The larger study
- rural community in Wisconsin
- in-depth interviews and autoethnographic materials
- 22 participants, aged 18-83
- farmers, factory and office workers, students, educators

Intellectual debts
- Reverend Thandeka, *Learning to be white*
  - white racial identity founded on abuse of white youth by white adults
- Ralph Ellison essays in *Shadow and act*
  - white American’s sense of self grounded in scapegoating rituals, including stereotypes and racist humor

Analysis
- focused on experiences of seven participants — Delores, Frank, William, Erin, Robert, Libby, and Stan—as well as on my own experiences
- explored how white racial identities are dependent on people of color and characterized by ambivalence—not just fear and rejection, but also attraction, envy, and desire
- emphasized that there is nothing smooth about the souls of white folks

Frank, teacher, about his uncle Norman
I think he spent seven years in Vietnam. He decided to come back and then another brother went over. His name was Eric and he got killed and then Norman went into the psychiatric hospital, spent a year there and now, to this day, he drinks heavily. But when he’s drinking—I’ve experienced this—he’s broken down and cried, ‘I think I might have been the guy that assassinated Martin Luther King. I’m not sure.’

Stan, farmer
See, I feel I have more open-mindedness than the average guy because there was racism towards me being overweight all my life. I had to be funnier in school. I had to be more outgoing to have friends. Otherwise, people ignored me. So, I can see where all this shit starts. People didn’t judge me by my intelligence. I was just a fat kid.

Why it matters
1. current antiracist efforts in education grounded in white privilege framework that simplifies white people in unhelpful ways
2. alternative needed that confronts violence at core of white racial selves and also illuminates conflicts and complexities there
3. understanding white racial ambivalence allows us to construct better antiracist pedagogies