repeat what I have said at school. And that I could come across like I don't know almost racist for pointing out that there are differences. Which is silly cause there obviously are differences and it's a good thing but umm if he repeated me and said it in the wrong way, cause he doesn't maybe have the right language at the moment *(Elizabeth)*

Ellie, who also has a son of a similar age had the same concerns.

> But I do worry that if I was to bring it up to him to try and have a conversation about it and what goes on in the world. I don't know whether he would interpret it wrong. *(Ellie)*

3.3.3 Culture of Disbelief

The Culture of Disbelief refers to when participants feel that there is no need to discuss race or racism based on a lack of awareness of the issues due to being in a 'White bubble' or assumptions that there is no problem due to their children having interracial friendships. Participants also at times expressed prejudiced opinions.

Some participants in this subtheme adopted a colour-blind approach that assumed that there were no issues due to their children's interracial friendships.

> For me it was really easy as Keira was really close with different races in her class and it never really came up as an issue. It was really easy. She just assumed they were her friends and never really asked me any questions. *(Natalie)*

> She was friends with every child from every background, nationality…They're more relaxed about it all than we were years ago. So you know there was never really a need to talk about it cause they just kind of accepted kids and had different friends. Children don't really notice any of that. *(Teresa)*

Some participants felt it was only over the last few years and particularly this year that they needed to have conversations due to the publicity of Black Lives Matter.

> Whereas now, there's probably more of them than there is of us. I think we are more now the minority. Umm but yeh no when I was at school. No, you didn't have hardly any other nationalities. Not like today…So now days probably you know have to talk about it more…But then maybe it's because really, because now umm so much more is enlightened about it. You know, there umm publicly like Black Lives Matter. *(Teresa)*

> We really didn't, we really didn't explain it. I mean you know, umm, and not until much much later. Because there wasn't really any need too. Umm, you know this year has been different because of the publicity. *(Jack)*

Some participants have also expressed negative views to their children particularly around immigration and the Black Lives Matter organisation.

> In that obviously, they opened the borders, and anyone can come over to our country and get all, get everything. And that did get to us sometimes…it would obviously affect our children's education. Because the teachers were having to spend more time on those that couldn't speak English. It was affecting us. That was the only time that we were probably a bit more opinionated… That's the only time where the kids have witnessed me being a bit like that's not right *(Teresa)*

> … that there some elements within the organisations that we weren't happy with. But we very much supported the view that All Lives Matter, and that people should be you know whether they're Black, Jews, that everyone should be respected. And that we don't agree with racism. So we explained all of that, but tried to do it from a positive point of view. *(Jack)*

Some participants also felt that there is an over exaggeration of the issue.

> Well like I said I know what the media say that he was killed which shouldn't have happened because he was Black. But we don't know whether he would have done the same to a White man. I just don't want Stuart thinking the world segregates people like that cause from my viewpoint the majority of people are good. *(Hayley)*

> Well for example, they see all this stuff with Black Lives Matter that the UK is just racist but I just don't think that's truly accurate. Like I said I think there's good and bad in everyone… That's why I was surprised in

> the news earlier. Sometimes now I think it's getting a bit too in your face. Too much. You know don't get me wrong, we're all equal like we say. But now it's just gone to the extremes. *(Teresa)*

Jack goes onto speak about his choice to not share his views with his children due to the fear of labelling.

> Some of my views are not the ones that I need to share with the children. So, in (London Borough) there is a tendency to label people as racist. So, I don't go with a lot of the current arguments. You know, I don't believe in critical race theory for example, I don't think that because there is a difference in the welfare of different races that that means as a society, we are inherently racist and that there is systemic racism throughout the country. I just don't accept that. *(Jack)*

Jack goes on to express his concerns that potentially children will not be taught the 'truth' and that schools will start to paint British History in a negative light.

> There were three sides to the slave trade. People who shipped who was genuinely us, the owners but then there were others who were willingly selling their own people because they wanted to get good strong White people. It was horrible but umm. But you know these are just really difficult conversations to have. I just.. but you know I don't want the children at school to just be taught that it was all White people being evil and that was it. You know because there is no education to my mind or you know I'm not sure if there's a celebration of the fact that also as a race we did the most to eradicate slavery from the world than anyone else. *(Jack)*

3.4 Theme 4: Potential Impact of Race Discussions

Those participants who wanted to speak to their children about race or had already had the conversations discussed the potential impact of the conversation. Two subthemes were identified.

3.4.1 Increased Understanding and Awareness

Participants felt that these conversations could develop children's understanding and awareness of race and racism. Participants also in turn thought this could increase empathy and acceptance of difference.

> The more you know the more you can speak about these things. If it is more openly talked about now days, then people won't be shy about asking questions... And if they ask more questions or feel they can ask anything then hopefully it means they will learn more. And will be more accepting of others…So having these conversations would increase acceptance. (Lesley)

These conversations can open children's eyes outside of their protected bubble.

> I think there are only positives in terms of anything children are very, their worlds are quite small. They only know what they do. They don't have the life experience that we have. So, I think if you can in part some of that to a child and make them more understanding of another, and more aware of other people's issues of how they might feel about you know. You know pass onto them reading material. Just anything you can give to a child to kind of expand their understanding of the world. And just their empathy. You know that's what all parents want to do. Make their children more empathetic, kind just better humans. *(Naomi)*

Participants also spoke about how having these conversations can help children understand more where others are coming from and White privilege.

> I think you can gloss over it and I think it can make people and make children feel entitled or unaware and that life can be different for other people. This then makes it harder for them to understand why people would react in a way or why people would live in a different way…I think having conversations increases empathy and helps increase understanding. Not having the conversation then obviously I think removes that learning and doesn't open that up to them. *(Ariel)*

> I think sometimes some people don't cause they get defensive. And they also don't understand like White privilege or think that this doesn't make sense. If you don't have conversations, he might think like that. Like oh how am I privileged, people are going on. That kind of thing. Whereas if I have the conversation, I hope it will increase like empathy, and kindness. *(Elizabeth)*

3.4.2 Generates Change

One impact of having these conversations that participants identified was that it could generate change. Meaning that it could help reduce racism and challenge negative stereotypes, with children being actively anti-racist and standing up to others.

> Umm I think the importance of having them with my kid now is that I want him to grow up and understand inequality and want to do something about it. And whether that is that's formally or throughout what path he chooses or to just be a good friend and supportive ally to people you know that experience discrimination and disadvantage. *(Rachel)*

> Well the positive impact is that he will grow into somebody that will, who is, is, kind of active in err pulling other people up and explaining when he hears something that is umm that is racist. *(Erin)*

In choosing not to have these conversations, some participants felt would mean that children would only pick up on the negative stereotypes in the media.

> Because the news, all you see in the news is negative, negative, negative…and seeing that as a child. It would like it would scare me you know? If I was a kid and I saw all of this…If I saw this that would scare me. That would make sure that like, I would make sure I don't associate with coloured people in case there was a shooting and I get hit. Do you know what I mean? It's not at the beginning I wouldn't do it intentionally maybe I would just do it subconsciously, but it would be here (points to brain). *(Emily)*

Emily goes on to detail that having conversations around race with her child and being in a multi-cultural environment has encouraged her child to challenge some of their family members views.

> She's only eight and she goes up to her grandad and she's like no you don't talk like this. And I'm like oh I'm so proud of you. It's like her friend and she stands up for all the sort of views I've got or want her to have. Basically. And because of that you know her grandad has sort of piped down a little bit. She's really helped with that. *(Emily)*

With other participants hoping that by having these conversations with their children real change can come about.

> The older generation have their opinions on things and a lot of them are very racist to be honest... Which isn't how it should be now and we should have these conversations from a lot younger. You know the

younger if they know about everything then hopefully the less likely it is they will become racist. *(Lesley)*

Well I guess if you don't have it. Like me I guess ignorance is bliss. Then nothing really changes does it. You just kind of repeat history. I think it keeps their view quite narrow minded…I think you know the next generation are so important. So important. They are starting to you know with all the protests and on Instagram and all of that. They are teaching us. *(Elizabeth)*

4. CHAPTER FOUR – DISCUSSION

4.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter explores how the main themes that emerged from the data analysis relate to the research questions, previous literature and the theoretical framework that was drawn upon in Chapter One. I will then critically evaluate the study, thinking about its limitations and my own personal reflections of the research. The chapter concludes with discussions of possible future research and study implications.

4.2 Connecting the Research Questions with Findings, Theoretical Frameworks and Previous Literature

To ground the discussion of themes, I have chosen to underpin the thematic discussions using the research questions and tenets of the White Identity Development Framework (Helms, 1995; 2005). I will seek to connect the discussion with previous literature.

4.2.1 Do parents think we should be talking to children about 'race' and if so when and how do we have these conversations?

In the contact status of Helms White Identity Framework, White individuals are 'blissfully ignorant' or unaware of the prevalence of racism, whiteness, and tend to adopt a colour-blind ideology (Helms, 1995). Based on some of the answer's participants expressed and the subthemes that emerged in relation to this research question, it seems that some participants thinking aligned with this status of the model.

This is evidenced when parents reported that having conversations with their children about race was somewhat dependent on whether they themselves had these conversations with their parents when they were younger. Very few

participants remembered having discussions with their parents or in their education settings. For these participants, unless they had life experiences that challenged the viewpoint that silence around race was the best option or were exposed to other cultures that enabled them to develop a sense of awareness of the importance of racial discussions, they appeared to go on to adopt similar approaches to their parents. This supports the literature that found similarities between both parent and child attitudes towards race (Dhont and Van Hiel, 2012; Jaspers, Lubbers & Vries, 2008; Meeusen, 2014; Preist et al., 2014; Rodríguez-García & Wagner, 2009). One interviewee openly reflected on the meaning they made from never having had these discussions. They spoke about how they had held similar views to their parents for a long time and thought that it was a 'bad thing' to discuss race and that discussing difference would 'contribute' to racism (Hagerman, 2014; Bartoli et al., 2016;).

In keeping with the contact status of Helms (1995) model many participants expressed that they had grown up in predominately White areas, where there were no or very few racialised minorities in their school. They spoke about how it was not until they went to university or college that they were exposed to different cultures and stepped outside of their 'White bubble'. These participants explained that growing up in a predominately White area led to more normalisation of prejudiced beliefs and that during childhood the media had played a role in reinforcing negative racial stereotypes. This context also meant that people did not relate to having directly witnessed racism, with some participants stating that they had never consciously witnessed racism. This lack of exposure and discussions around race within the home and school settings is problematic, and as the context status of Helms model suggests, within these contexts one may find it difficult to believe that racism exists, and therefore may be more inclined to adopt a reductionist or colour-blind approach (Apfelbaum, Norton & Sommers, 2012).

The most common finding within the data was that participants who have or would have conversations with their children about race would only do so when their children initiated it (Bartoli et al., 2016; Katz, 2003; Zucker, 2019), and these were known as reactive approaches. These reactive responses further align with the contact stage where, when presented with discussions around

race and racism, parents use avoidance techniques in order to avoid discomfort. Several participants in this subtheme also discussed that they were waiting to have these conversations when children reached a certain developmental age, as they were too young to understand the complexities of the conversation (Katz and Kofkin, 1997; Underhill, 2018; Zucker, 2019). Participants in this subtheme primarily thought race was not an issue (Pahlke et al., 2012; Vittrup, 2018; Zucker, 2019) and discussing it would create one.

One participant also using reactive approaches to racial discussions, expressed that it was only important to have these conversations when children encountered 'other' races. This finding is very much in keeping with the contact status whereby avoidant strategies are used. These strategies are problematic as it suggests an underlying belief that whiteness is the 'norm' and that it is only when exposed to 'non-White' individuals in their environment that race is worth discussing, thus further suggesting a centrality of Whiteness whereby White individuals view themselves as 'raceless' (Bartoli et al., 2016; Hamm, 2001; Herman, 2004).

Parents who took discouraging approaches to conversations with their children were more likely to adopt a colour-blind approach or display prejudice. They wanted to teach children that life outcomes are not based on race, but rather on merit and who you are as a person. This fits with the contact and reintegration statuses of Helms Model (1995) in that individuals do not believe that they are afforded opportunities based on race. Showing clear parallels with the research in this field, some participants in the current study expressed feelings that children do not notice race (Apfelbaum, Norton & Summers, 2012; Vittrup, 2018; Winkler, 2009) and if the topic was brought up, participants would shut down conversations (Zucker, 2018). This suggests that parents may not want to consciously think about race. This could be based on several reasons including their own guilt or shame, or the influence of White supremacy ideology in society.

However, if people have increased exposure to different cultures or witnessed a racial encounter, the person may move into the last three phases of the White Identity Development model (Helms, 1995). This includes the pseudo-independence, immersion-emersion, and autonomy statuses. Unlike in Pahlke et al's. (2012) study that found neighbourhood diversity to have no impact on racial bias, some of our participants spoke about how direct exposure to individuals from different backgrounds and cultures led to a greater understanding of other cultures, including similarities that challenged their opinions passed down from their parents. Participants expressed how it taught them to be more informed, and to reflect on their experiences including when they themselves had experienced being in situations where they had been a minority. For these participants, it appeared to lead to an increase in understanding and recognition of the prejudice that racialised minorities face. This is in keeping with the pseudo-independence status of the model whereby White individuals have started to recognise how the world is unfair and are on a journey of becoming more informed (Helms, 1995).

Continuing to mirror the findings in the US with the present study, those parents who did have conversations about race as a child were more inclined to have these conversations with their children. They were more likely to take pro-active approaches to racial discussions, which is similar to the term 'colour-conscious', whereby parents would make their children aware of race and racism and would encourage children to be anti-racist, raise awareness of factors contributing to structural racism and the impact of racism (Matlock & DiAngelo,2015; Hagerman, 2017; 2018; Perry, Skinner & Abaied, 2019; Perry et al., 2021) These conversations would be initiated from a young age, and conversations would be seen as a learning opportunity across the developmental lifespan. Parents in this subtheme discussed that they would encourage their children to stand up for others if they witnessed injustices. These participants would also relay stories of discrimination and try to open their children's eyes to the privileges they receive in society because of their whiteness. Participants who were using proactive approaches could be argued to be in the immersion/emersion and autonomous statuses of Helms Model, which is shown by their desire to abandon White entitlement and confront whiteness by

speaking to their children about anti-racism and racism within society (Helms, 1995).

Following on from this, participants in the pro-active subtheme wanted their children to have different ethnicities and cultures actively represented around them and incorporated this from a young age. This included thinking about representation within the children's toys, media and books (Gonzalez, Steele & Baron, 2016; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015). Much like we see in the literature, these participants used books to help their children understand and emphasise what it would be like to be in the shoes of someone who faced hardship and discrimination based on their race (ApfelBaum, Pauker, Sommers & Ambady, 2010; Hagerman, 2017). Numerous participants in this study also felt that it was important for children to have people in their lives that were from other ethnicities and cultures and would encourage these relationships (Norton et al., 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; 2013). They found that being able to reference individuals who the children had a connection with to explain examples of racism was helpful to understand the impact that this can have on people, as it made it more relatable for children. This is an important finding as relatability, putting oneself in another's shoes, is integral to the compassion, understanding and empathy necessary for integration and racially harmonious societies (Todd et al., 2011).

4.2.2 What are the barriers preventing parents from having these conversations around race with their children?

Those that identified potential barriers to race discussions could be argued to fall between the first four statuses of Helms Model: Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration and Pseudo-independence (Helms, 1995). These barriers were also significantly linked with their chosen approaches which are detailed in the previous section.

Some participants talked specifically about avoiding these conversations because of their own self-doubt and lack of knowledge on the subject. Participants spoke about their environment and education, in that they were 'not

used' to having these conversations, and felt they lacked the knowledge and did not know where to start. They spoke about the fear of 'getting it wrong', being naïve and oversimplifying the issues, and that if this were to happen and their child repeated these views in a different context that they would be perceived as bigoted, prejudiced or racist. Several participants spoke to the fear of 'causing offence' if they were to bring up conversations around race due to their own lack of knowledge, particularly regarding what language was acceptable as they found it confusing that Black people could use words that they themselves viewed as derogatory or racist. Participants would often use excuses for not having these discussions in that they themselves were still learning, as this was something that they had been oblivious to during their upbringing, therefore they wanted to make sure they were equipped with knowledge and appropriate language in order to scaffold appropriate and informed conversations on race with their children.

Those doubting their own ability to successfully navigate and facilitate conversations on race would often mention education and schooling (Hagerman, 2014). Participants spoke about how there was nothing in their school curriculum about other races or cultures except in subjects such as R.E, which tended to provide knowledge from a specific viewpoint. One participant, spoke about how British History was framed at school, in that it would be framed as celebratory and there would rarely be discussions around colonialism, the slave-trade, and the impact of Windrush. Representing a biased historical narrative, neglecting the impact of colonialism and its abuses within education can be detrimental to children and young people who may not be having these conversations at home (Hughes, Bigler & Levy, 2007). By only painting British History in a positive manner and not highlighting the evident and inherent abuses, failings, and impacts of Britain's historical and current choices, could lead individuals to continue down a path of not understanding the contexts from which racism has grown, and why individuals from marginalised backgrounds are aggrieved, often distressed and feel their voices and stories are unheard.

Other barriers that led to participants actively avoiding conversations around race were that they felt that speaking about race could create issues that could potentially impact their children's friendships (Bartoli et al., 2016; Hagerman, 2014). This group felt that children do not view children of other ethnicities any differently and that acknowledging difference could lead to children expressing a preference or bias based on race. This finding is mirrored in the literature (Pahlke, Bigler & Suizzo, 2012; Vittrup, 2018). Others did not want to speak about race as they felt that they would then have to discuss the more negative aspects of difference, such as racism (Hagerman, 2014). They spoke about wanting to 'protect' their children and being unsure when the right time would be to open their eyes to these darker aspects of the world when they were unsure of how to help (Underhill, 2016). This is in stark contrast with the parents of children of Black and Asian communities, who are at times forced by circumstances to have these conversations in order to explain and prepare them for prejudice, or explain racist incidents that have already occurred (Hughes, 2003; Hugh et al., 2006; Neblett, Rivas-Drake & Umana-Taylor, 2012; Suizzo, Robinson & Pahlke, 2008). White parents can therefore have the 'choice' on whether or not to engage in these conversations and it is only when they have fully begun to accept the role of whiteness in perpetuating racism and wanting to bring about change that they will not shy away from these discussions.

These participants would also reference the child's developmental age in that they felt it was not beneficial to have conversations that could potentially 'scare' children and that they would 'not understand' the complexities of the situation. This again came back to concerns that they would start to view their friends differently and 'plant a seed' of doubt in their children's heads about friends from different backgrounds (Katz, 2003; Vittrup, 2018; Zucker, 2019). These examples again speak to the privileges of Whiteness that permit individuals to choose whether they address, see, or acknowledge race and racial inequalities (Hagerman, 2017).

There was also a culture of disbelief amongst some participants as they felt race discussions were not needed as racism is something of the past (Pahlke et al., 2012). These participants based this on the fact that their children had interracial friendships, and this meant that these children took people at face value and accepted people for who they were (Hamm, 2001; Vittrup, 2018). This silence mirrors the silence evident in previous research which we could hypothesise might lead to children thinking that race is not important (Aboud, 2005; Tatum, 2017), and perpetuates the gap in understanding, enabling and maintaining racism within society. Whiteness serves the White populations well in its maintenance of power and opportunity, and thus without insight or acknowledgement racial inequalities are maintained.

One participant, although repeatedly asked about race throughout the interview explained that she did not want to introduce the negative aspects of the world to her son but would reference ‘terrorism’ when asked about race. In her mind she had drawn a link between ‘terrorism in the Middle East’ and race. One way of understanding this stance is that discussions of race and terrorism are synonymous in this participant’s mind, due to associations made through the media reinforcing negative stereotypes. It could also be linked to the views that the participant has been exposed to throughout their life and shows how prejudiced attitudes can be expressed overtly without directly naming these biases. This is problematic as children may adopt similar outlooks and this can lead to a cycle of young people experiencing the same biases as their parents which prevents change.

Some participants felt that these conversations have only become apparent because of world events, such as the murder of George Floyd and the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement. Participants’ negative opinions around Black Lives Matter and immigration were also identified within the research as a barrier for having these conversations. Some participants openly voiced that these movements had ‘gone too far’, and when referencing racialised minorities commented that there were ‘more of them than us’. This shows that these particular participants can be considered to be in the reintegration status of

Helms model, where there appears to be an adopted attitude of ‘victim-blaming’ in that if White individuals feel that their privilege has been earned and that they view White people’s needs to be more important than racialised minorities (Helms, 1995). This is made explicit when some participants openly expressed their frustration as parents regarding the perceived impact of immigration, citing that they felt that teachers were spending more time on children that could not speak English and that their own children were being disadvantaged because of this.

Some participants supported the ‘All Lives Matter’ movement and felt that there was an over exaggeration of the issue, with participants feeling that it was Black and Asian communities who did not want to integrate. Thus, further putting the onus on racialised minorities for the segregation and inequalities they experience. They described how they did not believe that the UK was inherently racist, and that racism worked ‘in both ways’ and therefore felt that using the word ‘Black’ in ‘Black Lives Matter’ was frustrating and led to more segregation. This highlights how influential the political climate is (Zucker, 2019), and potentially illustrates how vocal individuals can become when it directly impacts on their privileges.

Participants who made these comments were also apprehensive about how they were coming across within the research interview and would initiate comments to relay the message that they ‘were not racist’. Participants explained that they would not share some of these ‘controversial’ views with their children due to ‘political correctness’ and were ‘concerned’ that in sharing these views they would be positioned as racist. It is of note that the implicit messages held within these narratives are likely to be noticed by children, even when these views are not being discussed directly (Sinclair, Dunn & Lowerey, 2005; Pirchio et al., 2018).

4.2.3 What do parents think could be the potential impact of having or not having these conversations?

Parents' views of the impact of having or not having these conversations around race has been touched upon in the previous sections. Those participants that do not think we should be having these conversations, would state that it has had no impact because they adopt a colour-blind approach, where having the conversations would be harmful and could impact on their child's interracial friendships. Participants think that by not having these conversations children are free to judge people based on merit, and that race should not be considered.

However, those parents who could be seen to be in the last three statuses of Helms White Identity Development model (Helms, 1995), who recognised the role of Whiteness, racism, and were in the process of or had already gone through the process of adopting an anti-racist identity, and were more likely to take pro-active approaches to racial conversations, felt there were only positive implications when addressing the subject matter. For example, participants felt that children would have an increased understanding and awareness of race that would in turn open their children's eyes to issues around racism. These conversations could prevent children from adopting White supremacist ideologies that are engrained within society and would lead to an increase in exposure to different cultures outside of their 'White Bubble'. In turn, this could increase empathy (Bigler & Wright, 2014) and help children move past the contact phase in the White identity continuum (Helms, 1995). These parents felt that by having these conversations it would give their children the foundation that is needed to understand these issues, and as previous research has shown children's beliefs are likely to be cemented by age twelve, so these earlier conversations in terms of Whiteness, ethnicity and culture, could help prevent racial bias (Knobf, 2017; Priest et al., 2014). Research also has shown that White children had learned that explicit bias was unacceptable, and therefore having these conversations will help address the implicit bias that some children can display based on prior research (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011; Dunham et al., 2008).

Participants hoped that these conversations would generate change (Bigler & Wright, 2014) and felt that the younger generation were important to bring about this change, and by educating them it could prevent history from repeating itself. Participants also felt that by having these conversations there would also be a reduction in fear around difference, and that children would know that even after seeing negative stereotypes in the media or hearing prejudice comments; children would still hold these values that were taught to them by their families (Gonzalez, Steele & Baron, 2016). They also wanted their children to stand up against injustices and pass on their anti-racist beliefs. Some discussed that their children have already started doing this, and others were hopeful that if their children witnessed racism, they would challenge these injustices. One participant also spoke about her daughter who had started to challenge the wider family's viewpoints, particularly the older generation and had seen a shift in the grandad's behaviour since.

4.2.4 Theme Connections

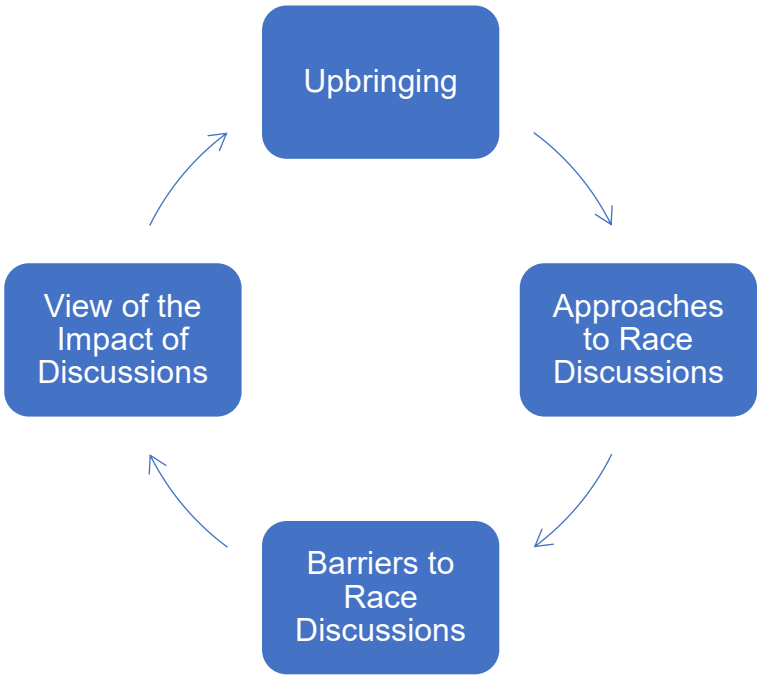
The four themes referenced in the analysis chapter were undeniably connected. These connections between themes could form a maintenance cycle for some participants that can be seen in Figure 1. For example, a parent's upbringing, particularly growing up in a White neighbourhood where these conversations were not had led to a culture of disbelief, which in turn led to reactive and discouraging approaches to conversations around race as it was not felt that this was important, and this could potentially lead to children developing racially biased beliefs. This supports the literature in the United States, where it was found that White individuals often avoid these conversations and take a colour-blind approach. Participants who fell under these subthemes could be argued to be in the first three statuses of Helms White Identity Development Model (Helms, 1995), where they are at times recognising their White identity but due to White ideologies and limited exposure are not able to move beyond certain statuses and acknowledge the detriment of colour-blind strategies.

Other participants were in the latter three stages of the White Identity Development Model (Helms, 1995). This could be linked to their upbringing, whereby they had experienced or witnessed discrimination, and were familiar with these conversations so were more inclined to take proactive approaches to

race discussions and adopt a colour-conscious approach. These participants then felt that these conversations could generate change, understanding and greater acceptance.

Figure 1

Connection between Themes Diagram



4.3 Limitations

4.3.1 Participants

Research data was limited in that a small sample size was used. However, this was in keeping with other research that found that using a small sample size for thematic analysis, still generated rich data (Clarke, Braun and Hayfield, 2015). Small sample sizes means that the researcher has more time to study the data in depth (Miles & Huberman 1994). Larger sample sizes can create broader data that may be more representative of the population's views, however we do not know whether this would have improved the richness of the data set and the meaning-making that was captured (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009).

Several avenues were taken to maximise the advertisement of the study through multiple platforms in an attempt to reach a broad demographic of participants. However, the research was voluntary, and participants self-selected, with the research topic being advertised on the information flyer. It is therefore likely, that those who were either more comfortable talking about race or held certain beliefs around the topic were more likely to take part. Research has however found that to seek richness and meaningful data, purposeful sampling, which was adopted in this research can be beneficial (Ezzy, 2002).

The study actively attempted to capture different demographics seeking representation from both urban and rural populations. Recruitment was advertised in a predominately White county and within an inner city, multi-cultural London borough. Despite this, the research still cannot be generalised to other populations. As such we can only speak to what common themes emerged from these participants. However, it did show that regardless of the area that participants lived in, the most common approach to racial discussions were reactive approaches, in that parents would wait for their children to initiate discussions.

It is also not clear how intersectionality (Collins, 1998) impacted on participants' views around this topic area. While it was hoped that more fathers would take part in this study this however proved difficult in terms of recruitment. While the demographic form explored the age ranges of the participants and their children to help ensure a wide variety of ages were explored, the form did not include any information about class, education, or other areas of the participants identity. It is therefore important to stress that this is a specific illustration of White British parents' perspectives, rather than a generalisation to all White British parents.

4.3.2 Methodology

There are some limitations regarding the methodology of the research. Semi-structured interviews, while allowing for flexibility, cannot be viewed as completely naturalistic, as being interviewed is not the same as having naturally occurring conversations (Howitt, 2010). People often want to be seen in a positive manner particularly when it comes to issues of race as they worry about

perception, evidenced by the participant's statements affirming that 'they are not racist'. I did however try to overcome this limitation by making sure participants felt as comfortable as possible by being warm and approachable throughout the interview.

Thematic analysis can also create problems in that it collates individual accounts rather than attending specifically to each individual's contexts (Javadi & Zarea, 2016). This can leave some participant's accounts being somewhat ignored, or portrayed as less important, particularly if participant's accounts were different from the overall themes that were generated from most of the participants. In summary, and upon reflecting on this current study, I am confident that all participants' beliefs were captured within the different subthemes.

4.4 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is central to the development of quality research. It is an ongoing process, and it is important for researchers to understand their own influences on the production of knowledge (Willig, 2013). I have no doubt that my own identity, experiences, values, and beliefs shaped the research completion. While it is impossible to be aware of all factors that influence the research experience this felt important to reflect on. To do this, as previously discussed, a bracketing method was adopted throughout the research process with the help of my supervisor to explore my preconceptions and positioning (Tufford & Newman, 2010). I also made sure to dedicate time after each interview to journal my experiences and biases. This rigorous process was also used during the analysis process, where constant reflection was key to ensure I was as aware as possible of how my positioning could influence the findings and this was further discussed with my supervisor.

Throughout this research, I often experienced uncertainty about whether this research was useful and whether it would lead to any meaningful guidance or ideas about how to approach speaking to our children about race that could enable change. This uncertainty made me feel overwhelmed and at times had me wishing I had chosen a different topic. A question when these feelings of

uncertainty arose that I continuously asked myself was, why am I interested in this research topic? Am I, as a White woman, best placed to do this research? Will these research findings matter to others? While I do not have a definitive answer to these questions, these questions helped me develop my critical and evaluative thinking.

For one, while this research may not bring about change, it is a starting point. Growing up in the UK in a White British family, there is often the very fitting stereotype of 'stiff upper lip' where it is the norm to avoid conversations that are seen to be uncomfortable. It has been my experience that White British people often shy away from discussing race and view these to be 'sensitive' topics, and this can contribute to the maintenance of racial inequalities. I have been on my own journey, and I have only reached the autonomous stage of Helms model where I feel able to challenge my own prejudices, and those of others, over the last few years. What helped me on this journey was having conversations like those in the interview schedule. I also believe it is the responsibility of White individuals to generate change, and to do this we must see what information children are being exposed to in their developmental years within their spheres of influence both at home and at school. I therefore began to view this research as a steppingstone, to start having conversations and understanding why people are either not having conversations about race, or if they are, does their approach contribute to racial bias? The reason why I feel I am suited to conduct this research is based on my own journey and my position as a trainee clinical psychologist, where it is integral to our role to promote social change and take social action. Conducting this research has allowed me to think about future research and recommendations that could help reduce racial bias for future generations.

4.4.1 Participants

As previously discussed in the Methodology Chapter, one of the main similarities between me and the participants was our ethnicity, in that we all identified as 'White British'. Most of the participants were also women, and I wondered whether participants would have shared their opinions as openly without the perceived shared commonalities regarding our identities.

I was however aware that I was younger than most of the participants and I wondered whether this visible difference created discomfort amongst older participants, who may hold certain narratives around younger generations being more ‘liberal’ and ‘woke’, particularly when they expressed viewpoints regarding immigration and changes over time.

4.4.2 Interviews

There were several factors I reflected on after the interviews. Firstly, at times I feared going ‘off topic’ and I wondered if this may have inadvertently limited or focused conversations within the interview schedule that could have restricted participants from speaking to other relevant areas regarding race. Secondly, I wondered whether my views that White individuals should be allies and advocates for social justice, may have caused me to unconsciously shy away from asking follow up questions to those who expressed views in contradiction to my own. I was mindful that at times I felt an internal conflict between wanting to know more but also not wanting to influence the research if I was unable to contain my stance as a researcher. This internal conflict, as previously mentioned, was helped by using a bracketing method throughout the research Tufford & Newman, 2010).

Lastly, I wondered how the phone or video format of the interview impacted participant’s ability to speak freely, or whether this made it more difficult for the participants to connect with me the researcher.

4.4.3 Analysis

Similarly, limitations at the analysis stage were influenced by difficulties in my engagement with the data. While familiarising myself with transcripts, I was required to re-read these several times. This was difficult when there were discrepancies between mine and the interviewee’s views. At times I was aware that I was experiencing both frustration and upset in hearing some of the views that participants expressed, views that I would describe as prejudiced and at times factually inaccurate. I was also hesitant to include certain quotes as I was mindful who would be reading this research and the possibility that the reader could be from a racialised minority background who may have experienced

overt discrimination similar to some of the views that were expressed in the research. I had to constantly examine myself during this process to make sure that the interpretations that were being made and quotes that were selected were not limited by my own personal discomfort.

4.4.4 Epistemological reflexivity

Epistemological and methodological assumptions can also influence research findings (Willig, 2013). I have a strong interest in social constructionism and critical psychology, and consequently hold a view that people's contexts shape their views. Despite my view that certain concepts, particularly the concept of race, are not objective definitive constructs I did not adopt a social constructionist stance. I felt that taking a critical realist position was the best fit for this study. As discussed in the methodology chapter, while I view race as a social construct, the result of categorising people based on race has led to very real social and material consequences for racially minoritised communities.

4.5 Critical Evaluation of Qualitative Research

To critically evaluate qualitative research Yardley (2017) suggested key principles that should be examined: sensitivity to context, commitment and rigour, transparency and coherence, and lastly, impact and importance.

4.5.1 Sensitivity to context

Sensitivity to context was adhered to by exploring the context in which not only this research took place but the context in which relevant theories, frameworks and literature took place. I demonstrated continuous commitment to understanding my own context and the context of participants by ensuring reflexivity was practiced throughout and that readers were made aware of my positioning.

While power imbalances are unavoidable in this context, I aimed to reduce research-participant power imbalances as much as possible (Rappaport & Steward, 1997). There are several ways in which this was done, for example by making sure interviews suited participants schedules, co-creating interview

schedules with individuals who were similar to the sample in this research and through rapport building at the start of the interview. Many participants at the end of the interview said they had found the conversations interesting, enjoyable and felt able to share openly.

4.5.2 Commitment and Rigor

Commitment to the research has been demonstrated through my ongoing engagement with the research material and processes. I have had regular meetings with my supervisor who gave me constructive feedback and my drafts of the chapters were reviewed. Regular research supervision in combination with following Braun & Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis process ensured that the research design and implementation of this design was rigorous. In order to remain focused on the research aims, I regularly returned to my epistemological positioning, research questions and the methodological processes. I transcribed the data manually and repeatedly familiarised myself with the transcripts in order to develop codes. These were refined several times so that meaningful themes could be identified. I was also committed to focusing on participant's perspective and to ensure participants perspectives were heard direct quotes were used to support themes.

4.5.3 Transparency and Coherence

I demonstrated transparency by being honest about my role in the research and analysis process. I provided a detailed summary of the research process and the data interpretation in the Methodology and Analysis Chapters. Examples of transcripts that were coded and the initial codes are also given in the Appendix, to further highlight transparency. I also used a reflective journal, supervision and have been forthcoming in this thesis about my own reflections and influences on the research.

To ensure coherence between the research questions, epistemological position and research method, a critical realist approach was used when conducting the thematic analysis. This allowed participants to construct their own perspectives and share their experiences, before this was linked to relevant literature within the field.

4.5.4 Impact and importance

Broadly speaking the research aims were met. The study served to provide insight into a sample of White British parents' perspectives of discussing race with their children. This research is important due to the shortage of research in this field within the UK population, and the current context in which the research is set including the rise of both Black Lives Matter movements and far-right organisations. This research provides some valuable insight into whiteness, what approaches to racial discussions are being implemented by White parents and arguably the most important, the barriers that prevent these conversations from happening. This is important, as very few studies have looked at the barriers to these conversations and we know that it is not the responsibility of racialised minorities to be initiating these conversations, White individuals need to be doing more. This study can therefore be seen as a starting process and by knowing the barriers that prevents White parents from having these conversations, we can start to generate ideas to help thinking about ways to overcome this to ensure parents are equipping their children with knowledge from an early age. This will be further discussed in the implication section.

4.6 Implications

Based on the findings, the research implications will now be discussed across different levels and contexts. Due to the limits of the thesis the following implications are not a comprehensive list of all possible outcomes. The implications proposed are a mere starting guide to thinking about further research and next steps.

4.6.1 Further research

In terms of research in this field, the United Kingdom is limited in comparison to the United States. We need to conduct more research into exploring the impact of the approaches being used when discussing race with children. Further research could include interviewing and using testing measures with parents and their children that look at both explicit and implicit biases (Castelli, Zogmaister, & Tomelleri, 2009; Pirchio et al., 2018; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011; Sinclair, Dunn & Lowery, 2005).

Participants in this research would often reference their children having interracial friendships, as a way to explain that there was no need to discuss race, it would therefore be interesting to find out what impact interracial friendships had on White children's views in the UK (see Norton et al., 2006 and Pettigrew & Tropp, 2013 for research in this area in other countries). Incorporating children into the research could also give us insight into generational differences. Given the increase in social media use amongst the younger generation, individuals have more access to global and domestic issues than ever before, and it would be interesting to see whether social media, can help counteract parents implicit or explicit prejudice.

While this research found that some participants expressed biased views, there were no measures or direct questions that addressed the participant's awareness of their own racial biases. Previous research in the United States has found that parents who are concerned and are aware of their own racial biases may be more willing to have discussions around race and racism (Perry, Murphy & Dovidio, 2015). White individuals are more able to accept feedback and acknowledge racism including 'subtle' forms when they develop awareness of their racial biases (Perry et al., 2015). These bias-aware parents are more able to have explicit conversations about race, without downplaying the importance of these conversations and denying race exists. This current piece of research was limited in that there was not sufficient time to explore all avenues. However, future research in the UK context could use measures or ask questions directly related to White parent's awareness of their own biases.

Participants in this sample highlighted some of the main barriers to having discussions about race with their children and this included a lack of education on the subject matter. Participants were fearful they would say the wrong thing or offend people and felt they did not know enough about race or racism to be able to have these conversations. Perry et al. (2020) designed an experiment to help facilitate conversations about race and racial bias with White parents and their children and this helped White children's implicit anti-Black attitudes decrease. Even when parents experienced discomfort, increased physiological arousal and tenseness, children's implicit bias did not increase. These findings

suggest that discomfort, should not be a barrier to discussions. Similar findings were also found by Vittrup and Holden (2011) whereby a racial socialisation intervention increased White children's positive attitudes towards Black people. Future research within the UK therefore, could explore something similar that could include some form of initial teaching around how to have these conversations that could incorporate a video, role play or training, to see whether this would decrease parents' anxieties, but also the impact these conversations could have on their children.

Lastly, it would also be helpful to think about the impact of intersectionality (Collins, 1998) and whether other areas of person's identity including gender, class and sexual orientation would influence how participants answered these questions.

4.6.2 Professional and Policy Implications

The aim of this research was to initiate conversations to understand how White British parents viewed the importance of racial discussions that could hopefully provide insight into possible ideas to optimally address issues of race and indeed racism with young children. As discussed in Chapter One, my view is that a clinical psychologist should be actively anti-racist and find ways to tackle racial and social inequalities. These findings show that White parents tend to wait for their children to initiate conversations and often adopt colour-blind approaches. As clinical psychologists we have access to many professionals where we could start to discuss these findings and potentially increase people's understanding of why it is important to talk about race in order to prevent racism.

One idea would be to further extend psychological support within the school context to specifically drive change in this area. School-based interventions could increase education on race, racial inequalities and whiteness as many parents in this study referenced never having the education on how to facilitate these discussions. Since the Governments Green Paper on children and young people's mental health, there has been a push for direct and indirect therapeutic support in schools (Department of Health and Department of Education, 2017).

Many psychologists who work in CAMHS services, are now attending planning meetings, helping develop policies within schools, and offering training, consultation and reflective practice to schools. This provides us with a potential opportunity and platform from which to work with schools and teachers to address issues of racism and race.

Clinical Psychologists who are providing support to schools however, are only likely to attend to culture and race, if they themselves view this as important, or if the school has asked for specific support. This could be more commonly requested in multi-cultural areas within the UK where there are more opportunities to learn about race and difference. We therefore need to be looking within our own profession, whereby clinicians also tend to take a colour-blind approach like the parents in this study (see Desai, 2018). The British Psychological Society (2017) state that psychologists are expected to understand the dangers of using a colour-blind approach, yet we as a profession will often shy away from racial discussions. Therefore, it is important that in order to help us facilitate these conversations with schools, parents and other organisations we start having conversations within the profession and attend to race and culture through supervision. Ways to incorporate this into the profession and within supervision have been discussed in prior research (see Burkard et al., 2006; Constantine and Sue, 2007; Desai, 2018; Duan & Rohlke, 2001; Inman et al., 2014; Helms & Cook, 1999 for a starting guide).

Additionally, while clinical psychologists are working with schools more frequently, and this places us in a position to teach children, young people and school staff about the link between inequality, racism and mental health, it might be more effective if schools embedded this work throughout the curriculum. Prevention of mental health difficulties and promotion of mentally healthy societies should explicitly involve anti-racist work from an early age and this includes reviewing the curriculum. At current there is often a focus on celebrating Britain's Empire rather than acknowledging the harm done by its colonial past (Harris, 2013). Having limited education on or reducing teaching to Black History month, reinforces the message that part of the British population is not valued as it is not represented in children's learning. Several grassroot organisations such as the Black Curriculum are trying to make changes to the

national curriculum. However, this relies on teachers and schools to have heard about these organisations and be able to have the funds to pay for the appropriate support and resources. We as psychologists should be advocating for these changes in the curriculum, supporting grassroot organisations and prompting these discussions during consultation with schools. We may also benefit from supporting teachers who also find it difficult to have these conversations (Priest et al., 2016), to think about the emotional, social, educational impact of not attending to race and racism and ultimately to offer a containing space.

Clinically, interventions with parents could help educate those struggling on topics of race and racism and increase awareness to one's own inherent and unconscious biases. This could include developing workshops or webinars that could be ran online and promoting these workshops through our clinical work or on online media platforms. This would enable a larger audience to access the intervention. Additionally, clinicians could actively reach out to organisations, CAMHS services, and other agencies who are already running parenting programs and discuss whether we could incorporate some of these findings into already established parenting interventions. These programs are often designed to improve the well-being of children's mental health and being able to have open conversations with your children about all different topics including race could increase the bond between parents and children and in turn improve mental well-being. Parenting interventions has the potential to create widespread change, as parents could share these approaches with their friends, and their children and this increased awareness could hopefully lead to a reduction in bias and an increased confidence in discussing race.

Additionally, as clinical psychologists we often work with communities using community psychology practices. Some positive examples of successful projects that are aimed at tackling religious and racial discrimination, includes increasing communities' understandings of racial issues. London Youth, a youth community organisation, hold annual multicultural days and youth groups that have been effective in bringing together different ethnicities and cultures that has helped promote inclusivity (British Youth Council, 2016). Therefore, an area of intervention could be to work with community organisations such as youth

groups to develop and design programs that help young people learn about different cultures, that could also incorporate activity days whereby parents and child of all ethnicities come together to learn about each other.

It is also important in all of this to make sure that as White clinicians we are attending to our privilege, and question how this privilege serves us. We must work together to think of ways to target racism and this includes providing education for children, young people and their parents. One way in which we may do this is to take these research findings further by linking in with other trainees who have explored similar areas around whiteness and getting in touch with the British Psychological Society and the Division of Clinical Psychology and offering to present at conferences and work together towards developing guidelines for clinicians and professionals to use firstly for themselves to understand the detriment of using colour-blind approaches to our clinical work but also on how to educate other White individuals be that in our personal or professional life.

4.7 Conclusion

The findings from this research suggest that White Parents adopt several strategies in discussing race with their children and this is influenced by several factors including their own life experiences and the experiences of having these discussions when they were younger. Participants ranged from being proactive, reactive and discouraging in their approaches. While many participants reported that we should be talking to children about race and were able to reflect on the positive impact this would have, they often waited for their children to initiate these discussions and used colour-blind statements in their responses to children's questions. This research has provided us with an insight into what the barriers are to having these discussions and it seems that most of the participants lacked the education on how to facilitate conversations around race or expressed avoidance due to discomfort and fear of causing offense.

However, as previous research has shown, not having these conversations and adopting a colour-blind approach can be detrimental, leading to long-term mental and physical health consequences for communities that have been

racially minoritised. As clinical psychologists, we therefore need to think about ways of addressing these findings, including looking within our profession to ensure we have the skillset to be able to have conversations with parents, schools and other systems and advocating for change. Whilst this research was only a starting point to understanding UK-based White parents' perspectives on addressing race with their children, further research is also needed to explore the impact of these approaches on children and young people to further think about what interventions would be most beneficial to increase awareness.

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6. APPENDICIES

Appendix A – Scoping Review Process

Literature Search Strategy

The search terms and inclusion criteria for the scoping review was developed after conducting the narrative review. An initial search was performed that explored several databases to refine the search terms. Keywords were then used to search for empirical research using the electronic database EBSCO Host (Academic Search Complete, Child Development & Adolescent Studies, CINAHL Plus with Full Text, Education Research Complete, ERIC, and PsycInfo), Science Direct, Scopus and Google Scholar**.** The terms that were used in the search were: 'Racial and Ethnic Socialisation', 'Racial and Ethnic Attitudes' 'Whites' 'White Parents' 'Parent Child Relations' 'Parenting', 'Colour-Blind' and 'Colour-Conscious'. The Boolean Operators 'AND' and 'OR' were used to search the terms in combination with another and individually. The titles, abstracts, and keywords of each article identified was read and those that were found to be potentially relevant were obtained and downloaded to review. Those considered relevant were based on the inclusion criteria that can be seen below and tended to focus predominately on White parents approaches to racial socialisation. Citations and references of key papers were also searched.

Through this search a total of 466 articles were identified and 74 duplicated were removed. After the remaining articles were screened 41 full texts were accessed and downloaded. A further 26 articles were removed that did not meet the inclusion criteria. 15 articles were discussed in the scoping review.

The questions guiding the scoping review and the inclusion and exclusion criteria can be seen below:

The guiding questions for the review included:

- Are White parents socialising their children to race?

- What racial socialisation strategies are White parents using?
- What are the barriers that prevent White parents from socialising their children to race?

Inclusion Criteria:

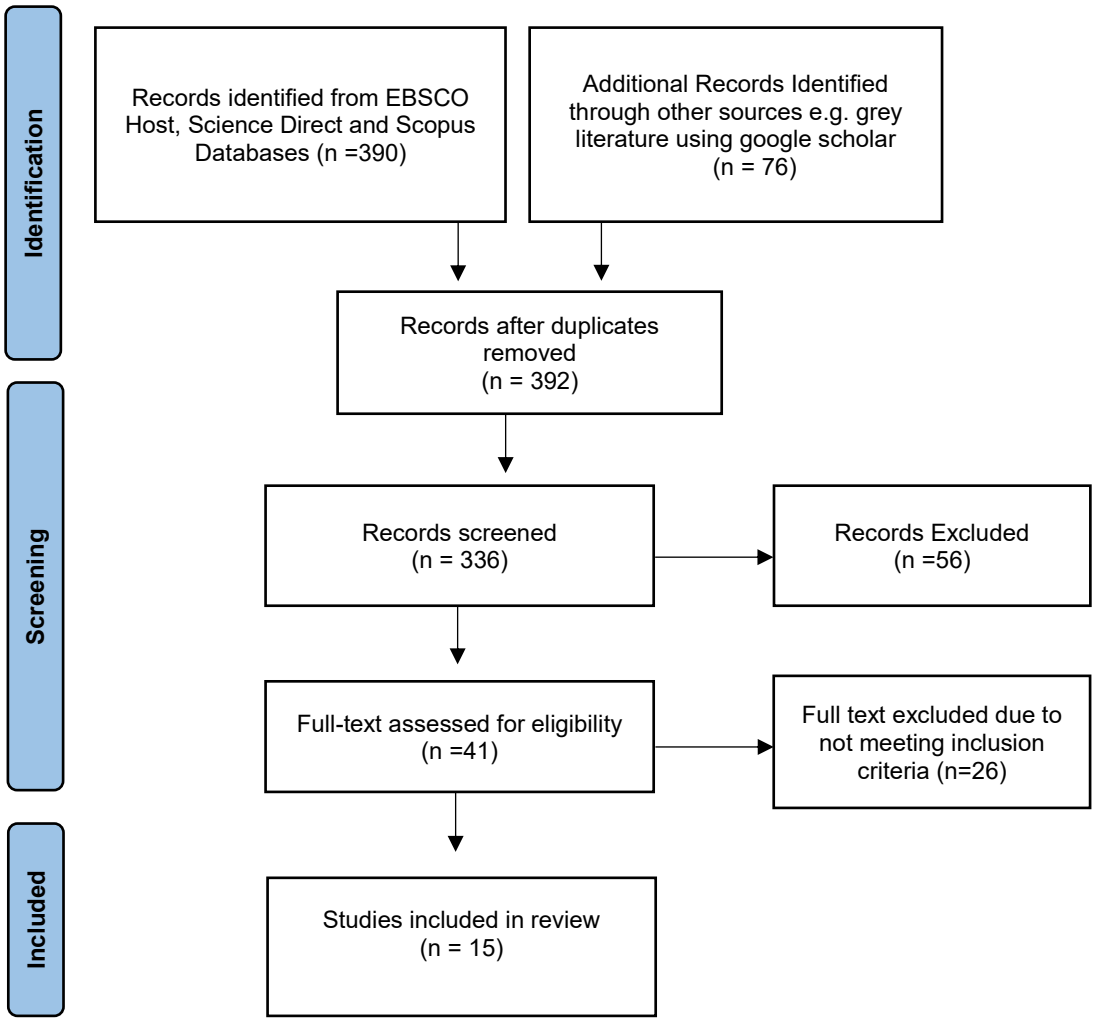
- Included White parents with White children
- Included parents of children 3 to 18 years old due to the scarce literature
- Included research that focused on both parents, mothers, and fathers
- Focused on racial socialisation, how parents were talking to their children about race and any approaches they take
- Empirical research (i.e., published journal articles or dissertations)
- Qualitative or mixed methods research that had qualitative data reported in themes
- Due to scarcity of literature research outside of the UK was included

Exclusion Criteria:

- Studies that did not include White parents or White Children
- Only quantitative methodology
- If the research did not focus on parents' racial discussions with their child or racial socialisation messages

Appendix B: Scoping Review Chart

The PRISMA Flow diagram for the scoping review process that was developed by Peters et al. (2015) was followed and the adapted version for this study can be seen below:



Appendix C - Charting the Data

Based on the scoping process recommendations by Peters et al. (2015) it states that researchers should chart the data of the research studies included in the scoping review. This can be seen in the Table 3 presented below:

Table 3: Scoping Review Articles

Author, Year of Publication, Country of Origin	Title of the study	Aims/Purpose of the study	Study population and sample size	Methodology used	Key Findings
Bartoli, Michael, Bentley-Edwards, Stevenson, Shor & McClain (2016) United States	Training for colour-blindness: white racial socialisation	This study aimed to explore White parents' intended and perhaps unintended messages that they convey to their children about race and the ways parents express these messages. They also wanted to find out what messages their teens were receiving.	13 White families. 23 adults and their 13 adolescent children.	Qualitative method: Semi-structured interviews. Separate interviews for parents and teens. Developed case studies for each family.	Parents rarely thought about being White and had never discussed this with their children. The teens in this sample reported similar findings and felt that being White was meaningless and did not define their lives. The two most common racial socialisation messages the parents in this study were using was the colour-blind and colour-mute approach. Parents tried to move their children away from any recognition of race. Barriers to these conversations were that some parents felt that naming race disrespectful and potentially racist. Other reasons included that they waited for their children to bring up

					the conversation. Parents also felt that values were more important than race and that working hard, and meritocracy was important. Parents viewed racism at an individual level rather than a systematic issue. Some parents felt that racism was a thing of the past. The teens in this sample were socialised to deny race but some of the teens relayed racial stereotypes.
Hagerman (2014) United States	White families and race: colour-blind and colour conscious approaches to white racial socialization	Aimed to explore racial socialisation and social context of White families.	35 upper-middle class White Families	Ethnographic study Qualitative method: Observations of the community, semi-structured interviews with families, parents, and children. Content analysis of sources in the community such as newspapers, websites, and blog posts	White racial socialisation is an implicit process. Parents mainly adopted colour-blind or colour-mute ideology in that they do not speak with their children about race. They felt that race was not a part of their life and did not think about it much. However, parents would racially shape their children's social contexts where they would choose schools, neighbourhoods and activities based on creating a homogenous environment. There were a few parents that endorsed a colour-conscious approach to racial discussions, but this was not consistent with their actions.
Hagerman (2017) United States	White Racial Socialization: Progressive Fathers on Raising	Explored White fathers' participation in the racial socialisation of their children	8 White Affluent fathers who viewed themselves as 'progressive' and 'anti-racist'	Qualitative method: Semi-structured interviews with parents	Racial socialisation approaches included implicit decisions such as sending their children to diverse schools and living in diverse neighbourhoods. However, parents would reproduce educational

	"Antiracist" Children				inequalities by sending their children to private music lessons and tutoring. Fathers would discuss race with their children and used multicultural resources to support this. The fathers in this sample would encourage interracial friendships and for their children to stand up to racism. However, some fathers at times still used racial stereotypes. Some fathers in this sample felt that interracial friendships were the main way to improve racial inequality and did not discuss how they spoke with their children about their own whiteness and advantages due to this.
Hamm (2001) United States	Barriers and bridges to positive cross-ethnic relations: African American and White parent socialization beliefs and practices	To explore both Black and White parents' racial socialisation beliefs and perceived barriers to forming interracial friendships.	18 African American parents from lower and middle social economic status 10 White middle socioeconomic status parents	Qualitative method: Focus Groups & 11 Individual interviews	White parents primarily took a colour-blind approach to racial discussions and felt that because the school their children went to was diverse there was no need to have these conversations. White parents were more comfortable talking about class. White parents looked to school and other social agents to improve interracial friendships of their children whereas Black parents used discussion to improve positive interracial friendships and modelled this.

Katz (2003)	Racists or Tolerant Multiculturalists? How Do They Begin	Longitudinal study exploring children's understanding of race	Longitudinal study that included 200 infants and their families. Half of the participants were White European American, and half were African American families.	Mixed method study – self report measures, interviews, and observations Parents had to discuss picture books with their children that included individuals from varied ethnicities, ages and genders.	White parents thought it was important to discuss race with their children, but this was not evident when discussing the books as White parents never mentioned race unless they were referencing someone that looked like their children. White parents were more comfortable discussing gender. White parents who said it was not important to discuss race said that they did not want to make racial differences apparent to their children in fear that this could create prejudiced beliefs. White families in this study also tended to view themselves as raceless so did not feel the need to discuss race with their children.
Matlock, & DiAngelo (2015) United States	We put it in terms of not-nice": White antiracists and parenting	The study aimed to understand the experiences and practices of White parents who identified as anti-racist and how this informs how they socialise their children to race.	20 White parents who identify as racist from a Middle-class upbringing.	Qualitative Semi-structured interviews.	All parents expressed that their anti-racism values informed their parenting choices. This included their choice of school, neighbourhood, and the resources they shared with their children. Parents would use books, toys, and the media to have discussions about race and racism. Parents said they wanted to live in a diverse neighbourhood however some expressed that they moved after gentrification had already occurred. 35% of parents did speak about skin colour. Those parents that did have explicit conversations would

					also speak about being an ally and speaking against racism to their children. However, some did still use colour-blind messages and few discussed whiteness and privilege. Some said they were unsure of how to have these conversations with young children. Some parents felt their children were not aware of racism with 45% reporting that they believed their children do not notice racial differences and most parents thought this was great. Some of parents however also provided evidence that their children noticed race, and some had absorbed racism towards Black individuals. These findings suggest inconsistencies between parents' anti-racist values and their parenting.
Pahlke, Bigler & Suizzo (2012) United States	Relations Between Colorblind Socialization and Children's Racial Bias: Evidence from European American Mothers and Their Preschool Children	Explored European American White mother's racial socialisation messages when reading diverse books to their children.	84 White European American mothers and their children took part in this study.	Mixed method Quantitative measures to assess racial attitudes. Qualitative surveys and observations of mothers reading a racially diverse book and another book that is aimed at raising issues of racial prejudice.	The mothers in this sample tended to use colour-blind or colour-mute socialisation messages and seemed unwilling to discuss race with their children. Mothers in this sample assumed their children were colour-blind. Children and mothers were unable to correctly report the others trait-based and social distance rating measures and were unable to assume how the other felt about

					interacting with people from different ethnicities. This is problematic as if parents do not have conversations with their children about race, they will not know whether their children are racially biased.
Perry, Skinner & Abaied (2019) United States	Bias Awareness Predicts Color Conscious Racial Socialization Methods among White Parents	The goal of the study was to explore individual factors that may be associated with White parents' racial socialisation approaches.	168 White Parents	Mixed methods design Online questionnaire and survey Quantitative measures included measures of bias awareness, individual differences, external and internal motivation to respond without prejudice, interracial prejudice and interracial anxiety. Qualitative measures that were used were open ended questions regarding parent-child discussions of race	Results found that parents' racial bias awareness was linked with their willingness to discuss race. Those that were more aware of their racial biases were more likely to use more colour-conscious approaches to racial discussions and were less likely to use colour-blind statements when discussing race with their children. This was found even after statistically controlling for racial attitudes, motivations and interracial contact.
Perry, Abaied, Skinner-Dorkenoo, Waters (2021)	A Laboratory Procedure to Facilitate Color Conscious Racial Socialization Methods Among	The aim of this study was to see whether providing structured prompts to White Parents about race and racism would have	87 White middle-class parent-child dyads	Qualitative Parents and children dyads watched videos that included blatant, subtle and no bias and were the required to have	In contrast to other findings this research found that most of the participants if supported used colour conscious socialisation messages and were able to reference skin colour. They were able to point out prejudice and

United States	White Parents in the U.S.	an impact on socialisation approaches and implicit attitudes.		conversations about the videos. Prompts were given to parents. These conversations were coded and generated into themes.	connect examples with societal racism. However, even with prompts some parents still endorsed racial ignorance socialisation messages where they would use colour-blind messages and give the benefit of the doubt to the White child who has being biased in the videos. The conversations also did not go much beyond the prompts given. White parents need scaffolding and continued support to be able to have colour-conscious conversations with their children.
Underhill (2018) United States	Parenting during Ferguson: making sense of white parents' silence	Examines White middle-class parents' approaches to discussing racial protests and tension when Ferguson and Michael Brown's death were in the news	40 White middle-class parents	Qualitative method: Semi structured interviews	White parents used 'happy' racial socialisation messages. This means that White parents speak to their children about race but mainly used neutral or colour-blind messages. Parents downplayed racial inequality and very few parents discussed racial protests and tensions and racial inequality. Barriers to these discussions were that they felt it would be too distressing for their children and wanted to create a worry-free environment.
Underhill (2019) United States	"Diversity Is Important to Me": White Parents and Exposure-to-Diversity	Explores the implicit messages that White middle-class parents teach their children about race	40 White middle-class parents	Qualitative method: Semi-structured interviews	White parents implicitly socialised their children to race through diverse neighbourhoods and schools. They felt this was a way of creating small-scale change. However, parents did not always

	Parenting Practices				view racial diversity to be a good thing and some only want their children to socialise with middle-class 'people of colour' and feel that too much exposure to low socioeconomic children will impact on their children's identity.
Vittrup & Holden (2011) United States	Exploring the Impact of Educational Television and Parent–Child Discussions on Children's Racial Attitudes	This study aimed to explore the impact of educational television and parent–child discussions about race to change White children's attitudes toward Blacks individuals.	93 White middle-class families	Mixed methods Questionnaires examining children's use of TV and its content Quantitative Questionnaires examining racial attitudes and trait measures. Parent and child also had to predict each other's attitudes towards White and Black individuals Parent and child were then required to watch 5 different videos that included a racially diverse cast and interracial friendships. Three different groups – discussion only, video only and combined video and discussion group.	65% of mothers and 42% of fathers reported discussing race related issues with their children. However, only 33% of mothers and 20% of fathers had explicit conversations that included skin colour, racial labels and referenced stereotyping and discrimination. The children of parents who said they discussed race had more positive out-group attitude scores. Parents reported using mostly colour-blind strategies in that everybody is equal, and that skin colour doesn't matter. There was also a lack of compliance with the home diaries. 50% in the discussion group admitted they had only briefly mentioned the comments and did not have any further discussion with their child. Only 10% had in-depth conversations about provided topics. Children were also unable to predict their parents' attitudes. This improved after having discussions about race.

				Instructions were given for conversations for those in the discussion groups and all parents had to write in their diary about the process and depth of conversations. Diaries were coded.	
Vittrup (2018) United States	Color Blind or Color Conscious? White American Mothers' Approaches to Racial Socialization	The study aimed to explore how White mothers speak to their children about race, what topics they will discuss and why some choose not to have these discussions	107 White American mothers	Qualitative online questionnaire Quantitative demographic questions that were presented via descriptive statistics	81% of mothers felt it was important to discuss race however less than one third of participants were able to recall specific conversations about race. 70% of participants fell in the colour-blind theme and 30% fell in the colour-conscious theme. Those in the colour-blind category felt that their children were colour-blind, that everyone is the same and that race was not an issue. These mothers also said they would only discuss race if their children initiated the conversation and that children were too young to have these conversations. There were 32 mothers who indicated a willingness to discuss race with their children but what they felt comfortable discussing varied. Very few reported having discussions of discrimination and inequality.

Zucker & Patterson (2018) United States	Racial Socialization Practices Among White American Parents: Relations to Racial Attitudes, Racial Identity, and School Diversity	Explored White American family's socialisation practices and how this might relate to parental attitudes and identity.	154 White parents	Mixed methods Completed online survey Quantitative measures exploring racial attitudes, racial socialization and racial identity were used. Qualitative open-ended questions to measure parents' willingness to discuss race with their children and parents were also given hypothetical scenarios to examine racial socialisation approaches.	Socialization strategies were related to both parental racial attitudes and parental racial identity. Most parents used colour-blind approaches (67.3%) and discouraged conversations around race. Parents were reluctant to have racial conversations even when opportunities presented itself in the news. Most parents also used colour-blind responses for the three vignettes and would try to avoid linking these events to race.
Zucker (2019) United States	Observing racial socialization: How do White parent-child dyads talk about race?	The aim was to find out how White parents speak to their children about race and racism. The study also explored whether parents' perceptions of their racial socialization messages were similar to the reported messages that their children receive. Zucker also wanted to find	10 White parent-child dyads	Mixed method Quantitative measures exploring traits and racial attitudes and perceived attitudes of the other's racial attitudes were used. Qualitative procedure: Children and parent watched two news clips and were observed having discussions after and were given prompts	Self-report data from the scales indicated that parents mostly subscribed to an egalitarian racial socialization strategy, while also focusing messages on history and discrimination of other groups However, these self-report measures do not fully capture parental racial conversations. Parents engaged in a variety of colour-blind and colour-conscious messages when discussing race. However, parents would mostly use colour-blind ideology and avoid discussing race. Parents said that

		out whether self-reported racial socialisation differed to observed practices.		Parents and children were also interviewed individually. The interviews explored beliefs around race and racial socialisation messages.	race is not an issue for them, or their children and that race does not come up. Parents wanted to shelter their children from the media as they felt it was biased or too distressing and that their children were too young. Parents would also use a colour-mute approach and only discuss race if the child brought it up. When discussing the news clips parents would often speak about historical events rather than thinking about contemporary racism and why it is in the news today. Parents would also not speak about their race and whiteness. Children mostly had a colour-blind approach to discussions.

APPENDIX D – Recruitment Flyer

PARENTS NEEDED

I am interested in speaking with White British parents to find out their views around talking to children about race.

The research will involve participating in a video or phone call with the researcher to talk about these topics.

If you:

- Identify as White British
- Are you a parent of a child or children between the ages of 5-12 years old?
- Have access to a telephone or a device to access video calling
- Are available for one hour
- And interested in being interviewed

…. I would love to hear from you!

University of East London

For more information please contact me at:
Lucy Payne
u1826625@uel.ac.uk

This study has approved by the School of Psychology Research Ethics Sub-committee at the University of East London, as a thesis project for a Professional Doctorate in Clinical Psychology.

APPENDIX E – Information Sheet

RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

You are being invited for help in a research study **White British Parents Perspective on Talking to Children about Race**. Before you agree it is important that you understand what this would involve. Please take time to read this information carefully.

Who am I?
My name is Lucy Payne. I am a Trainee Clinical Psychologist, studying at the University of East London. As part of my studies I am conducting a research project that I would that I would like some help from parents with.

What is the research?
I am interested in speaking to parents to find out their views of discussing race with their children. This is because I believe parents are fundamental in children's learning and development.

At the moment, there is not enough research exploring parents' views on these topics and I want parents' voices to be heard. I am curious about how children develop a sense of race and what informs this.

What will your help involve?

- You will be asked to take part in an individual interview that will last up to one hour. The interview can be over the phone or online using Microsoft Teams.

Unfortunately, I will not be able to pay you for participating in my research, but your participation would be very valuable in understanding more about parents' views and experiences.

Your taking part will be safe and confidential

Your privacy and safety will be respected at all times. Thinking and talking about race may be difficult. You do not need to answer all the questions and you can stop or break at any point.

All information you provide in the interviews will be made anonymous.

What will happen to the information that you provide?

The interview will be recorded on tape and will be typed up afterwards. The data from the interview and any other details you provide will be kept on a secure computer drive. Any details about you, like your name, will be changed so that no one will know who you are. The interview recordings will be deleted after the research is complete and all written information will be deleted after three years.

You are welcome to have a summary of the findings of the research once complete. Please let me know if you would like this summary.

Do you have to take part?

No, you do not have to take part. You can stop the interview at any time without needing to say why, and there won't be any consequences for this. If you decide you do not want your information included in the research project anymore, please contact me using the details below. Following the interview, you will have three weeks to let me know if you do not wish for your data to be used anymore.

Contact Details

If you would like further information about my research or have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Lucy Payne

Trainee Clinical Psychologist

Email: u1826625@uel.ac.uk

If you have any questions or concerns about how the research has been conducted please contact the research supervisor Dr. Paula Corredor-Lopez. School of Psychology, University of East London, Water Lane, London E15 4LZ,

Email: P.Corredor-lopez@uel.ac.uk

or

Chair of the School of Psychology Research Ethics Sub-committee: Dr Tim Lomas, School of Psychology, University of East London, Water Lane, London E15 4LZ.

(Email: t.lomas@uel.ac.uk)

Appendix F – Demographic Form

Demographic form for participants

Please answer the questions about you below

You do not have to answer any of the questions if you do not want to

Any answers will be kept nameless in the final research

When is your birthday?

What is your gender?

What county do you live in?

How old is your child?

Appendix G – Interview Schedule

1. What does the term race mean to you?
2. Where do your own ideas of race come from? How was race explained to you?
3. Should we be speaking to children about race?
4. If yes, and what age do you think we should be having these discussions and why?
5. If no, why do you think it is best to not have these conversations?
6. Do you explain race in the same way you were taught/explained it?
7. What (if anything) might stop you from having these conversations around race? Has this stopped you?
8. If you have had these conversations around race how did this conversation go? How did this conversation come up?
9. If you have had these conversations how did you explain race? Did you use any resources?
10. If they say 'we are all the same' ask further details - how helpful did you find that approach?
11. If you have not already had these conversations and would like to how would you do this?
12. What do you think could be the potential impact of having or not having these conversations with your children?
13. Have you ever been asked an uncomfortable question (do we mean specifically about race?) by your child and did not know how to answer?
14. Have you yourself ever noticed someone treated you differently because of your race?
15. Looking back on the things we have discussed, is there anything you feel you would like to have done differently?

Appendix H – Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON

Consent to participate in a research study

White British Parents Perspective on Talking to Children about Race

I have the read the information sheet relating to the research study and have been given a copy to keep. The nature and the purpose of the research has explained to me. I have had the opportunity to discuss the details and ask questions about this information. I understand what will be involved and what I will be asked to do.

I understand that my participation in this study, and information from this research will remain confidential. This means that only the researcher will have access to the personal information and identifying data. It has been explained to me what will happen once the research study has been completed.

By signing this form, I understand that I am freely and fully consenting to participate in the study, which has been fully explained to me.

I understand that while I have given consent, I still have the right to withdraw from the study at anytime without any consequences or need to give an explanation. I also understand that if I withdraw, I am also able to withdraw my data up to three weeks after the interview before analysis begins.

Participant's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

…….

Participant's Signature

……..

Researcher’s Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

……..

Researcher’s Signature

……

Date: ……..…….

Appendix I – Debrief Forms

Participants Debrief Letter (London Borough)

Thank you for collaborating in my research study on **White British Parents Perspective on Talking to Children about Race.** This letter offers information that may be relevant now you have taken part.

What will happen to the information you have provided?
The following steps will be taken to ensure what you told me in interviews is kept secure and confidential.

- All personal information such as names and contact details will be kept on a secure password-protected computer drive that only I have access to and will be destroyed after the research has been completed.
- Following the interview, I will type up the recordings into a transcript. These will be stored separately to the personal information and saved onto a password-protected computer drive. All identifiable information will be changed in the transcript so that you cannot be identified. Only myself and my supervisor will have access to these.
- The interview recordings will be destroyed as soon as they are no longer needed. The transcripts will be kept for up to three years, to allow time to write up the research findings in a publication and it can be helpful for reviews of the research.
- The information gathered from this research will be used to write my doctoral thesis, so examiners of this will see anonymised quotes of some of the things you have said in the interview. It is hoped that it will also be written up for publication in a journal article for professionals to use in the future.
- You may also request to withdraw your data up to three weeks after you have participated. It is difficult to withdraw data after this as it is likely the analysis would have already began.

What if you found taking part to be distressing?
It is hoped that you will not find taking part and speaking on these topics distressing. But it is possible that you may have found discussing these

experiences uncomfortable and challenging and this may affect you following the interview. Below is a list of resources that might be helpful:

If you feel like you would like support with your mental health you can speak with your GP. They will be able to refer you for appropriate support.

(London Borough) 24-hour crisis line: XXXXX if you are feeling worried about the mental health of yourself or others out of hours.

Support in Local Borough

XXXXX

They offer confidential listening, signposting, advice and guidance, parenting support, support with social issues, education support and other areas of support.

Phone number: XXXXX

E-mail: XXXXX

XXXX

Website with resources for family support in the area.

XXX CHARITY

XXXXX

Charity website XXX

Phone number: XXXX

If you are interested in having conversations with children about race these are good resources to start:

https://www.redcross.org.uk/get-involved/teaching-resources/talking-with-children-and-young-people-about-race-and-racism

https://www.pbs.org/parents/talking-about-racism

https://rainbow-hub.passle.net/post/102g92u/resources-to-support-discussions-about-racism-with-children

You are also very welcome to contact me or my supervisor if you have specific questions or concerns.

Contact Details

If you would like further information about my research or have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Lucy Payne

Trainee Clinical Psychologist

Email: u1826625@uel.ac.uk

If you have any questions or concerns about how the research has been conducted please contact the research supervisor Dr. Paula Corredor-Lopez. School of Psychology, University of East London, Water Lane, London E15 4LZ,

Email: P.Corredor-lopez@uel.ac.uk

or

Chair of the School of Psychology Research Ethics Sub-committee: Dr Tim Lomas, School of Psychology, University of East London, Water Lane, London E15 4LZ.

(Email: t.lomas@uel.ac.uk)

Participants Debrief Letter (Suffolk)

Thank you for collaborating in my research study on **White British Parents Perspective on Talking to Children about Race.** This letter offers information that may be relevant now you have taken part.

What will happen to the information you have provided?
The following steps will be taken to ensure what you told me in interviews is kept secure and confidential.

- All personal information such as names and contact details will be kept on a secure password-protected computer drive that only I have access to and will be destroyed after the research has been completed.
- Following the interview, I will type up the recordings into a transcript. These will be stored separately to the personal information and saved onto a password-protected computer drive. All identifiable information will be changed in the transcript so that you cannot be identified. Only myself and my supervisor will have access to these.
- The interview recordings will be destroyed as soon as they are no longer needed. The transcripts will be kept for up to three years, to allow time to write up the research findings in a publication and it can be helpful for reviews of the research.
- The information gathered from this research will be used to write my doctoral thesis, so examiners of this will see anonymised quotes of some of the things you have said in the interview. It is hoped that it will also be written up for publication in a journal article for professionals to use in the future.
- You may also request to withdraw your data up to three weeks after you have participated. It is difficult to withdraw data after this as it is likely the analysis would have already began.

What if you found taking part to be distressing?
It is hoped that you will not find taking part and speaking on these topics distressing. But it is possible that you may found discussing these experiences uncomfortable and challenging and this may affect you following the interview. Below is a list of resources that might be helpful:

If you feel like you would like support with your mental health you can speak with your GP. They will be able to refer you for appropriate support.

XXXX Crisis Line: XXXXX if you are feeling worried about the mental health of yourself or others – out of hours 24/7 support.

Other resources:

XXXX

Website with details on who to contact if you are worried about young person 0-25 years of age and other services that are available for support.

XXXXX

Website with resources for family support in the area.

XXX CHARITY

XXXXX

Charity website XXX

Phone number: XXXX

If you are interested in having conversations with children about race these are good resources to start:

https://www.redcross.org.uk/get-involved/teaching-resources/talking-with-children-and-young-people-about-race-and-racism

https://www.pbs.org/parents/talking-about-racism

https://rainbow-hub.passle.net/post/102g92u/resources-to-support-discussions-about-racism-with-children

You are also very welcome to contact me or my supervisor if you have specific questions or concerns.

Contact Details

If you would like further information about my research or have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Lucy Payne

Trainee Clinical Psychologist

Email: u1826625@uel.ac.uk

If you have any questions or concerns about how the research has been conducted please contact the research supervisor Dr. Paula Corredor-Lopez. School of Psychology, University of East London, Water Lane, London E15 4LZ,

Email: P.Corredor-lopez@uel.ac.uk

or

Chair of the School of Psychology Research Ethics Sub-committee: Dr Tim Lomas, School of Psychology, University of East London, Water Lane, London E15 4LZ.

(Email: t.lomas@uel.ac.uk)

Appendix J – Transcript Extract

P11: Sorry I'm pacing around the room getting a bit hot and sweaty. So I was explaining to my mum that we do want to talk to our kids about race and that umm we want to help them to understand that there are different races and that racism is a thing, and it is a thing that lots and lots of people experience. And, it is important that we don't ignore race and that we don't ignore racism and that we are umm specifically anti-racist. Umm, and when I was explaining that to my mum, her view was that but if your kids don't see race, which I think is probably where my elder one, my five-year-old has been. You know if your kids don't really recognise that people of different races might be judged in different ways, or valued in different ways then some people. Then are you not planting a seed of an issue in their heads when an issue might never be there. But I totally disagree with that, because I think that they should understand that there is an issue and be and stand against that issue. Rather than be obvious to it happening, and therefore I think my mum's argument is if you don't, if you don't see, if you don't see race and racism then you don't contribute to racism. I think that my view and what I want to pass onto my kids is that you can only be anti-racism, if you understand what racism is.

Sharing with mum about what they will be doing – and how they will be doing something different as its important – teaching children about racism and inequality – making them aware

Anti racism – not just not being racist but being anti racist.

Some people have the view that it makes it a problem – it plants a seed that children will then become racist because they have learned about it.

If you are colour-blind you cannot be racist – different beliefs in generations.

Talking about race actually helps children be anti-racist

Int: Yeh that makes sense. That makes sense. It's really interesting isn't it, it's a difficult conversation to have with our families as well. Because like you said people sit on kind of different view points. Do you think theres a right age we should be having these discussions with children?

P11: Well I think with most discussions with children, umm it, with most discussions with children the earlier the better. In the sense that, I think the later you leave discussing something with a child. The more, of an issue it becomes. So when I talked my kids now umm, about stuff. It's not, it's never I don't have to kind of sit them down, and say right now were going to have a conversation about something called racism and this is what it is. I can more drop things, drop a view point and a bit of information into a conversation and it just becomes part of what they kind of assimilate in their knowledge and in their beliefs. Rather than if I waited until he was ten, and a, let him form uninformed views, umm and it's not that I want to give him my views exactly. But, I certainly want to give him information to form views. Yeh, I, I almost feel like with most things, the earlier that's done the better. Because if you give people information, then it's just. Its less of a big deal earlier

Should be talking to children at an early age – receptive to our opinion/pick up on things. – Age?

Drip feeding conversation – making it relatable and relevant to things they are discussing – more tangible

Children start to form their own opinions as they get older – need to provide them with the knowledge and foundation beforehand.

- Information , foundation, knowledge

Hiding things makes it an issue – should be open.

Appendix K – Ethics Applications, Amendments and Approval Forms

UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON

School of Psychology

APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL

FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

(Updated October 2019)

FOR BSc RESEARCH

FOR MSc/MA RESEARCH

FOR PROFESSIONAL DOCTORATE RESEARCH IN CLINICAL, COUNSELLING & EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Completing the application

Before completing this application please familiarise yourself with the British Psychological Society's Code of Ethics and Conduct (2018) and the UEL Code of Practice for Research Ethics (2015-16). Please tick to confirm that you have read and understood these codes: [X]

Email your supervisor the completed application and all attachments as ONE WORD DOCUMENT. Your supervisor will then look over your application.

When your application demonstrates sound ethical protocol, your supervisor will submit it for review. By submitting the application, the supervisor is confirming that they have reviewed all parts of this application, and consider it of sufficient quality for submission to the SREC committee for review. It is the responsibility of students to check that the supervisor has checked the application and sent it for review.

Your supervisor will let you know the outcome of your application. Recruitment and data collection must NOT commence until your ethics application has been approved, along with other research ethics approvals that may be necessary (see section 8).

Please tick to confirm that the following appendices have been completed. Note: templates for these are included at the end of the form.

The participant invitation letter [X]

The participant consent form [X]

The participant debrief letter [X]

The following attachments should be included if appropriate. In each case, please tick to either confirm that you have included the relevant attachment, or confirm that it is not required for this application.

A participant advert, i.e., any text (e.g., email) or document (e.g., poster) designed to recruit potential participants.

Included or [x]

Not required (because no participation adverts will be used) [ ]

A general risk assessment form for research conducted off campus (see section 6).

Included or [x]

Not required (because the research takes place solely on campus or online) [ ]

A country-specific risk assessment form for research conducted abroad (see section 6).

Included or [ ]

Not required (because the researcher will be based solely in the UK) [x]

A Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) certificate (see section 7).

Included or ☐

Not required (because the research does not involve children aged 16 or under or vulnerable adults) x

Ethical clearance or permission from an external organisation (see section 8).

Included or x

Not required (because no external organisations are involved in the research) ☐

Original and/or pre-existing questionnaire(s) and test(s) you intend to use.

Included or ☐

Not required (because you are not using pre-existing questionnaires or tests) x

Interview questions for qualitative studies.

Included or x

Not required (because you are not conducting qualitative interviews) ☐

Visual material(s) you intend showing participants.

Included or ☐

Not required (because you are not using any visual materials) x

Your details

Your name: Lucy Payne

Your supervisor's name: Dr. Paula Corredor Lopez

Title of your programme: Professional Doctorate in Clinical Psychology

UEL assignment submission date (stating both the initial date and the resit date):

Thesis submission May 2021 and Viva July 2021. Resit date August 2021.

Your research

Please give as much detail as necessary for a reviewer to be able to fully understand the nature and details of your proposed research.

The title of your study:

White British Parents Perspective on Talking to Children about Race.

Your research questions:

Do parents think we should be talking to children about race and if so when and how do we have these conversations?

What are the barriers preventing parents from having these conversations around race with their children?

What do parents think could be the potential impact of having or not having these conversations?

Design of the research:

The proposed study aims to gather in-depth detailed data of White British parents' views around having conversations with their children about race. Therefore, a qualitative methodology of thematic analysis is proposed. Individual interviews will be the most appropriate method to explore the research questions. Given the current climate with COVID-19 and social distancing measures and sensitivity of this topic area, it is felt that online video interviews or interviews over the phone would be most appropriate.

A semi-structured interview will be used with interviews lasting up to an hour to allow time for follow-up questions and debriefing.

A prior consultation of the proposed interview questions with a parent will also occur to ensure the questions are clear and appropriate.

The research in line with the proposed methodology will take a critical realist stance.

Participants:

Participants will be parents who are known to children centres in XXX (London Borough) and in Suffolk. They will be parents of children currently aged between 5-12 as this is when children begin to develop beliefs, attitudes and biases and from the age of 7-12 beliefs begin to solidify. The reason to recruit people from two different areas is firstly because the researcher is familiar with the children centres and areas and also because it would allow for comparisons between an urban and rural area. With (London Borough XXX) being a diverse borough where multicultural families are present and Suffolk being a mainly all White area. This will allow data to be collected to see if there are any trends in the research answers.

To take part in the research parents have to have access to a phone or computer to have telephone/video interviews. The researcher is also asking that the parents' children are currently between the ages of 5-12 as this is when children begin to categorise individuals and develop biases.

There is no age limit on participants. The requirements are that the parents identify as White British and have children between the ages of 5-12.

Recruitment:

Participants will be recruited through both (London Borough XXX) and Suffolk children centres, who have already provisionally agreed to be sites involved in the study and gained permission through their systems to do so. Maintaining the contact with these children centres and the communication with these sites will continue to be ongoing. The researchers will speak with the organisations remotely and make themselves familiar to the teams before recruitment begins. The researcher will send out an invitation leaflet to the children centres for them to send or show parents (This can be

seen in Appendix A). Information sheets (Appendix B) will also be given to the centres to help identify suitable participants.

The aim will be to recruit White British parents of children aged 5-12 as this is when beliefs, attitudes and biases begin to develop and solidify. We are hoping to recruit between 8-12 participants from the (** London Borough) and the Suffolk area.

Measures, materials or equipment:

A draft interview schedule has been developed (Appendix C). This is a draft and once the pre-study consultation with a parent has been carried out to ensure clarity of questions and their appropriateness for eliciting parental views on discussions around race, then the interview schedule questions will be adapted and finalised.

A demographic questionnaire (Appendix D) will also be used to gain information on the participants age, the age of their children, what area they live in and how long they have lived there for and what ethnicity and gender they identify with. All of the identifiable information will be encrypted and stored securely. To maintain confidentiality, identifiable characteristics will be anonymised in the report.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic the research will need to be conducted remotely. Ideally, video interviews would be conducted using Microsoft Teams, as this is compliant with UEL's General Data Protection Regulations. However, it might be unlikely that the participants will have the means to download and then use Microsoft Teams (due to internet/data use and costs). Therefore, it is likely that at least some of the interviews will need to take place over the telephone.

The researcher will provide recording and transcribing equipment. Transcriptions will be kept in a password protected file on the university's secure drive and will be deleted after three years to allow time to write-up for publication.

Data collection:

Data will be collected using semi structured interviews with parents to gain insight into their views on discussing race with their children. Prior to the interviews participants will be sent the invitation flyer, information sheet, demographic and consent forms (Appendix E). They will have the opportunity to ask any questions before the interview. The interviews will be online using Microsoft Teams or via the phone if people do not have access to internet or device that allows for this download. The interviews are expected to last 60 minutes.

At the beginning of the interview participants will be reminded of the right to withdraw from the study and the process of withdrawing data from the study. Participants will have three weeks after the interview to remove their data. After this it will be difficult as the analysis would already have commenced. However in these instances participants' data will not be directly quoted in the research write up and all information will remain anonymised throughout. This process will be explained in the Debrief form (Appendix F and G).

The interviews will be recorded. A Dictaphone will be used for the telephone recordings and Microsoft Teams record function will also be used if the participant chooses video option. These recordings will be transcribed by the researcher and once this has happened the recordings will be deleted. The transcriptions from each interview will be anonymised and stored securely with password protection.

Data analysis:

This study plans to use thematic analysis, a qualitative methodology. Braun and Clarks (2006) Thematic Analysis guidance will be used whereby the researcher will familiarise themselves with the dialogue, sort the data into codes to generate themes where upon a thematic map will be produced. The themes will be refined and discussed in the analysis section of the thesis.

It is also important that researchers own interests and views are explicit and reflected upon throughout as these can impact the process of analysis – reflections will be discussed regularly with the thesis supervisor.

Reference for this section: Braun, V., & Clarke., V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology. 3*(2), 77-101.

Confidentiality and security

It is vital that data are handled carefully, particularly the details about participants. For information in this area, please see the UEL guidance on data protection, and also the UK government guide to data protection regulations.

Will participants data be gathered anonymously?

As the research is qualitative and will be done either via video or telephone it is not possible for the data to be gathered completely anonymously. The anonymity will be protected which is outlined in the question below.

If not (e.g., in qualitative interviews), what steps will you take to ensure their anonymity in the subsequent steps (e.g., data analysis and dissemination)?

Pseudonyms will be given to participants when the interview recordings are transcribed. No details that could link participants and pseudonyms will be kept. The recordings will be deleted once transcriptions have taken place. These recordings will be encrypted, stored securely with password protection. No names or other identifiable data from the recordings will be included in the transcriptions which will be produced by the researcher. These transcripts will also be stored securely and encrypted. Only the researcher and research supervisor will have access to these transcriptions. After three years the transcriptions will be deleted.

It will be made clear to participants that data and information about the process of research will be discussed with my supervisor who will be supporting the study; however, their anonymity will be protected throughout this. Participants will be asked if they are in agreement with any other demographic details they provide being used in dissemination. If they are not in agreement with this, these will also be anonymised.

In the final report anonymity will be maintained with any identifiable information being removed from quotes and descriptions. These procedures will be explained before the interviews and in the information sheet provided.

Participants will be informed about right to withdraw at any point of the interview. While participants can withdraw their data up to three weeks after the interview, this will be hard to do once analysis has started. We will inform the participants that we will not quote their data when the study is reported.

They will also be informed that they can discuss any questions or concerns with researcher or research supervisor.

All Data will be treated and stored strictly in accordance with GDPR regulations.

How will you ensure participants details will be kept confidential?

As addressed above. All data will be encrypted, stored securely with password protection. Names and other identifiable information will be anonymised throughout the process including in the write up of the research. Contact details will only be kept if participants agree to being sent a summary of study's findings following the completion of research. After this, their contact details will be destroyed.

A University secured email address will be included on the information sheet for the participants to use in their communication with the researcher.

How will the data be securely stored?

Consent forms and demographic forms will be completed online and uploaded onto the university's secure H:drive in an encrypted file. All other copies will be deleted. The interviews will be recorded on a password protected digital recording device; the recordings will be encrypted and stored securely on a password protected computer that only the researcher and research supervisor will have access to. The recordings will be stored there for the time necessary for transcription and for the final research to be passed by the University. The transcripts will be kept securely until following publication and for a period of three years byond completion of the study, at which point they will be destroyed.

Who will have access to the data?

Participants will be made aware that the data will be analysed by the named researcher and that only the researcher and the research supervisor from the University of East London will have access to the data.

Results will be disseminated in the form of the thesis as part of the completion of the award of Doctorate in Clinical Psychology for the University of East London. It is anticipated that these findings will be written up as an article for consideration for publication. The results of the study will also be disseminated to those participants that identify during the study as wanting to be sent a summary of the study findings. No identifiable information will be used in any of the study write ups.

How long will data be retained for?

Recordings will be deleted once the researcher has transcribed the interviews. The transcriptions will be deleted after three years to allow time for potential publication and after this they will be destroyed.

Informing participants

Please confirm that your information letter includes the following details:

Your research title: X

Your research question: X

The purpose of the research: X

The exact nature of their participation. This includes location, duration, and the tasks etc. involved: X

That participation is strictly voluntary: X

What are the potential risks to taking part: X

What are the potential advantages to taking part: X

Their right to withdraw participation (i.e., to withdraw involvement at any point, no questions asked): X

Their right to withdraw data (usually within a three-week window from the time of their participation): X

How long their data will be retained for: X

How their information will be kept confidential: X

How their data will be securely stored: X

What will happen to the results/analysis: X

Your UEL contact details: X

The UEL contact details of your supervisor: X

Please also confirm whether:

Are you engaging in deception? If so, what will participants be told about the nature of the research, and how will you inform them about its real nature.

The research is not engaged in deception. Participants will be made aware of the research aims which is to find out about how parents have conversations around race and the barriers to having these conversations.

Will the data be gathered anonymously? If NO what steps will be taken to ensure confidentiality and protect the identity of participants?

Names and relevant contact details of participants will be saved on the university's secure H:drive, in an encrypted file (separate to transcripts). Consent forms will be uploaded onto the university's secure H:drive. Pseudonyms will be assigned during the transcription of recordings and participants will be asked whether they are in agreement with other demographic features being used in the write-up of the research (such as their cultural background, ethnicity, age, gender).

Will participants be paid or reimbursed? If so, this must be in the form of redeemable vouchers, not cash. If yes, why is it necessary and how much will it be worth?

The researcher is going to enquire as to whether participants will be able to access a token (Amazon) voucher as a token acknowledgement for their involvement in the study– the Researcher will speak with the University to further clarify this.

Risk Assessment

Please note: If you have serious concerns about the safety of a participant, or others, during the course of your research please see your supervisor as soon as possible. If there is any unexpected occurrence while you are collecting your data (e.g. a participant or the researcher injures themselves), please report this to your supervisor as soon as possible.

Are there any potential physical or psychological risks to participants related to taking part? If so, what are these, and how can they be minimised?

There have been no physical risks identified. However due to the nature of the research topic race, participants may fit it psychologically distressing.

A pre interview phone call will be offered to provide a space for participants to discuss any potential concerns about the research and any potential implications of the research. Participants will be given an information sheet which will highlight their right to withdraw from the research at any point.

During the interview the researcher will remain alert to looking out for any signs or indications that the participants may be becoming distressed. Participants will be encouraged to pause or take breaks if needed. Time will be allocated for participants who have any follow up questions and the opportunity offered to each participant for a debrief immediately after the interview. A debrief sheet will also be given that includes resources that they can contact if the are feeling worried or distressed. Participants will also be told that they can get in contact with the researcher or the research supervisor directly they become distressed by the content of the study. Additionally, a list of appropriate support services and race specific resources have been developed for the purposes of supporting participants after the completion of the study.

The risk assessment at the end of the ethics form has been completed to fully consider all aspects of risk.

Are there any potential physical or psychological risks to you as a researcher? If so, what are these, and how can they be minimised?

Due to COVID-19 pandemic and the use of telephone calls or video calls using Microsoft Teams no potential physical risks have been identified. The interviews will be organised within 9 to 5 working hours where possible. The researcher's supervisor will be made aware of the timings of the interview and the researcher can speak to their

supervisor if the researcher is distressed by hearing some of the experiences of the participants.

Have appropriate support services been identified in the debrief letter? If so, what are these, and why are they relevant?

Yes the following services have been included:

(London Borough XXX) crisis line: XXXX in case they are worried about their own mental health

XXXX

XXXXX

They offer confidential listening, signposting, advice and guidance, parenting support, support with social issues, education support and other areas of support.

Phone number: XXXX

E-mail: XXXX

Charity XXXX

XXXX

Charity website XXXX

Phone number: XXXX

XXXX

Website with resources for family support in the area.

XXXX Trust Crisis Line: XXX if you are feeling worried about the mental health of yourself or others – out of hours 24/7 support.

Other resources:

https://infolink.suffolk.gov.uk/kb5/suffolk/infolink/advice.page?id=Nh2oJw7Qq4I

Website with details on who to contact if you are worried about young person 0-25 years of age and others services that are available for support.

https://www.suffolk.gov.uk/children-families-and-learning/the-parent-hub/

Website with resources for family support in the area.

If parents want to have conversations with their children some these resources have been

Provided:

https://www.redcross.org.uk/get-involved/teaching-resources/talking-with-children-and-young-people-about-race-and-racism

https://www.pbs.org/parents/talking-about-racism

https://rainbow-hub.passle.net/post/102g92u/resources-to-support-discussions-about-racism-with-children

Does the research take place outside the UEL campus? If so, where?

If so, a 'general risk assessment form' must be completed. This is included below as appendix H. Note: if the research is on campus, or is online only (e.g., a Qualtrix survey), then a risk assessment form is not needed, and this appendix can be deleted. If a general risk assessment form is required for this research, please tick to confirm that this has been completed: [X]

Due to Covid-19, interviews will take place over the telephone or video call using Microsoft Teams. It will be important that participants are able to be in a quiet room to take part in the telephone or video interview.

Does the research take place outside the UK? If so, where? NO

If so, in addition to the 'general risk assessment form', a 'country-specific risk assessment form' must be also completed (available in the Ethics folder in the Psychology Noticeboard), and included as an appendix. [Please note: a country-specific risk assessment form is not needed if the research is online only (e.g., a Qualtrix survey), regardless of the location of the researcher or the participants.] If a 'country-specific risk assessment form' *is* needed, please tick to confirm that this has been included: ☐

However, please also note:

For assistance in completing the risk assessment, please use the AIG Travel Guard website to ascertain risk levels. Click on 'sign in' and then 'register here' using policy # 0015865161. Please also consult the Foreign Office travel advice website for further guidance.

For *on campus* students, once the ethics application has been approved by a reviewer, all risk assessments for research abroad must then be signed by the Head of School (who may escalate it up to the Vice Chancellor).

For *distance learning* students conducting research abroad in the country where they currently reside, a risk assessment must be also carried out. To minimise risk, it is recommended that such students only conduct data collection on-line. If the project is deemed low risk, then it is not necessary for the risk assessments to be signed by the Head of School. However, if not deemed low risk, it must be signed by the Head of School (or potentially the Vice Chancellor).

Undergraduate and M-level students are not explicitly prohibited from conducting research abroad. However, it is discouraged because of the inexperience of the students and the time constraints they have to complete their degree.

Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) certificates

Does your research involve working with children (aged 16 or under) or vulnerable adults (*see below for definition)?

NO

If so, you will need a current DBS certificate (i.e., not older than six months), and to include this as an appendix. Please tick to confirm ☐

that you have included this:

Alternatively, if necessary for reasons of confidentiality, you may email a copy directly to the Chair of the School Research Ethics Committee. Please tick if you have done this instead: ☐

Also alternatively, if you have an Enhanced DBS clearance (one you pay a monthly fee to maintain) then the number of your Enhanced DBS clearance will suffice. Please tick if you have included this instead: ☐

If participants are under 16, you need 2 separate information letters, consent form, and debrief form (one for the participant, and one for their parent/guardian). Please tick to confirm that you have included these: ☐

If participants are under 16, their information letters consent form, and debrief form need to be written in age-appropriate language. Please tick to confirm that you have done this ☐

* You are required to have DBS clearance if your participant group involves (1) children and young people who are 16 years of age or under, and (2) 'vulnerable' people aged 16 and over with psychiatric illnesses, people who receive domestic care, elderly people (particularly those in nursing homes), people in palliative care, and people living in institutions and sheltered accommodation, and people who have been involved in the criminal justice system, for example. Vulnerable people are understood to be persons who are not necessarily able to freely consent to participating in your research, or who may find it difficult to withhold consent. If in doubt about the extent of the vulnerability of your intended participant group, speak to your supervisor. Methods that maximise the understanding and ability of vulnerable people to give consent should be used whenever possible. For more information about ethical research involving children click here.

Other permissions

Is HRA approval (through IRAS) for research involving the NHS required? Note: HRA/IRAS approval is required for research that involves patients or Service Users of

the NHS, their relatives or carers as well as those in receipt of services provided under contract to the NHS.

NO

You DO NOT need to apply to the School of Psychology for ethical clearance if ethical approval is sought via HRA/IRAS (please see further details here).

However, the school *strongly discourages* BSc and MSc/MA students from designing research that requires HRA approval for research involving the NHS, as this can be a very demanding and lengthy process.

If you work for an NHS Trust and plan to recruit colleagues from the Trust, permission from an appropriate manager at the Trust must be sought, and HRA approval will probably be needed (and hence is likewise strongly discouraged). If the manager happens to not require HRA approval, their written letter of approval must be included as an appendix.

IRAS approval is not required for NHS staff even if they are recruited via the NHS (UEL ethical approval is acceptable). However, an application will still need to be submitted to the HRA in order to obtain R&D approval. This is in addition to a separate approval via the R&D department of the NHS Trust involved in the research.

IRAS approval is not required for research involving NHS employees when data collection will take place off NHS premises, and when NHS employees are not recruited directly through NHS lines of communication. This means that NHS staff can participate in research without HRA approval when a student recruits via their own social or professional networks or through a professional body like the BPS, for example.

Will the research involve NHS employees who will not be directly recruited through the NHS, and where data from NHS employees will not be collected on NHS premises?

NO

If you work for an NHS Trust and plan to recruit colleagues from the Trust, will permission from an appropriate member of staff at the Trust be sought, and will HRA be sought, and a copy of this permission (e.g., an email from the Trust) attached to this application?

NO

Does the research involve other organisations (e.g. a school, charity, workplace, local authority, care home etc.)? If so, please give their details here.

London Borough XXXX centres have been approached

The list of Children's centres that have been approached with their details are here:

XXXX

Some children centres have said yes others are waiting for ethics to be approved before they can consent to helping with recruitment.

Below is a list of Suffolk Children's centres that have also been approached:

Waiting to here back from them in regards to recruitment – some are waiting for ethics to be approved.

XXXXX

Furthermore, written permission is needed from such organisations if they are helping you with recruitment and/or data collection, if you are collecting data on their premises, or if you are using any material owned by the institution/organisation. If that is the case, please tick here to confirm that you have included this written permission as an appendix: [X]

In addition, before the research commences, once your ethics application has been approved, please ensure that you provide the organisation with a copy of the final, approved ethics application. Please then prepare a version of the consent form for the organisation themselves to sign. You can adapt it by replacing words such as 'my' or 'I' with 'our organisation,' or with the title of the organisation. This organisational consent form must be signed before the research can commence.

Finally, please note that even if the organisation has their own ethics committee and review process, a School of Psychology SREC application and approval is still required. Ethics approval from SREC can be gained before approval from another research ethics committee is obtained. However, recruitment and data collection are NOT to commence until your research has been approved by the School and other ethics committee/s as may be necessary.

Declarations

Declaration by student: I confirm that I have discussed the ethics and feasibility of this research proposal with my supervisor.

Student's name (typed name acts as a signature): Lucy Payne

Student's number: U1826625 Date: 04/07/2020

As a supervisor, by submitting this application, I confirm that I have reviewed all parts of this application, and I consider it of sufficient quality for submission to the SREC committee.

Ethics Approval Letter

School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee

NOTICE OF ETHICS REVIEW DECISION

For research involving human participants

BSc/MSc/MA/Professional Doctorates in Clinical, Counselling and Educational Psychology

REVIEWER: Martin Willis

SUPERVISOR: Paula Corredor Lopez

STUDENT: Lucy Payne

Course: Professional Doctorate in Clinical Psychology

Title of proposed study: White British Parents Perspective on Talking to Children about Race

DECISION OPTIONS:

APPROVED: Ethics approval for the above named research study has been granted from the date of approval (see end of this notice) to the date it is submitted for assessment/examination.

APPROVED, BUT MINOR AMENDMENTS ARE REQUIRED BEFORE THE RESEARCH COMMENCES (see Minor Amendments box below)**:** In this circumstance, re-submission of an ethics application is not required but the student must confirm with their supervisor that all minor amendments have been made before the research commences. Students are to do this by filling in the confirmation box below when all amendments have been attended to and emailing a copy of this decision notice to her/his supervisor for their records. The supervisor will then forward the student's confirmation to the School for its records.

NOT APPROVED, MAJOR AMENDMENTS AND RE-SUBMISSION REQUIRED (see Major Amendments box below)**:** In this circumstance, a revised ethics application must be submitted and approved before any research takes place. The revised application will be reviewed by the same reviewer. If in doubt, students should ask their supervisor for support in revising their ethics application.

DECISION ON THE ABOVE-NAMED PROPOSED RESEARCH STUDY

(Please indicate the decision according to one of the 3 options above)

APPROVED

Minor amendments required *(for reviewer)*:

Major amendments required *(for reviewer):*

Confirmation of making the above minor amendments *(for students)*:

I have noted and made all the required minor amendments, as stated above, before starting my research and collecting data.

Student's name *(Typed name to act as signature):*

Student number:

Date:

(Please submit a copy of this decision letter to your supervisor with this box completed, if minor amendments to your ethics application are required)

ASSESSMENT OF RISK TO RESEACHER *(for reviewer)*

Has an adequate risk assessment been offered in the application form?

YES / NO

Please request resubmission with an adequate risk assessment

If the proposed research could expose the researcher to any of kind of emotional, physical or health and safety hazard? Please rate the degree of risk:

☐

HIGH

Please do not approve a high risk application and refer to the Chair of Ethics. Travel to countries/provinces/areas deemed to be high risk should not be permitted and an application not approved on this basis. If unsure please refer to the Chair of Ethics.

☐

MEDIUM (Please approve but with appropriate recommendations)

☑

LOW

Reviewer comments in relation to researcher risk (if any).

Reviewer *(Typed name to act as signature)*: Martin Willis

Date: 03/08/20

This reviewer has assessed the ethics application for the named research study on behalf of the School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee

RESEARCHER PLEASE NOTE:

For the researcher and participants involved in the above named study to be covered by UEL's Insurance, prior ethics approval from the School of Psychology (acting on behalf of the UEL Research Ethics Committee), and confirmation from students where minor amendments were required, must be obtained before any research takes place.

For a copy of UELs Personal Accident & Travel Insurance Policy, please see the Ethics Folder in the Psychology Noticeboard

Amendment Request and Approval

UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON

School of Psychology

REQUEST FOR AMENDMENT TO AN ETHICS APPLICATION

FOR BSc, MSc/MA & TAUGHT PROFESSIONAL DOCTORATE STUDENTS

Please complete this form if you are requesting approval for proposed amendment(s) to an ethics application that has been approved by the School of Psychology.

Note that approval must be given for significant change to research procedure that impacts on ethical protocol. If you are not sure about whether your proposed amendment warrants approval consult your supervisor or contact Dr Tim Lomas (Chair of the School Research Ethics Committee. t.lomas@uel.ac.uk).

HOW TO COMPLETE & SUBMIT THE REQUEST

Complete the request form electronically and accurately.

Type your name in the 'student's signature' section (page 2).

When submitting this request form, ensure that all necessary documents are attached (see below).

Using your UEL email address, email the completed request form along with associated documents to: Dr Tim Lomas at t.lomas@uel.ac.uk

Your request form will be returned to you via your UEL email address with reviewer's response box completed. This will normally be within five days. Keep a copy of the approval to submit with your project/dissertation/thesis.

Recruitment and data collection are **not** to commence until your proposed amendment has been approved.

REQUIRED DOCUMENTS

A copy of your previously approved ethics application with proposed amendments(s) added as tracked changes.

Copies of updated documents that may relate to your proposed amendment(s). For example an updated recruitment notice, updated participant information letter, updated consent form etc.

A copy of the approval of your initial ethics application.

Name of applicant: Lucy Payne

Programme of study: Professional Doctorate In Clinical Psychology

Title of research: White British Parents Perspective on Talking to Children about Race

Name of supervisor: Dr. Paula Corredor Lopez

Briefly outline the nature of your proposed amendment(s) and associated rationale(s) in the boxes below

Proposed amendment	**Rationale**
Recruitment: As well as contacting children centres. We are also going to contact Primary Schools in XXX (London Borough) and in Suffolk (XXX areas in Suffolk) area to help with recruitment.	The rationale is because this will allow us to contact more parents and recruit more people. As we are also recruiting parents of 5-12 year olds and primary schools will be aware of more parents who have children these ages.

Please tick	**YES**	**NO**
Is your supervisor aware of your proposed amendment(s) and agree to them?	X	

Student's signature (please type your name): Lucy Payne

Date: 10/08/2020

TO BE COMPLETED BY REVIEWER

Amendment(s) approved	YES	
Comments		

Reviewer: Tim Lomas

Date: 10.9.20

Second Amendment Request and Approval

UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON

School of Psychology

REQUEST FOR AMENDMENT TO AN ETHICS APPLICATION

FOR BSc, MSc/MA & TAUGHT PROFESSIONAL DOCTORATE STUDENTS

Please complete this form if you are requesting approval for proposed amendment(s) to an ethics application that has been approved by the School of Psychology.

Note that approval must be given for significant change to research procedure that impacts on ethical protocol. If you are not sure about whether your proposed amendment warrants approval consult your supervisor or contact Dr Tim Lomas (Chair of the School Research Ethics Committee. t.lomas@uel.ac.uk).

HOW TO COMPLETE & SUBMIT THE REQUEST

Complete the request form electronically and accurately.

Type your name in the 'student's signature' section (page 2).

When submitting this request form, ensure that all necessary documents are attached (see below).

Using your UEL email address, email the completed request form along with associated documents to: Dr Tim Lomas at t.lomas@uel.ac.uk

Your request form will be returned to you via your UEL email address with reviewer's response box completed. This will normally be within five days. Keep a copy of the approval to submit with your project/dissertation/thesis.

Recruitment and data collection are **not** to commence until your proposed amendment has been approved.

REQUIRED DOCUMENTS

A copy of your previously approved ethics application with proposed amendments(s) added as tracked changes.

Copies of updated documents that may relate to your proposed amendment(s). For example an updated recruitment notice, updated participant information letter, updated consent form etc.

A copy of the approval of your initial ethics application.

Name of applicant: Lucy Payne

Programme of study: Professional Doctorate In Clinical Psychology

Title of research: White British Parents Perspective on Talking to Children about Race

Name of supervisor: Dr. Paula Corredor Lopez

Briefly outline the nature of your proposed amendment(s) and associated rationale(s) in the boxes below

Proposed amendment	**Rationale**
Recruitment: As well as contacting children centres and Primary schools. I am going to contact facebook groups to advertise the project online groups in local groups in XXX London Borough and Suffolk.	The rationale is because this will allow us to contact more parents and recruit more people.

Please tick	**YES**	**NO**
Is your supervisor aware of your proposed amendment(s) and agree to them?	X	

Student's signature (please type your name): Lucy Payne

Date: 23/09/2020

TO BE COMPLETED BY REVIEWER

Amendment(s) approved	YES	
Comments		

Reviewer: Tim Lomas

Date: 23.9.20

Title Amendment Request and Approval

REQUEST FOR TITLE CHANGE TO AN ETHICS APPLICATION

FOR BSc, MSc/MA & TAUGHT PROFESSIONAL DOCTORATE STUDENTS

Please complete this form if you are requesting approval for proposed title change to an ethics application that has been approved by the School of Psychology.

By applying for a change of title request you confirm that in doing so the process by which you have collected your data/conducted your research has not changed or deviated from your original ethics approval. If either of these have changed then you are required to complete an Ethics Amendments Form.

HOW TO COMPLETE & SUBMIT THE REQUEST

Complete the request form electronically and accurately.

Type your name in the 'student's signature' section (page 2).

Using your UEL email address, email the completed request form along with associated documents to: Psychology.Ethics@uel.ac.uk

Your request form will be returned to you via your UEL email address with reviewer's response box completed. This will normally be within five days. Keep a copy of the approval to submit with your project/dissertation/thesis.

REQUIRED DOCUMENTS

A copy of the approval of your initial ethics application.

Name of applicant: Lucy Payne

Programme of study: Doctorate in Clinical Psychology

Name of supervisor: Dr. Paula Corredor-Lopez

Briefly outline the nature of your proposed title change in the boxes below

Proposed amendment	Rationale
Old Title: White British Parents Perspective on Talking to Children about Race	Minor grammatical change – missed the apostrophe

New Title: White British Parents' Perspective on Talking to Children about Race	

Please tick	YES	NO
Is your supervisor aware of your proposed amendment(s) and agree to them?	X	
Does your change of title impact the process of how you collected your data/conducted your research?		X

Student's signature (please type your name): L.S.Payne (Electronic)

Date: 22/07/21

TO BE COMPLETED BY REVIEWER		
Title changes approved	YES	
Comments		

Reviewer: Trishna Patel

Date: 22/07/2021

Appendix L – Initial Codes

Participants	Initial Codes		
Participant 1	Skin colour Background Parental influences School Learning over time Relevance Ignorance Location Change over time Acceptance Kids initiating conversation Afraid Bullying Racism Impact Empathy Curriculum Religion Profession	Limited explanation Curriculum Media representation Peer influences Ignorance Exposure Whiteness Profession Timing Assumptions Interracial friendship Resources Barriers Getting things wrong Lack of knowledge Still learning Perception Repetition Colour-blind	Parenting style Immigration Privilege Lack of understanding Perception Divisiveness Inclusivity All Lives Matter Privilege Choice Equality Reverse racism Minority Group dynamics Experiences Prejudice Similarity Improvements Reflections
Participant 2	Multiple meanings Language Complexity Media Parental Influences Understanding School Exposure TV Learning Curriculum Curiosity Cultures Expert position Asking questions Openness Judgement Worry about offending Sharing Relationship with other cultures Joint learning process Shame Skin colour Age appropriate Examples	Not an issue Ignorance Whiteness Racism Lack of understanding Doesn't affect them Acceptance Age Timing Generational differences Profession Change Kids bringing up conversation Interracial friendships Learning from others Learning Researching Internet Resources Difference Knowledge Honesty Not knowing Real life examples Relatable	Nature vs nuture Children noticing difference Colour-blind Absorb information Repetition Observant Parenting approach Organic Barriers Not knowing what to say Saying the wrong thing Creating an issue Planting a seed Offending people Profession Religion Healthcare inequality Impact Equality Empathy Whiteness Privilege

Participant 3	Language/simplistic Equality Anti/racism Skin colour Lightness/humour Discussions with children Nationality Relating White privilege Genetics/biology Whiteness Unconscious bias Location (area you live in) BLM Sports City Sympathy Young child Community Learning Toys Class/poverty Exposure Child-led conversation Injustice Uncertainty Mental health Empathy	Organic Age appropriate Hierarchy Barriers Fear Generation Not knowing what to say Changes in thinking Change over time Role models Learning Avoidance Examples of different 'races' Influences Ignorance Dual learning process Challenging thinking Not saying anything Shutting down conversations Representation Discomfort Media Diversity Representation Brutality Helpless Action No control Interracial friendships	How the conversations come about School News Awareness Racist comments Bias Coming together Solidarity Fairness Giving examples of racism Books Difference Volunteering – having real experiences Helping others Difference in friendships Impact Unaware Entitlement Impact Engage Understanding Prevents learning Openness Identity Importance Protecting child Timings of conversation
Participant 4	Profession Western Mixed community Structural racism Inequality Location Young age Diversity Early age Fairness/unfairness Embarrassment Barriers Saying the wrong thing Offensive Difference Media Empathy Unequal status Online racism Whiteness	Awareness Legal framework Skin colour Nationality Family influences School Honesty Unconscious biases Perception Organic Explanation Scientific/factual Colour-blind Resonates Meaning-making Unfiltered Representation Dismissive Ignorance Activism	Exposure History of racism Protests Political climate Children noticing difference Anti-racism Aware of racism Education Stereotypes Reflections Age appropriate Language First-hand witness Informal learning Unfiltered Resources Levels of racism Understanding Alliance – be an ally

	Ideology White supremacy Narrative Responsibility Not-knowing Lack of confidence Self-doubt Still learning ourselves	Prevention Political climate To experience emotions Links to friends Examples Online racism Professional vs personal identity Interracial friendships	Curiosity Repetition Challenging racism Country you live Anger – emotions Explanation Microaggressions Cultural differences Timings of conversations
Participant 5	Perception Culture Discomfort Whiteness White as the norm Generational difference No discussion Kids bringing up the conversation Organic Worried about repeating Children not understanding it enough Learning Absorbs information Representation Description Subconscious vs unconscious Research/Resources	Ignorance Exposure Location Not an issue Awareness Diversity Colour-blind Kids noticing difference Uncertainty/ambivalence Will create an issue Interracial friendships Shutting conversations down Unsure of what to say Kids shaping their own opinion Age appropriate Language People with more experience Support system Knowledge Positive discrimination	Emotions Timings of conversation Media – news/radio/TV Interpretation Resources Minimize Equality Diminish Openness Fairness Intention Lack of awareness Impact Direct racism/witnessed Parental opinion Shock Barriers Improvement White middle class male
Participant 6	Acknowledgement Ignorance Whiteness Appearance Political Climate Learning Changes over time Language Stereotypes Difference Peers Understanding Inquisitive Empathy Gaming YouTube Unacceptable language When language is used Relatable/relevant	Black Lives Matter Awkwardness Exposure White as the norm Cycle of racism – normalising racism Media How you learn about others Witnessing racism Reality of the world Influences Immigration Parental differences Social media Learning together Barriers Not knowing enough Getting it wrong School Current events Educational resources	Privilege Conflicted Professions Interracial friendships Makes it an issue Worry the impact View people differently Age appropriate Timing Not an issue Could make it an issue Openness Location Parental styles Immigration Generations Children noticing difference Acceptance

	Opportunity to have conversations School. Awareness Resources Change in opinion Lifespan changes Challenging stereotypes Profession	Context Dismissive Conversation ender Commonality Similarities Disconnect Context	Being to the point Representation Reverse of experiences Being a minority Connection Impact Witnessing racism Direct exposure suffering
Participant 7	Skin colour Culture Location History Parents Influences Upbringing Difference in opinion Communication Interaction Age-appropriate Racism Challenging racism Acceptable Curiosity Open minded Engaging Relevant One race Teaching Media Connection Commonality White privilege Treated unfairly Stick together	Exposure Religion White as the norm White supremacy Parental opinion Ignorance Not an issue for them Change Generation Opposing views Barriers Scared to talk about Challenging conversation Protecting children Make it an issue Plant a seed Interracial friendships Impact of having conversations Treating people equally Changed over time Judgemental Dual learning process Learning from children Group dynamics Empathy Minority	School Timing Age Doesn't shut conversations down Openness Shaping of ideas Childs development Knowledge Kids shaping own view point Colour-blind Children noticing race Whiteness Negativity Othering other countries Negative stereotypes Subconscious Anti-racism Diversity Personality Good vs bad Reverse racism Learning Want to know more
Participant 8	Perception Labelling Narratives Political climate History Kids shaping own opinion Interracial friendships Increase in awareness World events Colour-blind Not an issue Our experiences Context Home environment	Background Location Exposure Upbringing Location White was the norm Witnessing racism Media – news Divide Change over time Integration Timing Different parenting styles Western culture Education system	Influences Peers Parents Ignorance The US Othering Group dynamics Similarity Class Intersectionality Stereotyping Cultural differences Good vs bad Language Age-appropriate

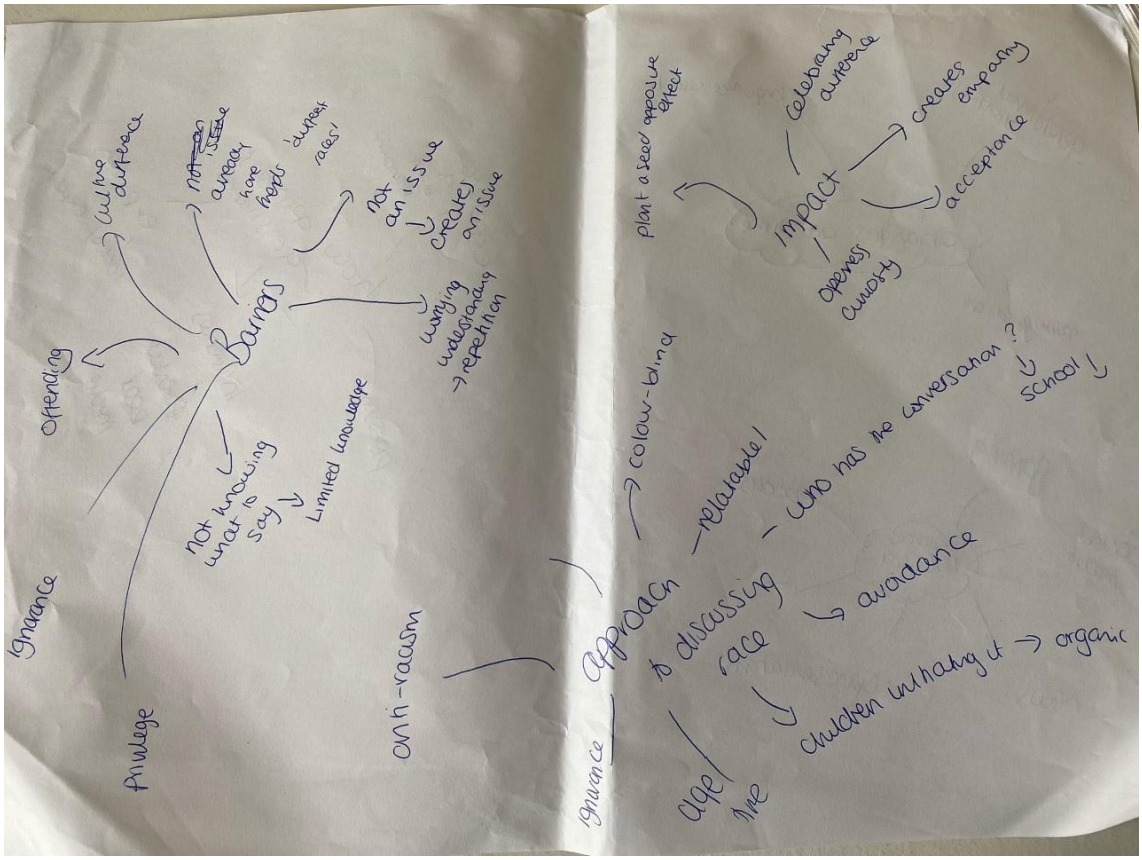
	Barriers Awkwardness Uncomfortable Complicated Racist views Dangerous Difference between children Integration Attitudes Socialisation Cultural appropriation	Racism Different beliefs Whiteness All lives matter White privilege Unconscious/subconsciously Sharing views with parents Curiosity Categorise White are superior Thinking about the present Accountability Slave trade	Indirect/direct influence Reverse racism Privacy Protect children from negativity Celebration Dismissive Denial Difference Misunderstanding Communication Positive discrimination
Participant 9	Perception Colour-Blind Racism History Awareness Immigration Othering Children bringing it up Language Witnessing racism Acceptance All the same Anger/frustration Covert vs. overt. Biases Peer influences Whiteness Privilege Generation Want to protect children	Not an issue for us White privilege Media Social media Parental influence Black Lives Matter Change over time Organic Age Timing Not knowing what to say Ignorance Becomes an issue when it effects them Entitlement Stereotype School Internet Books Representation Beliefs	Exposure White was the norm Lack of conversation Children making own mind up Acceptance Openness White as the norm Barriers Similarity with children Right vs. wrong Education Patriarchal Expectations Justifying racism Different informants Contradictions Othering Grouping Gone too far Exaggerating
Participant 10	Language Background Identity Upbringing Parental influence/family Class Exposure White was the norm Wasn't an issue Family attitudes Generational differences Changes over time Barriers Age of child Understanding Interracial friendships	Different influences over time Books/films Media Stereotypes Representation Normalising racism Whiteness Privilege Different parenting styles Awareness Organic conversation Children bringing it up Assumptions Communication Reflection Social media	Socialise children to difference Picking up on It at the time. Drip-feeding Contradictory actions Covert racism Barriers Unconscious biases Black Lives Matter Examples Sharing stories News Dual learning Children teaching parents Values as a parent Ethos

	Resources Curriculum Younger children Difference/diversity Engaging Relatable Workplace discrimination	Influences Peers Trends History Equality Embrace Good starting base Prejudice	Openness Music Openness Music Share experiences Culture Knowledge Empathy Witnessing racism
Participant 11	Skin colour Location Identity Exposure White as the norm Change in attitude Understanding Growth Influences Parental views Inequality Teaching children Awareness Awkwardness Language Communication Class Discomfort. Views aligning Socially constructed Whiteness Culture Colonialism	Books Learning Understanding Research Ignorance Colour-blind Liberalism Social media. Time Silencing Different views Anti racism Makes it an issue. Openness Development Age appropriate Traits Characteristics Judgemental Receptive Perception Difference Resources Improvement	Generational difference Age Foundation Information Knowledge Drip-feeding Children noticing difference Interracial friendships Curriculum School Black History Month Education White privilege Relevance Hierarchy Long lasting impact Stuck in their views Barriers Makes it an issue Responsibility Protecting children Impact
Interview 12	Morals Religion Intersectionality Family values Identity School Cultures Exposure Profession Awareness Similarity Asking questions Skin colour Avoidance Unsure of what to do Impact Equality	Change over time Terrorism Parental beliefs Choice Colour-blind Whiteness White as the norm Interracial influences Peer influences Parental influences Development Learning Fear Barriers Age appropriate Could make it an issue Viewing people differently	Age Time Location Media representation Representation books Stereotypes Biases Openness Curiosity Explanations Visual aids Children noticing difference Protecting children Media Black Lives Matter

	Knowledge Understanding Witnessing racism	Beliefs White privilege Segregation All Lives Matter	Denial Ignorance Difference
Interview 13	Classification Background Religion Identity Environment Upbringing Location Where you are born Minority History Awareness Empathy Not an issue Anti-racist Heritage Explanations Multicultural Culture Curiosity Relate Sports Overt vs covert racism Empathy White privilege Informal conversation Organic	British history Colonialism Families history Racism Education Values Learning Lack of knowledge Acceptance Difference Parental influences Understanding Awkwardness Barriers Openness Interracial friendship Policing Equality Celebrating Media Political climate Perception British culture Experiences Challenging others	Colour-blind Foundation Learning Exposure Age Innocence Development Difficulties Can create an issue Discomfort Biases Not knowing how to explain Organically Reflecting Black Lives Matter Fear of difference Change Inquisitive Influences Diversity Language TV Change over time Repercussions
Interview 14	Language Changes over time Labelling Identity Location What's acceptable Environment Socialised School Awareness Acknowledgement Unfair treatment Protection Age Time Repetition Barriers Understanding Not knowing what to say Saying the wrong thing Reflection Conversation Nature vs nurture	Generational difference Exposure White as the norm Racism Cultures Education Learning Knowledge Was never an issue Interracial friendships Parenting styles Books Representation Resources Anti-racism Role models Celebrating cultural differences Development Perception Curriculum Children noticing difference Visible differences Observant	Shame Positive influences Political stance Upbringing Openness Challenging thinking Unbothered Difference Ignorance Policing Stop and search Relating TV Formal conversations Religion Privilege Communication Discomfort Empathy Afraid/fear Repercussions Meaning Equality Innocence

	Ask questions Organically Morals Colour blind Change Impact Defensive External influences Detachment Covert vs overt racism	Curiosity Learning points Stereotypes History Trust Authority Narrow minded Empathy Profession	Openness Influences Kindness Improvement Teaching children about racism Acceptance Witnessing racism

Appendix M – Thematic Map Example



Appendix N – Finalised Themes and Subthemes

Theme 1: Parental Established Beliefs from Upbringing and Life Experiences'

Sub themes:

- Prior Generational Influences – parents/school
- Exposure to other cultures – area they grew up in, media, books
- Later Life experiences – own experiences of discrimination, witnessing racism first hand, their profession and learning through friendships with people from different 'races'

Theme 2: Approaches to Race Discussions

Sub themes:

- Proactive Approaches to Race Discussions:
    - Discussing Racism/Anti-Racism – knowing about privilege and difference
    - Providing resources and representation – in toys, books, tv and making it relatable for children to increase awareness
    - Seeking out support – asking others/schools input when limited knowledge/uncertainty around the topic
- Reactive Approaches to Race Discussions:
    - Cursory coverage – limited explanation
    - Child led conversations – waiting for the child to bring it up
    - Developmental approach: Lacking certainty around 'when' to have the conversation
- Discouraging Approaches Race Discussions:
    - Colour-Blind approach – we should not be discussing race – not an issue
    - Prejudice views

Theme 3: Barriers to Race Discussions

- Culture of disbelief
    - Disbelief there is a problem – it's not an issue - particularly if children haven't brought up anything around race and have friends from other cultures
    - Exposure – unaware of the issues in a 'White bubble'

- Active Avoidance of Subject Matter
    - Discomfort around conversations
    - Wanting to protect children
    - Colour-Blind – believes will make it an issue if the subject is discussed
    - Developmental approach: fear children will not understand/take things the wrong way

- Self-Doubt on Subject Matter
    - Lack of understanding/knowledge – feel need to learn more
    - Not knowing what to say – worry about offending people or saying the wrong thing

Theme 4: Potential Impact of Race Discussions

- Increased understanding and awareness
    - Increases empathy and acceptance
    - Lead to a reduction in fear around difference

- Generates change
    - Reduction in racism, bullying, negative stereotypes