



THE SAHLGRENKA ACADEMY

Now you see it, now you don't

**A literature-based study on identifying normative whiteness
in relation to structural racism and social determinants of health**

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ABSTRACT

Background: Structural racism is increasingly regarded as a central issue for disparities in social determinants of health. Eliminating such structure can be seen as central for achieving racial health equity. What remains invisible in the scope of Public Health is, however, the role that normative whiteness plays in the process of creating and sustaining racial disparities in health and how this contributes to unequal access to those social determinants that may positively influence health.

Aim: The aim of this explorative literature-based study was to research how whiteness manifests itself in structural and institutional contexts, to identify which intersectional perspectives were used to problematise whiteness, and to discuss its relevance for understanding inequalities in social determinants of health.

Method: A literature-based review on whiteness in relation to structural and institutional racism was conducted based on the guidelines for a systematic literature review. Articles were selected through a systematic search. The identified literature was analysed guided by the framework of qualitative content analysis and the findings were discussed in relation to intersectionality theory, Critical Race and Whiteness theories and Public Health practice.

Results: The systematic article search identified 12 articles. Main themes were located within the identified literature and further divided into subcategories based on findings. The results identified whiteness in relation to three categories: whiteness as embedded in language, whiteness in relation to segregation, and experiential differences of whiteness between people of colour and white people.

Discussion: As a result of the explorative study method and lack of evidence-based literature, the results of the study were non-conclusive, but suggestive. More research is required on how whiteness may impact Public Health issues related to racial and ethnic segregation, racism and discrimination. Despite the challenges associated with studying whiteness, such research could provide an alternative framework for analysing racial inequities. Further, such research should consider applying the frameworks of intersectionality and Critical Race theories in order to better understand how whiteness affects the social determinants of health through multiple factors.

Keywords: whiteness, critical race and whiteness studies, social determinants of health, public health, structural racism

SAMMANFATTNING PÅ SVENSKA

Bakgrund: Strukturell rasism betraktas alltmer som en central faktor för skillnader i hälsans sociala bestämningsfaktorer. Att eliminera sådana strukturer kan därmed ses som ett centralt mål för att nå jämlik hälsa för alla med lika villkor. Rollen av normativ vithet har dock inte ännu betraktats som en faktor inom folkhälsoområdet. Inte heller har man ännu utforskat rollen vithet kan ha för att skapa och upprätthålla skillnader i hälsa samt hur det kan bidra till orättvis tillgång till hälsans sociala bestämningsfaktorer.

Syfte: Syftet med denna studie var att undersöka hur normativ vithet manifesteras i relation till strukturell och institutionell rasism; vilka intersektionella aspekter som används för att problematisera vithet samt att diskutera relevansen av att studera vithet för ökad förståelse om hälsans sociala bestämningsfaktorer.

Metod: En litteraturbaserad studie om vithet i relation till strukturell och institutionell rasism genomfördes utifrån riktlinjerna för en systematisk litteraturstudie. Artiklar identifierades genom systematisk sökning. De identifierade artiklarna analyserades enligt ramverket av kvalitativ innehållsanalys och resultaten diskuterades i relation till intersektionalitetsteorin, kritiska ras- och vithetsteorier samt folkhälsopraxis.

Resultat: Den systematiska artikelsökningen resulterade i 12 artiklar. Huvudteman togs fram ur den identifierade litteraturen och vidare indelades i underkategorier baserat på dessa fynd. Resultaten identifierade normativ vithet i förhållande till tre kategorier: normativ vithet som inbäddad i språket, vithet i förhållande till segregation och skillnader i upplevelsen av normativ vithet mellan rasifierade och vita personer.

Diskussion: Som ett resultat av en explorativ studiemetod och brist på evidensbaserad forskning inom området är resultaten av denna studien inte avgörande, men suggestiva. Mer forskning krävs på hur vithet kan påverka folkhälsoproblem i samband med rasifierad och etnisk segregering, rasism och diskriminering. Att studera vithet innehåller flera utmaningar, men det kan ge ett alternativt teoretiskt ramverk för analys av rasifierade ojämlikheter. Intersektionell analys samt ramverket av kritisk rasteori bör inkluderas i forskningen, för att bättre kunna förstå hur vithet genom flera faktorer påverkar hälsans sociala bestämningsfaktorer.

Nyckelord: vithet, kritiska ras- och vithetsstudier, hälsans sociala bestämningsfaktorer, folkhälsovetenskap, strukturell rasism

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1. DEFINITIONS OF VOCABULARY

Racialisation – The extension of racial meaning to a relationship, social practice or group without an inherent relation to racialised classifications (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). Hence, in Swedish ‘*rasifiering*’, i.e. the act of *creating* race (Hübinette, et.al., 2012).

Racial stratification – A hierarchical process of organising individuals with differential access to resources in the society and effecting social relations through the process of racialisation (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Darvishpour & Westin, 2015).

Racism - Structural, social, systemic and sociohistorical processes and practices of power that aim to maintain the existing patterns of racialised dominance and subordination. In comparison to the more explicit historical racism, the contemporary racism can be defined as increasingly covert, embedded in normal operations of institutions, avoidant of direct racial terminology and as largely invisible to most white people (Bonilla-Silva, 1997).

Structural/institutional discrimination – Rules, norms, routines, approaches and behaviours existing and appearing in organisations, institutions and in other structures of the society that systematically discriminate against certain members of the society (Darvishpour & Westin, 2015).

Persons/people of colour/POC - A fluid, contextual and socially constructed social categorisation. The phrase ‘people or persons of colour (POC)’ is used in this thesis to describe persons or groups not racialised as ‘white’ (Eddo-Lodge, 2018).

White – A fluid, contextual and socially constructed social categorisation. The denominator ‘white’ in this paper is used to describe a person or a group racialised as white and benefiting of their embodied whiteness or ability to ‘pass as white’ (Hübinette, et.al. 2012).

Whiteness – A socially and historically constructed category and a position within racialised social structures. Referred to both as an individual identity and a social structure, that constantly redefines itself and its group boundaries in order to maintain the most dominant position available at any given time. Often described as a ‘transparent’ or ‘invisible’ racial identity (mainly for those inhabiting it) that provides members of this group social, economic and material privileges, and freedom from consequences at the expense of less dominant groups (Doane, 2003). In Swedish ‘*vithetsnormen*’ (Bremer, 2010).

2. PREFACE

The initial objective of writing this paper stems from a notion that the conversation about the ‘causes of the causes’ that exist behind health disparities has been insufficient within the context of Swedish Public Health. This notion applies especially to the lack of dialogue on the effects of structural racism and discrimination on population health. Meanwhile the link between racism and health has been examined more extensively by researchers in the US and in other English-speaking countries. Additionally, an awareness of the predominantly white demographic of official institutions, organisations and authorities in Sweden raises the question regarding the relevance for examining the role of ‘normative whiteness’ in relation to ‘structural racism’.

Cultural definitions based on skin colour and the resulting stratified classifications differ largely between countries. What is considered as ‘white’ in Sweden may be read completely differently elsewhere within or outside of the country. However, it is noteworthy that references to ‘race’ in this paper are not meant as essentialist, rigid, innate or bio-medical categories. Neither does this paper aim to draw lines between who is white or not. The focus of this thesis lies in examining racialisation (i.e. how race is being made (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Hübinette, et.al., 2012)) and racial stratification (i.e. how this ‘making of’ affects an individual’s health and access to resources in racially hierarchical societies (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Darvishpour & Westin, 2015)).

An existing body of literature suggests a helpful comparison between the physical constructions of ‘race’ and ‘sex’ and the cultural categories of ‘ethnicity and ‘gender’. In other words, the norm of hegemonic masculinity may be contrasted with an existing hegemonic norm of whiteness. Accordingly, there can be different expressions and ways of doing these masculinities as well as ‘whiteness-es’ (SIC). The category of race further exists constantly interrelated with other categories such as nationality, ethnicity, language, citizenship, migration-status, generation, location, sexuality, religion, class, gender, ability, sex and age (Hübinette, et.al., 2012).

In Sweden (and elsewhere in Scandinavia), a considerable controversy exists around the use of ‘race’ as a topic of discussion (Hübinette & Lundström, 2014; Darvishpour & Westin, 2015). Despite this, a number of researchers have proposed that ignoring the meaning of racialised categories further risks ignoring the patterns of inclusion and exclusion based on race, and the actual and material effects of this categorisation on people’s lives: how it affects people’s life-choices, access to resources and thus chances to create a good life in spite of their class, gender or ethnicity (Hübinette, et.al., 2012). Although the existing literature includes contradictory findings about studying ‘race’ as a social position (Darvishpour & Westin, 2015), other debates have claimed that designating words on race and whiteness are what makes it possible to study the normative systems that create unequal allocations of power (Hübinette, et.al., 2012).

Considering this, no researcher remains located outside of or acts in isolation of these normative power systems that exist within and between countries. Hence, I am approaching the themes discussed in this study from my social position as a white, ethnically Finnish migrant in Sweden and as an academically educated, middle-class, queer female.

3. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the connection between socio-economic segregation and segregation along racial and ethnic lines has strengthened in Sweden (Regeringskansliet, 2018). The same trend can be observed within the education system (Vetenskapsrådet, 2014) as well as in the labour and residential markets (Regeringskansliet, 2018). Differences in unemployment between ‘native’- and ‘foreign-born’ adults in Sweden are one of the highest among all OECD countries and the country’s residential segregation patterns are extreme in comparison with other countries within this coalition (Regeringskansliet, 2011). Additionally, the differences in education results between children with ‘Swedish-born’ and ‘foreign-born’ parents are larger than in other comparable countries. Over 90 percent of children with ‘Swedish-born’ parents (as phrased in the report) attain high school competency, whereas the same percentage for children with ‘foreign-born’ parents is considerably lower at 65 percent (Regeringskansliet, 2018). Another noteworthy document is a Swedish government report that discusses the possible future of the country (Regeringskansliet, 2013). This report points out how almost 80 percent of all Swedes rarely or never socialize with people of a non-European origin outside of working life. Furthermore, the country has also received a report from the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), where the UN has expressed its concern over the level of increased racism in Sweden (UN, 2018).

The definitions for ‘Swedish’, ‘native-born’ or ‘foreign-born’ individuals in government reports are nonetheless ambiguous in their aims to define largely heterogenous groups of people, meanwhile the official patterns are still pointing at the increasingly racialised nature of inequalities in Sweden (Hübinette & Lundström, 2014). Observing and identifying the underlying social structures that maintain these persisting inequalities between groups is central for Public Health and for understanding the multiple intersecting reasons for health inequalities (Frizell, 2015; Marmot & Bell, 2012). In spite of this, the discussion about racialised disparities often focuses on the groups most visibly discriminated against, instead of examining the social relations that systematically advantage one group over the others (Doane, 2003).

The field of Critical Whiteness Studies aims to problematise how whiteness (*‘vithetsnormen’* in Swedish) as a social position and global structure advantages the individuals and institutions considered as ‘white’, thus granting them social and economic privileges and reproducing racialised disparities (Doane, 2003). Few studies have investigated whiteness outside of the interpersonal, educational and legal contexts and even fewer have examined its relation with structural racism and social determinants of health. In order to understand the persisting, increasingly racialised disparities, Public Health research and policy makers need to give more attention to the underlying structures – the causes of the causes - that maintain social and health disparities (Darvishpour & Westin, 2015; Viruell-Fuentes, et.al., 2012).

4. BACKGROUND

4.1. Public health and social determinants of health

Reducing the persisting inequalities in health both between and within countries is a growing Public Health concern worldwide (Marmot, 2015). Against the backdrop of constantly increasing socioeconomic segregation along ethnic and racial lines in Sweden (Vetenskapsrådet, 2014; Regeringskansliet, 2018), understanding and explaining racialised disparities can be seen as a central issue for Public Health research (Dressler, et.al. 2005).

According to the definition of the Public Health Agency of Sweden (Folkhälsomyndigheten, 2018) the general mission for Public Health is to help to remove the existing barriers that prevent the entire population from benefiting from good and equal health. Freedom from all forms of segregation and discrimination based on race, ethnicity or skin colour is further considered as a universal human right constituted by the United Nations International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Regeringskansliet, 2006). This European convention on human rights is also embedded in the Swedish law, thus not only underlying the importance of non-discrimination to the Right to Health (OHCHR, 2008), but as constituting discrimination as an illegal act in Sweden (DO, 2008).

The World Health Organization's (WHO) Commission on the Social Determinants of Health defines the social determinants of health (SDH) as "the conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work and age" as well as the "fundamental drivers of these conditions" (WHO, 2008). The term 'social determinants' refers also to the social factors that influence health-related behaviour. Examples of such social determinants are features of neighbourhoods or socioeconomic factors including income, wealth and education. Disparities in SDH are further related to the socio-political characteristics of the society in question and can be observed both as individual life-style choices and as structural factors (Braveman & Gottlieb, 2014).

4.2. Racism as a social determinant of health

There is a large body of literature conceptualising structural racism from different perspectives, but this research has slowly gained position within the scientific medical literature for health professionals. Additionally, despite the increasing interest towards the effects of SDH on health outcomes, the existing literature has commented on an observed reluctance within Public Health research to identify racism as a root cause of racialised health disparities (Bailey, et.al., 2017). On the other hand, racism has been acknowledged to play a central role in the production of racialised health inequalities by scholars examining SDH. According to earlier research, racism can be seen as a central component of producing and reproducing both social and economic disparities and could, therefore, be considered as a fundamental cause of disease (Viruell-Fuentes, et.al., 2012).

Racism intersects with other forms of oppression and marginalisation and manifests itself from day-to-day experiences of microaggressions (Sue, et.al. 2007) to unequal treatment within organisations and institutions. Extensive research has also shown how structural racial discrimination contributes to health inequalities through increasing risk for lower levels of physical and mental health, and poor access to quality health care (Viruell-Fuentes, et.al., 2012; Sue, et.al. 2007; Bailey, et.al. 2017). Stigma, environmental and occupational health disparities, socioeconomic injustice, violence, political exclusion and maladaptive coping behaviours are just a few possible health outcomes related to racism (Bailey, et.al., 2017).

By drawing on the framework of Diedrichsen's model of the social production of disease, WHO (2010) has further conceptualised structural racism in relation to other structural determinants of health (Figure A). This model depicts how social, political and economic powers in the society work to regulate socioeconomic position. These positions in turn shape the stratification of individuals along socioeconomic factors and other factors such as gender - or by the effects of racism. People's location within social hierarchies may further result in affecting their

“determinants of health status” (WHO, 2010), resulting in differential vulnerability, resilience or exposure to conditions affecting health outcomes.

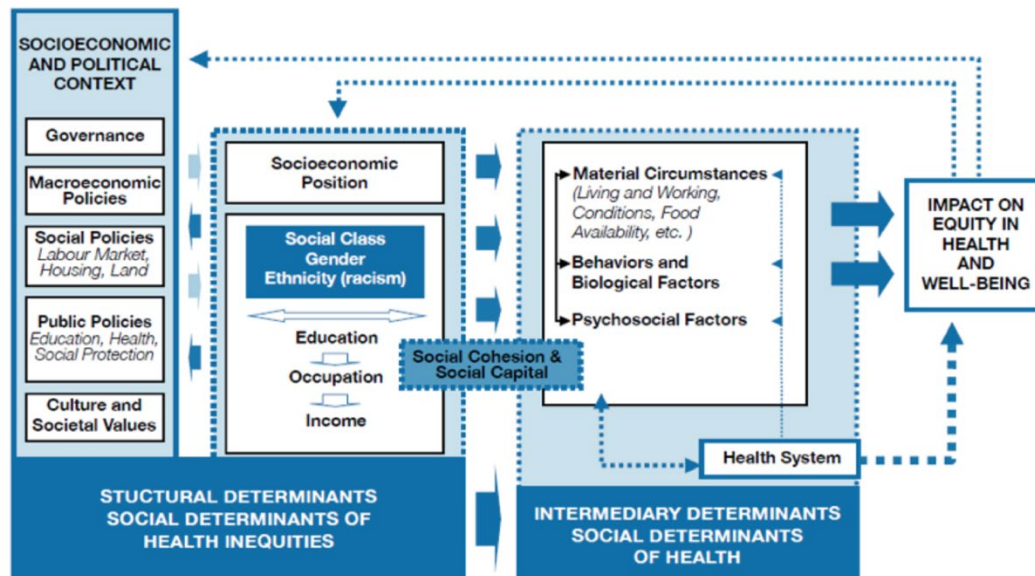


Figure A. WHO's (2010, p. 48) Conceptual Social Determinants of Health- framework.

4.3. Structural racism and discrimination

Multiple definitions of how racism can be explained emerges in the literature. Bonilla-Silva (1997) has problematised this contradiction and suggests finally, that racism can be considered as structural, social, systemic and sociohistorical processes and practices of power that aim to maintain the existing patterns of racialised dominance and subordination. Bonilla-Silva highlights, that in comparison to the more explicit historical racism, the contemporary racism can be defined as increasingly covert, embedded in normal operations of institutions, as avoiding the use of direct racial terminology and as largely invisible to most white people (Bonilla-Silva, 1997).

Within the scope of SDH, racism can be contextualised as racial stratification, which through hierarchical processes organises individuals with differential access to resources in the society and effects social relations through the process of racialisation (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Darvishpour & Westin, 2015). Racialisation can further be defined as a process where racial meanings or relationships are extended to social practices or groups without them having an inherent relation to racialised classifications (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). Hence, in Swedish this process is often referred to as ‘rasifiering’, i.e. the act of creating race (Hübinette, et.al., 2012).

In the literature, racialised discrimination is sometimes contextualised within structural and institutional locations with a few distinctions. In theory, institutional discrimination makes it possible to identify an agent (an institution or organisation) or a juridical person responsible for the discriminatory action. Structural discrimination, on the other hand, is seen as embedded in the society and located in the principles behind decision-making and how the society itself is organised (Darvishpour & Westin, 2015). These macro-level processes, ideologies and practices cause to produce and reproduce unequal access to life opportunities, SDH and power

along racial and ethnic lines. The main challenge for locating structural discrimination is to problematise and identify the structures that possibly lead to discriminatory consequences (Darvishpour & Westin, 2015; Viruell-Fuentes, et.al., 2012). Nevertheless, exposure to racial discrimination has been seen to act as a pervasive stressor in social interactions throughout all socioeconomic levels – even when the discrimination cannot be pointed out as a conscious intention (Bailey, et.al. 2017).

Darvishpour and Westin (2015) describe how structural discrimination in Sweden has created a system where economic and social rights are reserved for some, thus becoming conditional for ‘others’. This occurs through categorisation, stigmatisation and demonising of certain groups both within and outside the welfare-system. This too can be described by the Swedish social security system’s foundation on occupation and employment. In the case of unemployment due to structural discrimination in the Swedish labour market, discrimination risks being transferred to the scope of welfare-provisions through preventing access to social security. Unemployment can further be considered as a pathway for increasing the risk of other outcomes that negatively affect the individual’s health.

Furthermore, Darvishpour and Westin (2015) have highlighted that discrimination should always be described by the person who has been the target of discriminating acts in order to keep the analysis focused on the consequences – and not the reasons - of discrimination. The structural element of discrimination works, however, to obscure the workings of racism and may make it difficult for even the persons experiencing unjust treatment to identify the actions as systematic discrimination. That is, because being able to identify discrimination can also be seen as a learned process (Viruell-Fuentes, et.al., 2012; Mulinari, 2014; Ahmed, 2012).

Considering an alternative perspective on the increasing structural discrimination towards racially stratified groups has been suggested in the earlier literature (Darvishpour & Westin, 2015). According to the authors Darvishpour and Westin, it may be useful for researchers to turn their gaze towards the persons sitting in the positions of power and therefore responsible for the racially stratified minorities marginalisation and possibilities for action. Further research examining the reasons behind structural racial and ethnic discrimination is needed (Viruell-Fuentes, et.al., 2012) – a fact that has been further highlighted by other authors in relation to the segregated housing and labour markets in Sweden (Bursell, 2015).

4.4. Whiteness and structural racism

Whiteness can be defined as a socially and historically constructed category and a position within racialised social structures. In the literature it can be seen as being referred to both as an individual identity and a social structure, that constantly redefines itself and its group boundaries in order to maintain the most dominant position available at any given time. It is often described as a ‘transparent’ or ‘invisible’ racial identity (mainly for those inhabiting it) that provides members of this group social, economic and material privileges, and freedom from consequences at the expense of less dominant groups (Doane, 2003). In Swedish normative whiteness is more commonly referred to as ‘vithetsnormen’ (Bremer, 2010).

The denominator ‘white people’ in this paper is used to describe a person or groups racialised as white and benefiting of their embodied whiteness or ability to ‘pass as white’ in certain situations (Hübinette, et.al. 2012). Furthermore, the phrase ‘people/persons of colour (POC)’ is used in this thesis to describe persons or groups not racialised as ‘white’ (Eddo-Lodge, 2018).

These definitions are inherently problematic and highly contextual and should be both understood as fluid, contextual and socially constructed social categorisations.

Teresa Guess (2006) points out in *The Social Construction of Whiteness: Racism by Intent, Racism by Consequence*, how the research on racism has discussed more the positions of marginalised others than the role of ‘whiteness as the norm’ in maintaining social disparities and privilege. Due to its normative and ‘invisible’ position, whiteness usually remains unexamined also within the research on health disparities and the underlying causes (Viruell-Fuentes, et.al. 2012). Sara Ahmed (2012) suggests, however, in her book *On being included* how recognising the institutionalism of whiteness should be seen as an equally important goal for working against racism as recognising institutional and structural racism. This suggestion relates further to the consideration of studying whiteness as one of the underlying reasons for social and health disparities.

The broadness of vocabulary and terminology used in studies examining whiteness (e.g. ‘White Privilege’, ‘White Supremacy’, ‘white dominance’, ‘white culture’) makes the mapping of previous studies challenging. The topic has emerged increasingly in relation to most sociological fields especially in the US. Most centrally, whiteness has been studied within educational and pedagogical studies as a tool for antiracism, often through increasing white students’ and teachers’ awareness of their “white identity” or “White Privilege” (Warren, 1999; Leonardo, 2002; Yeung, et.al., 2007; McIntosh, 2008).

In Sweden these questions have not yet established a position within the academic research field (Hübinette, et.al., 2012). Some researchers identifying with the field have examined whiteness in relation to various themes. Hübinette & Tigervall (2009) and Lind (2012) have studied ‘Swedishness’ in relation to whiteness through the experienced racism of transnationally adopted Swedes of colour. Whiteness has also been researched in relation to islamophobia and to the constructed image of Swedish/Nordic whiteness (Horsti, 2017) and through studying the Swedish Muslims’ experiences of needing to ‘perform Swedish whiteness’ by choosing Swedish-passing names (Khosravi, 2012). Additionally, three anthologies studying whiteness in relation to racism in Sweden have been published and edited by Hübinette, et.al. (2012), Tobias Hübinette (2017) Hübinette and Wasniowski (2018).

A comprehensive literature search revealed relatively few studies that examined whiteness in relation to Social Medicine. To date, some studies have examined how whiteness affects the health of whites (Malat, Mayorga-Gallo & Williams, 2018) and Arab Americans (Abdulrahim, et.al., 2012), and how the ‘colour-blind’ attitudes of white doctors and nurses affect racial inequality in health care in the US (Malat, et.al., 2010). To date, there has been little discussion about the impact of normative whiteness on structural racism or on maintaining social inequalities within Public Health research on the causes of the causes. Interestingly, much of the research in other fields has tended to focus on interpersonal rather than structural relations. This perspective has been, however, criticised by scholars who point out that white people’s increased awareness of their inhabited whiteness does not automatically lead to antiracist behaviour (Ahmed, 2004), which leads us back to the structural causes of the causes behind health inequalities.

4.5. Scope of the problem in Public Health

To create social environments that provide and secure every individual’s equal prospects for living a good and healthy life is an over-arching and comprehensive goal for Public Health

(Folkhälsomyndigheten, 2018). A Public Health perspective further aims to reduce the gaps or disparities in health, participation and provisions between different groups in the society (Marmot, 2012). Besides Public Health research and work, also other domains affecting population health such as public debates, political decision-making and legislative settlements are included within the scope of Public Health (Munthe, 2009). Hence, Public Health cannot be seen as an isolated institute separated and situated outside of the society's social hierarchies and unequal allocations of power. Observing and identifying the underlying causes of the causes for disparities may further support the Public Health effort in reducing and preventing health disparities.

In spite of other intersectional aspects such as gender inequalities having established their position within Swedish Public Health research, to date no earlier studies were identified that examined the relationship between normative whiteness, structural racism and social determinants of health as causes of the causes for health disparities. A full discussion of the complex historical and socio-political relations between these factors lies, however, beyond the scope of this study. Thus, the focus of this literature-based study is to preliminarily explore how whiteness can be identified in institutional and structural contexts in relation to structural racism.

5. AIM OF THIS STUDY

The aim of this explorative literature-based study is to research how whiteness manifests itself in structural and institutional contexts, and to discuss what information it can provide for understanding inequalities in social determinants of health (SDH). Firstly, this study will aim to explore the processes through which whiteness can be identified in relation to unequal and racist structures. Secondly, the study will bring up intersectional perspectives that are used to problematise whiteness. Lastly, the implications of this study's results will be discussed in relation to Public Health practice.

Research questions:

- How does whiteness manifest itself in the identified literature?
- Through which intersectional perspectives is whiteness problematised?

6. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

6.1. Intersectionality theory

Intersectionality theory stems from the works of Black American scholars in the US. These feminist writers challenged the claim of a universal gendered experience by highlighting that black women's experiences were – besides gender – also shaped by race and class (Viruell-Fuentes, et.al. 2012). Intersectionality theory strives to conceptualise the interrelatedness of systems of oppression and how they work together to produce and reproduce inequalities in the society. In other words, an analysis merely based only on gender, race, ethnicity, age, ability, citizenship or class risks to missing the complexity of social structures and inter-group differences as these social positions are experienced simultaneously (Crenshaw, 1991). In contemporary Public Health research intersectionality theory has established its position in

providing complexity for understanding the underlying reasons to health disparities through reflecting on unequal social hierarchies (Hankivsky, 2012).

According to Darvishpour and Westin (2015), intersectionality is a central tool for understanding reigning power hierarchies. The authors note that the theory becomes especially central in relation to segregation, discrimination and alienation, and makes it possible for an analysis to reach outside of singular models of explanation. Intersectionality also helps to shed light on the attitudes of the dominating groups in the process of creating unequal power balances.

6.2. Critical Race and Whiteness Theory

In contemporary research Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Critical Whiteness Theory (CWT) are often put together and referred to as Critical Race and Whiteness Studies (Hübinette, 2012). There are several similarities between CRT and CWT and it can be argued that the theories should not be separated from each other. Nevertheless, these theories can both be seen to aim to dismantle racism and discrimination from slightly different perspectives. In order to examine whiteness in relation to structural racism through the theoretical framework provided by CWT it is, however, crucial to understand its origins based on the scholarly works of CRT (Ahmed, 2004).

In the aftermath of various civil rights movements in the US in the late 1980s a new field of research was initiated among African, Asian, Muslim, Arab, American Indian and Latin American scholars in the country. Studies under the name of Critical Race Studies or Critical Race Theory (CRT) aimed to draw attention upon the fact that the anti-discrimination laws established after the abolishment of formal segregation and discrimination in the US had not changed the existing racialised inequalities in the country (Hübinette, 2012).

Critical Race Theory is based on three themes. Firstly, it considers racism as a usual way in which society functions and affects the daily lives of many people of colour (POC), not as a practise that deviates from the functioning of a supposed default non-racist society (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). With this, the theory implies racism as embedded in the social structures, practices and institutions of that society. Secondly, it discerns the position of whiteness functioning as a social default in western societies - especially in the US and in Europe. Notably, this position provides various benefits to those who inhabit it. This can - according to CRT scholars (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017) - further be seen as an explanatory factor to the lack of interest in dismantling racism in large parts of society. Lastly, CRT views race as a socially constructed and reproduced category (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Hence, people with common origins may share resembling physical features, but these factors are completely outweighed by the features all human beings have in common. This means that the construction of race also has nothing to do with an individual's personality, intelligence or moral behaviour. A central interest in Critical Racial Studies is the predominantly white societies' tendencies to ignore these scientific truths and to adapt them for its causes when convenient (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

Also, the acknowledgement of "the unique voice of colour" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Doane, 2003) or "centering the margins" (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010) is essential for Critical Race Theory. This means that despite of the heterogeneity of histories and experiences among POC, the racialisation, exotification and fetishising experienced by POC hardly exists in the

realities lived through white bodies. According to this view, a minority status provides a certain competency and authenticity to speak about race and racism in a way that is able to challenge the master narratives in a society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Doane, 2003).

Around the same time another research field emerged that was designated as CWT. This field was mainly initiated among white anti-racist scholars in the US, who endeavoured to participate in the civil rights movement, and to research and critically reflect upon what belonging to the white majority in a racist society meant (Hübinette, 2012). CWT aims to shift the focus of analysis on racism to problematising the practices and the identity of the dominant group instead of discussing the differences and ‘problems’ targeted on the racialised ‘others’ (Doane, 2003). In other words, the theory does not study the white people’s lived experiences of whiteness (Ahmed, 2007), but rather the social construction of whiteness and the structural impact of white people on unequal intergroup relations (Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

Critical Whiteness Theory shares its two central theorems with CRT. Firstly, it complies with the view of ‘race’ and therefore ‘whiteness’ as socially constructed categories which cannot be fully understood outside of racialised social systems and relations. Second, it aims to study the invisibility of whiteness and its embeddedness in the structures of the society. According to Doane (2003), the construction of whiteness as the “unexamined centre” originates from a socio-politically and numerically dominant group’s position in Western societies. Having historically white majority in major institutions has shaped the understandings of race and ethnicity towards concentrating on the characteristics of minority groups instead of whiteness. Focusing on ‘differences’ or ‘social problems’ of immigration and in constructing the racial ‘other’ has further made it possible for the white population to claim the social and cultural major narratives. Due to this normalisation of whiteness as the ‘default’ perspective, white persons are rarely experiencing discrimination, hostility or disadvantage due to their skin colour and are rarely compelled to feel socially and culturally ‘different’. Consequently, this leads to white people having a lower degree of awareness about race and their racial and ethnic identity both as individuals and as a group than members of other racial-ethnic groups. Resultingly, a large body of research suggests that whiteness is a “hidden identity” for the most part of the population racialised as white (Doane, 2003). Geographically and historically there are also as many forms of whiteness as there are of masculinity or heteronormativity. Additionally, whiteness can be seen as affecting the norm even in areas with no white people in proximity (Hübinette, et.al., 2012). This can be exemplified by observing the literature on the vast beauty-industry of largely unhealthy skin-bleaching products both in African, Asian and Latin American nations, and diasporas (Hunter, 2011). Skin-whitening cosmetics are used to achieve lighter skin-tones and increased social respectability achieved through whiteness (Mire, 2001).

CRT and CWT both, however, share the notion that the function of critical studies should not be merely to understand social hierarchies, but also to transform how society itself is organised (Doane, 2003; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Despite of the increasing amount of research projects using either CRT or CWT as their theoretical framework, these theories have faced criticism especially regarding their inability to face intersectional issues (Hylton, 2012) as related to other factors such as class (Hartman, 2004). More specifically, CWT has been critiqued to be “just another tool” for white people and researchers to purify themselves from guilt about racialised issues (McWhorter, 2005) and to include themselves in racialised discussions (Doane, 2003). Additionally, CWT has been pointed out to risk diminishing the historical struggles of the Jewish population just based on their whiteness (Berkovits, 2018).

7. METHOD

This literature review has been conducted along the guidelines of a systematic literature review in order to map out the current state of research in relation to the following questions: a) how whiteness manifests itself in structural and institutional contexts, and b) which intersectional aspects are used to problematize whiteness. The framework for conducting a literature-based study is presented in the book *Dags för uppsatts* (Friberg, 2017). Clear inclusion and exclusion criteria for the literature to be included, search methods and a clearly formulated aim are essential for this method. All articles corresponding to the aim of the study were included and the quality of the studies was reviewed systematically and analysed. The results of this literature review stem from the material collected through a systematic search from included databases and literature located through manual searches. Lastly, the results are discussed with the support of a chosen theoretical framework, including intersectionality theory and Critical Race and Whiteness Theory. In addition to empirical scientific articles, theoretical and argumentative articles have also been included in order to provide a broad basis of material for the analysis.

7.1. Data collection method

After a preliminary literature search and review of the identified material, relevant keywords were identified. Keywords that framed the studied phenomenon and terms relevant for connecting the field to Public Health were identified from the preliminary searches and combined together with the Boolean operators “AND”, “OR” and “NOT” (Forsberg & Wengström, 2008). The main keywords were restricted to be found either in the title or the abstract of the articles in order to keep the search results focused on the study objective. Systematic searches were conducted in databases Scopus and ProQuest. The searches resulted in **a total of 10** articles (Table A.).

In order to provide relevant knowledge based on the Swedish context, an additional search with names of two Swedish Critical Race and Whiteness Studies scholars “Tobias Hübinette OR Catrin Lundström” was conducted. The choice of scholars was based on the preliminary searches and the previous knowledge of the author. This further search resulted in 15 articles and after reviewing the articles based on the original inclusion criteria, one additional article was included in the study.

After database searches, a manual search was conducted. This search was based on the reference lists of the included articles resulted in identifying an article collection called *White Out – The Continuing Significance of Racism* (Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003). The book appeared in multiple reference lists in the identified literature and was hence included as an additional literary source. The manual search resulted in two additional articles that fulfilled the decided inclusion criteria and were located in the article collection mentioned above (Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Finally, 12 articles were included in the literature review (see Appendix A).

Database	Scopus	ProQuest Social sciences	Scopus	Scopus
Date	13-04-2019	13-04-2019	25-04-2019	26-04-2019
Keywords	TITLE-ABS-KEY ("white*" OR "whiteness") AND ALL ("whiteness" OR "critical whiteness" OR "whiteness studies" OR "white privilege" AND "racism" OR "discrimination" OR "racial prejudice" OR "bias" AND "Socioeconomic factors" OR "standards of living" OR "living standards" OR "inequalities" OR "inequality" OR "socioeconomic" OR "Policy" OR "policies" AND "institution*" OR "organization*" OR "structure*" AND NOT "education" OR "school" OR "pedagogy")	Same search words	(TITLE-ABS-KEY ("whiteness")) AND ALL ("critical whiteness studies" OR "critical whiteness theory" OR "critical whiteness" OR "whiteness studies" OR "white privilege" OR "white supremacy" AND "policy" OR "policies" AND "institution*" OR "organization*" OR "structure*" AND NOT "education" OR "school" OR "sport" OR "pedagogy")	AUTH ("tobias hübinette" OR "catrin lundström")
Limits	-English -Exclude education, pedagogy, school, philosophy, history, theology, medical studies and interventions, interracial relationships, black-white differences, historical articles, articles focusing on a specific political event, Australian & South African apartheid	Same as previous	Same as previous	Same as previous
Number of articles	183	328	56	15
Number after excluded by title	77	72	13	5
Number after excluded by abstract	42	18	6	3
Number after reviewed full-texts	Not available, not relevant for the aim: 38 excluded	Not available, not relevant for the aim: 16 excluded	Not available, not relevant for the aim: 3 excluded	Not available, not relevant for the aim: 2 excluded
Number of chosen articles	6	2	1	1
Articles identified through a manual search	2	0	0	0
Number after fully reviewed texts	8	2	1	1
Total number	8	2	1	1

Table A. The data collection process

7.2. Selection criteria

In order to identify literature specifically relevant for the aim of the study, the literature search was further focused by following refined inclusion and exclusion criteria. Firstly, articles were deemed to be included or excluded based on the relevance of the article titles (i.e. including notions of ‘whiteness’ as a central theme). Secondly the abstracts of the selected articles were reviewed according to inclusion/exclusion criteria. Lastly, the full texts of selected articles were examined. Articles where free full-texts were not available or did not match the inclusion criteria were excluded.

The majority of the articles identified through the initial database searches were of North American context. Three articles were identified that discussed whiteness in a European context outside of Scandinavia. To provide an adequate point of reference for the study in a Nordic socio-political context, two additional searches were conducted. The first of these searches was conducted by further focusing the original keywords, and the second by searching specifically authors known for studying the chosen field in a Swedish context.

Articles focusing primarily on individual-level interventions were excluded, due to the existing literature highlighting the dangers of centralising white identity and noting that raising individual self-awareness about white identity or the privileges of whiteness does not necessarily lead to anti-racist behaviour or actions (Ahmed, 2004). Therefore, autoethnographic articles were also excluded. A larger body of research was identified that focused on group-based studies and interventions in an educational setting, focusing on studying awareness of whiteness as a pedagogical method against racism. Articles either focusing on school-aged children and youth or conducted in the context of educational institutions were excluded due to the vast literature discussing studying whiteness as a pedagogical tool. Using the same guidelines, articles discussing interpersonal relations between perceived groups and in forms of transnational adoption or interracial relationships were not included. There is also a wide array of research on structural discrimination based on race and ethnicity, racist attitudes, effects of racism on health and disparities between differentiated racialised populations. Studies discussing these themes without critical whiteness as a standpoint were excluded. These limitations were based on the findings of the preliminary literature search. Due to the relative novelty and heterogeneity of the field, no specific time-frame was defined for the search.

Criteria of inclusion	Criteria of exclusion
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Studies published in scientific journals • Peer-reviewed • Free full-text available • English language • Context of OECD-countries • Adult study population • Focus on social inequalities falling within the frame of social determinants of health (SDH) • Articles discussing whiteness in an institutional, organisational or structural context 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White identity only in an individual context • Outside of OECD-countries • Study population younger than 18-years-old • Educational or pedagogy context • Context of South African apartheid or Australian indigenous • Non-social work or SDH-related fields such as geography, arts, specific political events, history, philosophy, theology • Transnational adoption or interracial relationships • Disparities between differentiated racialised populations • Ethnic and racial discrimination and racism studies without the standpoint of whiteness

Only articles where the analysis was situated in the social and political context of OECD-countries were included in order to keep the cultural prerequisites as transferrable to the Swedish context as possible. Additionally, articles focusing on South African apartheid and *White Australian Policies* or discrimination towards the indigenous population of the country were excluded due to their historical and socio-cultural specificity, and to the author’s lack of knowledge on these topics. Lastly, because of the current literature review’s Public Health approach, articles discussing whiteness within fields such as arts, sports, geography, specific political events, history or philosophy were excluded.

7.3. Quality appraisal

The quality appraisal of the selected 12 articles was conducted as following; firstly, in order to pertain a good scientific quality for the chosen material, only peer-reviewed articles were included, and secondly, the quality appraisal for the included qualitative studies was performed based on the guidelines of the COREQ check-list made by Tong et. al (Tong, Sainsbury & Graig, 2007) and Critical Appraisal Skills Programmes checklist for qualitative studies (CASP, 2019).

7.4. Method of analysis

The objective of the analysis was to identify possible different ways in which whiteness manifests itself in relation to structural and institutional contexts, as well as examining if whiteness is being contrasted with other intersectional perspectives.

The analysis began with carefully reading the included articles multiple times with the aim to create a sense of the whole of the material. Subsequently, meaning units were delineated from the articles according to the specific aim of the study. The meaning units were further reviewed in order to determine code groups and then organised after similarities, differences and re-emerging patterns into subgroups. The analysis was conducted after Giorgi's psychological phenomenological analysis due to the procedure's suitability with different kinds of qualitative data (Malterud, 2012).

8. RESULTS

Appendix A presents an overview of the 12 articles included in the results and the final literature-based study. Henceforth the included articles will be referred to as the individual reference numbers assigned to each article in the summary table (See Appendix A). Further, the results of this study will be presented as an overview of the main themes identified in the literature in relation to the study objective. After this, the results will be analysed against the backdrop of the chosen theoretical frameworks of Critical Race and Whiteness Studies and intersectionality-theory.

Of the 12 included articles four were empirical studies (5, 7, 10, 11). Two of these were based on data derived from ethnographic research (10, 11). One article was a qualitative interview analysis (7) and one based on a grounded theory approach (5). The remaining eight articles were non-empirical argumentative and theoretical articles (1-4, 6, 8, 9, 12) with one being a report based on the authors' experiences from field work (1). The majority of the articles were set in the socio-political context of the US (1-7). One article was published in the US, but studied the French socio-political context (8). Further articles examining the European context were situated in the UK (9), the Netherlands (10), Finland (11) and Sweden (12). Half of the articles discussed whiteness in institutional and organisational contexts mainly at workplaces (1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 11). The other six articles were examining the theme in relation to national and local structures (3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12).

The results section below firstly describes the two main themes 'Structural whiteness' and 'Visible and invisible whiteness' identified in the literature. Both of the main themes are further divided into sub-themes describing the topics in detail. Each sub-theme includes quotes to

exemplify the identified relevant content. Lastly, the results will highlight the intersectional perspectives discussed in the analysed articles and present each of them separately.

8.1. STRUCTURAL WHITENESS

8.1.1. Definitions of ‘desirable’

In multiple studies the construct of whiteness was generally described as centring different qualities deemed as ‘desirable’ (1, 2, 5-12). Five of the articles discussed whiteness in relation to organisational cultures within workplaces (1, 2, 6, 8, 9) and described whiteness as centring the definition of “professionalism”. This culture was described to express itself by associating “professionalism” with whiteness (2) and thus identifying employees of colour less likely as possible candidates for leadership positions (9), “less qualified” (6), or as the underlying definitions of which emotions were acceptable for sharing within the workplace (1). Whiteness was further said to construct also the characteristics of a “good worker/colleague” and “the right career development” (8). An example from a US report on racial equity-educators’ experiences on working with normative white culture (1) described this as follows:

“ it [Whiteness] operates in even more subtle ways, by actually defining what “normal” is – and likewise, what “professional”, “effective,” or even “good” is. In turn, white culture also defines what is not good, “at risk,” or “unsustainable”.” (Gulati-Partee & Potapchuk, 2014. p. 27)

In a study on white parents’ narratives of school and neighbourhood choices in the US (7), the communities and schools described as “good”, “safe”, “nicer” or having “decent, middle-class values” were found to, at least in part, reflect areas with predominantly white populations. Conversely, an increasing racial and ethnic diversity in the neighbourhoods was considered as “deterioration” that lowered the monetary value of the properties in the area (7).

Three articles (2, 5, 11) described this ‘desirability’ as white persons’ monitoring the usage of non-native languages (5, 11) or English being spoken with a strong accent (2). Whiteness connected to the construction of respective nationality was also posed as a reference point for an acceptable appearance in French (8), American (2), Swedish (12), Finnish (10) and Dutch (11) contexts. In the article situated in France this was exemplified by suggesting that, unlike being a person of colour, being white does not create comparison due to its normative position (8).

8.1.2. Alternative racialised vocabulary

“Language of liberal colour-blindness” (Hübinette & Lundström, 2011) as a quality related to whiteness was a re-emerging theme in the literature. In a structural context, whiteness was described as national policies denying the existence of race and thus paving the way for racism in the country in both the American and European contexts (4-6, 8, 10, 12). On an institutional level, whiteness was seen as manifesting in white people’s inability and reluctance to see racism as embedded in institutional practices (5, 7). Instead, white people were described to isolate cases of racial segregation or discrimination as individual incidents (6). Two studies suggested that the ‘colour-blind’ discourse was used by white people to attack policies constructed for enhancing racial equality, and to claim that such policies were unequal (6) and only re-centred racial differences (5).

'Colour-blindness' was also referred to as white people's "'polite' language of race" (6, 8, 11, 12), where non-white, racialised issues in the society were described through alternative vocabulary such as "immigrant" (5) or "foreign" (8), referring to the persons language or accent (5) or through constructing the racialised 'other' by refusing to talk about race in the first place (5, 6). The four European-context studies suggested a contradiction, by discussing both the 'polite' racialised vocabulary in public policies and institutions, and the openly racist public discourse accepted to be expressed by white politicians (8, 12) and by the media (10, 11). Examples of alternative racialised vocabulary and language in relation to whiteness is presented in the following quotations:

"Various scholars have pointed out that racism in the United States has become increasingly covert and institutionalized, void of racial terminology and invisible to most whites." (Moras, 2010. p. 233)

"In the [French legal] literature, there is no real reference to race, but this 'unraced' literature implicitly represents whiteness as the norm." (Jugé & Perez, 2006. p. 193-4)

"Unless people are pushed to define these terms concretely, it may be possible for them to create a nonracist presentation that rationalizes beliefs and behaviors." (Shapiro & Johnson, 2003. p. 185)

"We 'lack an elaborate language to talk about those who oppress – how they feel about, think about it. Missing the puzzle of domination is a reflexive mechanism for understanding how we are all involved in the dirty process of racializing and gendering others, limiting who they are and who they can become.'" (Pierce, 2003. p. 68)

8.1.3. White segregation

Four articles (5-8, 12) discussed racial segregation between populations of white people and people of colour in the context of the US (5, 6), France (8), and Sweden (12), where in the latter the pattern of racial segregation was stated to be one of the most extreme amongst Western countries. In the French context Jugé and Perez highlighted white people's lower unemployment rates compared with French black people or French of Arab descent in general metropolitan areas (8). Also, the American culture of paid domestic work was stated to be racially segregated to the extent that predominantly upper-class white employers were seen advertising positions in newspapers in suburban areas predominantly inhabited by POC (5). Another American study stated, that despite many white middle-class Americans not being against policies that promote racial equality in the labour market, studies have shown that the same group of Americans chooses to work in racially segregated occupations, hire mostly white employees (when given the chance to do so), and to live in predominantly white neighbourhoods (6).

Results from an interview study by Shapiro and Johnson (7) also reported that many white parents have openly considered moving to predominantly or exclusively white communities (7). In contrast, the same study reported that white people often perceived residential segregation as "natural" and therefore as "acceptable", and described how "racial segregation just happened" (7). The choice of neighbourhood was also argued by the location of better schools or properties with higher values. The same article suggested that due to the structure of an unequal and racially segregated school system, the parents were rewarded for acting upon

their racist perceptions by being rewarded with better education for their children (7). This claim is exemplified in the following quote:

*“Freda [A white parent]: The thing is that I really, really think that racism is horrible, and I would like to be part of the solution. I know that sounds very cliché. But I’m not going to put my family at risk to be part of the solution.
[...][Authors comment:] And most likely, despite of their [white families] desire to be part of what they themselves identify as “the problem” of racism and educational segregation – and in it they will reap the benefits of superior community resources for their families and superior schools for their children.[...] These choices are made within an arena that is rigidly stratified and socially structured to reward those in advantaged positions for making decisions that will further their advantage, and similarly situate their children.” (Shapiro & Johnson, 2003. p. 184)*

The quote above also reflects white people’s attitudes on anti-racism which was presented in three European articles (8, 9, 12). According to these articles, the advantageous position of whiteness manifests itself through the reluctance of white people to move from words to actions with regard to anti-racist policies in organisations (9) and on national legislations (8). A report on racial equity education in organisations administering funds stated that the same tendency can be seen as an interest in issues related to racial and social equity outside but not inside the walls of an organisation (1)

8.1.4. White leadership

In six articles (1-4, 9, 11) whiteness was reviewed as the prevalence of white people as policy makers and in leadership positions in multicultural societies. In his article Asumah stated how racism, in order to function, needs a control group and a group exercising power over the subjugated group (3). Asumah (3) together with Siebers (11) and Gulati-Partee & Potapchuk (1) argued that due to the historical domination of white people in the Western societies and its’ institutions, this accumulated privilege has become to constitute who or what gets rewarded and who’s voice gets heard. This structural position of whiteness was further suggested to cause white policy makers to perceive their position and decisions (when considered as not necessarily representative of the target population) as ‘normal’ to them as ‘just doing their job’ (3, 11). In the British context structural whiteness and predominantly white leadership, according to Lowe (9), could be possibly identified as Eurocentric thinking and centrality of white middle-class values, attitudes, behaviours and beliefs constituting the organisational culture. The same study suggested along with Wingfield & Alstom that predominantly white leadership might create a norm of a preferred leadership-stereotype, which further creates a glass ceiling and prevents POC being perceived as potential candidates for leadership positions (2, 9). One US? American study also suggested how vertical racial segregation of whiteness in the workplace manifests itself as a physical division to white spaces, by dividing separate recess-rooms for ‘low-level workers’ (such as staff responsible for cleaning), where representation of POC was observed as higher than in leadership positions (2).

8.2. VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE WHITENESS

8.2.1. Whiteness, whites and denying racism

Both US? American (5, 6) and European articles (8, 10-12) discussed the commonality of ‘colour-blind’ language or alternative racial vocabulary that was considered as more polite or

correct among white people while discussing matters related to race. Other articles reported white people feeling discomfort about engaging in discussions about skin colour (1, 5) or experiencing the topic as insignificant to them (11). A Dutch study (11) and two US? American studies (4, 6) also stated that white people did not believe that structural advantage due to their skin colour had anything to do with their success in the labour market.

Three American articles (1, 4, 7) discussed the tendency of white people to distance themselves emotionally if accused of racist consequences of their actions. This was exemplified in the use of language by white people referring to ‘I’ when it came to their own achievements (4, 6, 11), referring to individual qualities when it came to racialised persons experiences with racism (6, 11) and by referring to ‘we’ (1) or ‘the culture’ (11) instead of ‘I’ when it came to the causes of racism (1). Pierce’s interview study (6) discussed the phenomenon as exemplified in the following quote:

“Racing for innocence? Racists for innocence. [He laughs.] It’s like they are just working like crazy to convince me that they aren’t racist when they know they have done something wrong. But they won’t admit they’ve done anything wrong. You know, “Who, me? I’m not a racist.” So, they’re racing to be the most liberal, most hip, non-racist white guy.”
(Pierce, 2003. p. 53)

Three interview studies (5, 7, 10) discussed, however, how the interviewers experienced that the interviewed white persons engaged in more explicitly racist statements due to their skin colour (5, 7) and the interviewer’s perceived ethnicity being similar to theirs (10):

“I am a white woman, like the participants, and through the interviews I realized that this mattered. The women I interviewed made statements and shared information they most likely would not have shared had they not perceived my own racial and class position similar to theirs.” (Moras, 2010. p. 238)

A recurring theme in the literature was that of white people’s different strategies to avoid racial conflict. Two American articles suggested that in order to avoid racial conflict or issues, white people chose to stay in predominantly white spaces, groups and neighbourhoods (4, 7). Engaging in different kind of emotional responses, such as shutting down in front of the uncomfortable feelings of “guilt” (1), “anger” or “fear” (4) and “anxieties” (9) or avoiding listening to the experiences of racism expressed by persons of colour (1, 5, 9, 11) were discussed in the articles, further exemplified by a quote from Liu (4):

“White men and White women expect to be constantly protected from racial distress, and when they are not protected, their anger, fear, and guilt (i.e. White Fragility) may be activated with a modest amount of racial distress because White men and White women are unaccustomed to these “stress-inducing situations”. (Liu, 2017. p. 354)

In his article Liu (4) also suggested a possibility of gendered differences in acceptable emotional responses to accusations of racist behaviour among white people and states, that men may react with anger or aggressiveness and women by emotionally distancing themselves. Additionally, Shapiro & Johnson (7) discussed whiteness as white people’s ability to ‘police the boundaries of whiteness’ and to delineate who can or cannot be white as they deem suitable through cultural markers such as ‘Europeanness’. Similarly, both a British study (9) and an American study (6) discussed white people’s ability to choose whether or not they see race:

“88 percent of the respondents classed themselves as ‘White British’, found that one in three British people admitted to ‘regularly making comments of being involved in discussions which could be considered racist’ (Reilly, 2012). Almost 40 percent confessed to using the phrase ‘I’m not racist, but...’ when discussing race issues.” (Lowe, 2013. p. 151)

“In the legal department, some of the white lawyers complained about “those unqualified clerks in the file room” who, as they observed, “just happened to be black or Latino [or female].” (Pierce, 2003. p. 57)

8.2.2. Visible whiteness

In contrast to white people’s denial of racism or race as a meaningful factor, the experiences of differential treatment by POC compared to the white population was present throughout the whole literature - both in American and European contexts. POC were stated as having their rights denied (1), being targets of racial profiling by the police (3, 8), being scapegoated for social problems in the society (8) or having difficulties in getting employed despite their nationality (4, 12). The following quote illustrates these differing perspectives on structural racism:

“On the other hand, Randall, for whom the majority of interactions have been with these white men, sees a pattern in their behaviour, a practise and a disavowal of everyday racism. What he experiences as systematic and unrelenting forms of indifference, derision, and exclusion from white lawyers insist are isolated or individual events. Analytically, Randall’s story is a sociological one about reiteration of whiteness through practise, a doing that is often unwritten in its reproduction of power and privilege, while theirs is a liberal individualist one, invoking Randall’s failure to live up to its ideals.” (Pierce, 2003. p. 66)

Wingfield and Alston (2) described in their article how employees of colour tended to be positioned in charge of diversity-related positions, given less responsibility, expected to act as negotiators between predominantly white organisations and constitutions with predominantly racialised staff members, and were given less credence for their achievements. Both Wingfield and Alston (2) and Lowe (9) stated that because of the normative white culture, POC had a harder time getting promoted to leadership positions. Employees of colour reported also in a Dutch interview study (11), how they felt the need to make an extra effort in order to be perceived as “professional” or “good colleagues” in the workplace, how they had to constantly guess what was expected of them in order to “fit in” to the white culture and how they were “tested” on their ability to pass these definitions by their co-workers. An American interview study also reported the experiences of POC of being tested for their “professionalism” and abilities more than their white co-workers (6).

Feeling an expectation to assimilate to the normative whiteness experienced by POC was voiced in five articles (1, 2, 8, 9, 11). In five articles (2, 8, 10, 11, 12) the need to behave, act, dress or look like the white majority in order to pass as their respective nationalities in the dominant discourse was expressed by POC as well as the white Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland. A French article (8) described how this act of assimilating to the majority white culture also often requires, as the price of citizenship, surrendering of one’s ethnic community and cultural heritage. Lowe (9) on the other hand described how, in the case of promotion for leadership positions, it is not always about one’s qualification for the job, but social background, way of spending leisure time or whether other members of the group wanted to spend social time

together that mattered – kind of social norms that, according to him, persons of colour sometimes had a harder time fulfilling. The process of adjusting to whiteness was exemplified in the following quotes from different articles:

“Arabs and Africans have to behave like a white French person, but they cannot become French, which is the manifestation of ‘otherness’ embedded in whiteness.” (Jugé & Perez, 2006. p. 202)

“Russian-speakers can move into whiteness and pass as Finns by deploying various strategies like not speaking Russian or choosing particular clothing styles in everyday life.” (Krivonos, 2018. p. 1155)

“Curaçao born Letitia told my colleagues that every morning she looks in the mirror to dress up just like any other employee to avoid attracting attention and thus gossip. She wants to be like any other civil servant. [...] ‘You have to become another person, you are no longer yourself. You become insolent, with a big mouth. To me that is rude and boorish, but if not, I wouldn’t fit into the team, I must integrate.’ ” (Siebers, 2009. p. 78)

In contrast to these quotes, a Dutch article (11) highlighted that employees of colour also often reacted to the normativity of whiteness by rebelling against the need to assimilate by, for example, wearing head scarfs and expressing a will to refuse assimilation.

Five articles discussed people of colour taking responsibility for white people’s emotions through various strategies when discussing racism (1, 2, 4, 9, 11). Two articles reported POC feeling a need to self-monitor their emotions when sharing personal experiences of racism (1, 4). Other strategies included laughing at racist jokes (2), carrying white people’s negative emotions for them (9), accommodating through various behaviours to ease the discomfort white men and women were experiencing when being confronted with racial issues (2, 4, 9) and conforming to the dominant norms (1, 2, 4, 9).

8.3. INTERSECTIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON WHITENESS

8.3.1. Privilege

“One of the most problematic aspects of individuated privileges is the notion that, for any one person, privileged identities can coexist alongside intersecting marginalized identities.” (Liu, 2017. p. 350)

In Liu’s (4) article on the intersection of the privileges of whiteness and maleness, the importance of considering privilege as an intersectional position was noted. The same notion was stated by Asumah (3), who expressed the need for multi-perspective solutions regarding racialised inequality in multi-ethnic and multiracial societies such as the US. Wingfield and Alston (1) further noted in their report, that in order to understand the ‘over-advantaging’ of whiteness, also the structural ‘under-advantaging’ of people of colour needs to be addressed.

8.3.2. Race & ethnicity

The boundaries of whiteness were described as highly fluid (11) and contextual (3, 5, 10, 12), often intersecting with cultural markers (5, 7, 10) and socio-political matters within a society

(12). Krivonos's (10) study about racialised and structurally discriminated Russian-speakers as migrants in Finland problematised further whiteness as an actual property, which could be used to gain class-status and resist stigmatisation through 'using racism' towards other migrant groups and migrants of colour. In the same study this effect was illustrated with a comparison to a study from the UK:

"Hungarian and Romanian workers in the UK racialize ethnic minorities and the Roma in order to defend the relatively privileged position their 'putative whiteness affords them in the UK's segmented labour market'. 'Using racism' and their putative whiteness', Hungarians and Romanians assign other minorities the status of 'less white' in Britain's racialised hierarches, and hence, their 'use of racism' makes them white. [...] Icelandic migrants in Norway use their nationality and whiteness to darken more visible groups and place themselves in the visibly white hegemony (10)." (Krivonos, 2018. p. 1149)

A similar situation was posed in the article by Hübinette and Lundström (12), where the researches stated that this same effect made it possible for many supporters of the Sweden Democrats political party to be migrants or descendants of migrants coming from white, Western and Christian countries. The example was compared with Italian-Americans, Irish-Americans, white Latin Americans, Jewish-Americans and some East Asian groups who had been included in benefiting from the racial formation of whiteness in the US (12), but who might have identified themselves more with an ethnic group than this contextual whiteness itself (3). Both Krivonos' (10) and Moras (5) highlighted that binary analyses are risking the danger of reducing the complexity and fluidity of 'whiteness' into a mere skin colour instead of looking at it as a socially constructed and structural position of advantage.

8.3.3. Nationality, migration status and citizenship

What stood out in the literature was the prevalence of articles stating whiteness as a feature of both Finnish, Russian (10), Swedish (12), American (4), French (8) and British (9) national identity. The recurrent discourse is illustrated in a quote from the position paper by Hübinette and Lundström (12):

"Swedishness and whiteness is something that not only non-white migrants and their descendants are encountering but also adopted and mixed Swedes of colour with a background from South America, Africa, and Asia who, in spite of being more or less fully embedded within Swedishness on an ethnic, linguistic and cultural level, are experiencing racializing practises caused by their "non-Swedish" bodies." (Hübinette & Lundström, 2011. p. 44)

Two studies also reflected whiteness as a component of 'Europeanness'. Jugé and Perez (8) stated that economic forces in the European community have led to greater economic disparity between white European populations - who are granted a greater access to human rights - and immigrant populations, who are targeted with different policies regardless of their legal status. The Russian anti-western discourse on the other hand - according to Krinivos (10) - presents Europe as "washed over by the flood of non-white migrants and indulging in self-destructive 'political correctness'". Additionally, Muslims in Europe were described as excluded from the discourse of European whiteness, despite the different Muslim populations' mobility in and out of the European region for centuries (8).

Krisnovos discovered in her study (10), how the Russian-speaking minorities hegemonic Russian whiteness became challenged by the process of migrating in Finland. According to her study, the Russian-speakers transferring their racial knowledge about dominant hierarchies in Russia to Finland made them feel less valued and respected, and forced them to feel racialised in their every-day lives. A quote from Moras' (5) study illustrated further the relationship between immigration, occupation and racialised identities:

“To some degree the negotiation of immigrant status hides the racialization of this labour, using lack of citizenship and ‘foreignness’ to label some workers as outsiders. ‘Immigration does not trump race, but combined with the dominant ideology of a ‘colour-blind society’ manages to shroud it.” (Moras, 2010. p. 234)

In their critical analysis of whiteness and French citizenship, Jugé and Perez (8) described how whiteness embedded in the discourse of ‘Frenchness’ freezes French people of colour in the category of ‘otherness’ in France. This was claimed as the definition of citizenship including the notion of whiteness.

8.3.4. Class

Over half of the reviewed articles discussed social class in relation to whiteness. In a British study the stereotype of upper-middle class white males in leadership positions was stated to form an obstacle for black employees to attain the same positions (9). Pierce (6) expressed that white people with a lower education status were often linked with having more racist attitudes. However, the article also pointed out the prevalence of racist behaviours among highly educated, middle-class whites. Class emerged as a factor also in Shapiro and Johnson's (7) study, where participating in ‘White flight’ in the US was made possible by the white parent's race and class privilege. The explicitly racist logic of willing to move away from diversifying neighbourhoods was however found throughout the whole socioeconomic spectrum. Conversely, Moras (5) highlighted how paid domestic work in the US is separated mainly through racial and class lines, where upper middle-class white women are employing women of colour or women of migrant background.

The co-construction of whiteness and working-class identity was brought up in several studies (10, 12). This relation was reflected with the loss of white respectability and in increased practises of ‘othering’ other minorities in the face on unemployment in Krivonos' (10) study about Russian-speaking migrants in Finland. The Russian-speaking minority's claim to whiteness was first and foremost described as a struggle against classification as lower-class citizens. According to Krivonos the exclusion out of the privileged space of whiteness regards not only people of colour but also the racialised group of ‘white trash’, that alike the UK and US has emerged in Finnish discussions (10). Similar logic was also expressed in Liu's (4) statement, that social class causes differential access to resources guaranteed by whiteness for working- and upper-class whites. According to Wingfield and Alstom (2), class division also leads to assigning different positions with different ways of maintaining whiteness in predominantly white workplaces.

Conversely, Hübinette and Lundström (12) stated in their position paper about the 2010 electoral success of Swedish Democrats political party that whiteness can also act as a class-crossing conjunctive factor, which allows different socioeconomic groups to come together around the idea of mutually beneficial way of redistributing welfare within a nation.

8.3.5. Gender

In general gender intersecting with whiteness was not a common standpoint in the identified literature. When discussed, gender was highlighted to be too broad of an aspect for the scope of the article (8). Four articles (2, 4, 8, 12) discussed the connectedness of patriarchal structures to the normative position of whiteness and a further four discussed women's position in relation to racialised and gendered power structures (2, 4, 11, 12). Apart from two studies, sexuality was not a factor present in the literature. No article other than Moras' (10) mentioned this factor by stating that heterosexual white women have generally benefitted more from a patriarchal society than lesbian and poor women or women of colour (5). Hübinette and Lundström (12) on the other hand criticised the construction of Swedish gender equality politics for being concentrated around the idea of a white heterosexual family.

The social position of white males was the most discussed topic in the literature. This position was stated to provide access to multiple institutions (4), leadership positions (8), to be presented as the national image (12), to grant the person structural protection from punishments or consequences of their actions and blindness towards their privileged positions (4), and the power to institute organisational culture in the workplace (2). Against the backdrop of white male dominated leadership, white women and POC were suggested to sometimes ignore their racialised positions and focus on class regarding their upward mobility on the workplace. The proximity of white males was also described to provide instrumental privilege and benefits to POC and white women (4).

According to two studies, gender was stated to usually emerge in the discussions on race or ethnicity when religious, ethnic or racial minority groups were posed as oppressive against the dominant white culture's values (11, 12). Wingfield and Alston (2) also highlighted the importance of observing the different ways that gender and racial segregation operate in the labour market.

9. DISCUSSION

The aim of this literature-based study was to explore how normative whiteness manifests itself in structural and institutional contexts, and how this manifestation can be identified in relation to unequal and racist structures as the causes of the causes of health disparities. Three main themes were identified and explored: whiteness as embedded in language, whiteness and racialised segregation, and experiential differences of normative whiteness between people of colour/racialised persons and white people. These themes were identified as overarching elements, central for indicating whiteness in the chosen contexts. In addition, intersectional perspectives addressed for problematising whiteness were identified. The relevance of these findings for Public Health will be discussed below, followed by brief ethical and methodological reflections and suggestions for future research.

In the following pages the results of this study will be briefly summarised and discussed under three headings: 'Invisible whiteness and structural racism as the causes of the causes', 'Persons of colour and the visibility of whiteness' and 'Defining whiteness'. After this, a discussion on the identified intersectional perspectives will be presented. Finally, the last two headings will provide brief reflections on the ethical aspects regarding this study and its topic, and the methodological strengths and issues of the study.

9.1. Invisible whiteness and structural racism as the causes of the causes

Racism and racialisation are issues that are closely related to the specific socio-political, historical and cultural features of the society at hand. Thus, examining these themes and their effects on SDH separated from their original contexts might not provide a rightful image of the whole (Hübinette & Lundström, 2014; Darvishpour & Westin, 2015). This literature-based study has, however, analysed material from six different countries with very different histories of colonialism, welfare systems and patterns of immigration. Another critical observation is that the chosen articles had already, more or less, accepted the premises of Critical Whiteness Studies by studying whiteness from power-perspectives, and thus might not observe this normativity completely unbiased. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind the possible bias also in the findings of this literature-based study.

According to the results, whiteness for white professionals included an inability to locate ones' actions and oneself as an agent within the structures providing advantages by white skin colour. In the results this included an inability to see, hear about or confront racist structures experienced as lived realities by persons of colour. The implications of this finding can be posed against white policy makers' ability to dictate effective equity promoting public policies within predominantly white institutions and organisations in multi-racial and multicultural societies. With the above-mentioned criticism in mind, this general pattern presented throughout these results can be considered as relevant particularly regarding Public Health professionals, decision makers and policy makers.

The results proposing white people's reluctance for moving from anti-racist words to actions was further consistent with previous literature (Ahmed, 2004; Baldwin, Day & Hect, 2000; Bonilla-Silva, 1997). The results implied that whites' interest towards anti-racism might diminish the closer the issue is located. In other words, organisations and institutions working with promoting health equity in the society should also look within the organisational structures in order to understand how unequal structures and the 'causes of the causes' are being reproduced and maintained within institutions and workplaces.

The Public Health literature studying the consequences of discrimination and segregation for health rarely discusses 'who' discriminates or – at least discursively - benefits from the maintained segregation patterns when it comes to structural discrimination. An interesting finding of this study is, therefore, considering the question of residential and labour segregation as potentially beneficial patterns for middle-class whites in relation to the underlying reasons for disparities in SDH. Meanwhile, a government report on segregation (Regeringskansliet, 2018) reminds us that while the general existing patterns should be addressed, the research should maintain its awareness of the heterogeneity within different populations.

Educational segregation is closely related to residential segregation as highlighted both in the results (Shapiro & Johnson, 2003) and in governmental reports (Regeringskansliet, 2018). This pattern further transmits the benefits of a privileged social position provided by whiteness and social class across generations, contributing to reproduction of social inequalities and disparities in SDH. Similar results are further acknowledged by Bailey et.al. (2017) in a recent article published in *The Lancet*. In other words, possessing whiteness in a predominantly white society may be seen to potentially increase access to SDH (Hübinette & Lundström, 2014).

These results should however not be seen as outweighing the influence of other intersecting factors with potentially greater influence on the existing disparities.

The results of this study have generally not provided any new information regarding the overarching patterns of structural racism and discrimination. Comparison of the findings with Swedish government reports (Regeringskansliet, 2018) on segregation and discrimination shows that the same processes are raised in official papers. In line with the results of this study, the reports have named residential segregation as partly related to whites moving away from diversified neighbourhoods. Additionally, “foreign background” (Regeringskansliet, 2018) has been suggested as a possible reason for discrimination in the labour market and segregation along ethnic and racial lines within the Swedish education system has been called out as a constantly increasing issue (Vetenskapsrådet, 2014). In contrast to the present study, however, an agent or the ‘causes of the causes’ of these disparities are rarely present in these reports. Thus, it can be argued that this study has further confirmed already existing patterns established by previous research and offered an alternative perspective on these widely discussed issues.

Sara Ahmed (2004) has discussed the complex relation between studying racism and whiteness in *Declarations of Whiteness: The Non-Performativity of Anti-Racism*. She suggests that the step of studying racism through exposing whiteness should be taken cautiously. Ahmed further points out, that the mere identification of whiteness is non-performative; on itself it does nothing and even less leads to automatically anti-racist actions and policies. Considering Public Health’s aims to actively affect equity by enhancing policies and legislation with material consequences, it could be discussed that studying whiteness might be able to provide an alternative perspective on the issues related to racial and ethnic segregation, and structural racism as one of the ‘causes of the causes’ of health disparities.

9.2. Persons of colour and the visibility of whiteness

According to Ahmed (2004) whiteness is only invisible for those who inhabit it, but for those who don’t, it is about living its effects – alike other hegemonic norms. The findings of this study suggest the need for perspectives originating from POC, instead of predominantly white policy makers in Sweden and in other western countries when it comes to dismantling inequality in SDH or discussing racism as the ‘cause of the causes’. These results are reflecting those of Ford and Airhihenbuwa (2010), who have suggested that when Public Health knowledge production is assumed to be completely objective, the majority group’s cultural norms, methods and assumptions are likely to keep the subordinated perspectives and approaches marginalised and the existing power imbalance reproduced.

In other words, these findings suggest that in order to understand and reduce the persisting racialised disparities in population health, the potential of seeing relations and patterns by individuals socially located outside of whiteness should not be ignored. It could thus be suggested that the potential of applying Critical Race Theory’s acknowledgement of “the unique voice of colour” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Doane, 2003) or “centering the margins” (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010) should be further revisited. Additionally, within this strategy the dangers of tokenism should be taken in careful consideration. (NB: tokenism meaning the strive for representation through including racialised individuals just in order “to present an illusion of equity”, instead of actually reallocating power within the organisation (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010)).

Another important finding emerging from the results is the racialised persons' experiences of needing to control or tone down one's emotions when discussing one's experiences of racism with white co-workers. Additionally, POC in the literature expressed feeling an expectation to carry white people's difficult emotions for them when confronted with racial issues. This issue has been taken up in earlier literature by Ahmed (2012), Eddo-Lodge (2018), Doane (2003) and Lipsitz (1995) – to name a few. Due to the normative position of whiteness, white people rarely have to face issues related to racism and lack the tools to process the uncomfortable feelings brought by it. Ahmed (2012) further describes how being – too often the only - individual not fulfilling the expectations of whiteness in predominantly white institutions means a requirement to work hard in order to make the white individuals feel comfortable. The implications of this kind of emotional labour for the health of racialised individuals or the possibilities for affecting white people's resilience in taking responsibility for their racist actions and uncomfortable emotions remain unanswered by the results of this study, and further research should be undertaken to examine both sides of this issue.

9.3. Defining whiteness

According to the results, whiteness was manifested in two forms within language. Firstly, it was stated to centre definitions of “desirable” such as “good”, “professional”, “qualified”, “safe” and “normal”. Secondly, the literature highlighted the commonality of white people's polite language of race - referring to white peoples' reluctance to confront racialised issues, as discussed above. These findings raise intriguing questions regarding the nature and extent of whiteness located in the used vocabulary. Conducting policies is a central practise for Public Health, where the aim is to affect and establish existing politics, legislation and structures (Andersson & Ejlertsson, 2009). Considering this, strategies for Public Health in enhancing equity promoting policies might involve a norm-critical approach or applying discourse analysis for reviewing normative whiteness in policy documents.

The findings in this study pointed out the usage of alternative racialised markers when whites were trying to discuss racial inequality. The same pattern can also be seen within the Swedish discourse, where the reluctance to discuss racialised issues manifests itself in referring to terms such as ‘ethnicity’ for all racialised matters (Darvishpour & Westin, 2015; Hübinette & Lundström, 2014). Hübinette and Tigervall (2009) have further discussed this issue. According to the authors, a language that lacks the words for ‘race’ also risks ignoring experiences and effects of racism. In their study about transnational adoptees experiences in Sweden, the authors referred to the lack of language risking to devalue the experiences of racism the ethnically Swedish adoptees, often from middle-class backgrounds had encountered due to their non-white bodies.

As the Swedish government report on segregation (Regeringskansliet, 2018) points out, categorisation always includes a risk of further stigmatising a group of people or an issue. Acknowledging racialisation includes challenges regarding the reproduction of marginalisation – also through privileged positions such as whiteness. On the contrary, other studies have shown how also being constantly categorised into ‘immigrants’ or ‘foreigners’ contributes equally to marginalisation, risking the further development of a negative self-image (Bailey, et.al., 2017). This remains a future challenge for Public Health research; how to balance making current issues visible by denominating them with words actually describing the underlying issues leading to reproduction of health inequalities, while still – due to the contemporary political

trends in Western societies – not contributing to increasing the disparities and marginalisation between groups by turning the gaze on racialised categories (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010).

9.4. Intersectionality

Central issues emerging from the findings of this study are directly related to the lack of intersectional analysis in the material. All but one of the articles (Siebers, 2009) analysed above had not observed whiteness through the lenses of intersectionality. A critique of completely missing the effect of gender in their analyses can also be posed for the majority of the literature analysed in this study.

According to previous literature, racial stratification needs to be seen as multidimensional and non-static power relations (Darvishpour & Westin, 2015). Marginalised and privileged positions do not rule out each other (Liu, 2017), which can be noted as a challenge for examining their effects on SDH. The interrelatedness of aspects such as social class, gender, nationality, age, functionality, sexuality, generation, language, or migration- and citizenship-status suggests, however, that studying whiteness separated from these contexts risks providing an inadequate image of the causes and effects of social disparities. This relates back to the critique of intersectionality-theory, which points out how along the increasing categories the analysis easily ends up back at the individual instead of the structures the critical theories wish to shed light on.

The fact that class emerges so often in relation to the analysed literature can be reflected against a comment by authors Hübinette, Hörnfeldt, Farahani & Rosales (2012). According to the authors, whiteness can be observed in how racial stratification further creates class divisions within Sweden's segregated labour market. The authors further stated how Swedes of colour are underrepresented in leadership positions and overrepresented in the professions with fewer opportunities for career development. This kind of racially stratified labour market is, according to the authors, often taken for granted, which further risks making the exploitation of Swedes of colour in the labour force invisible and to normalise and legitimise it. Using whiteness as our theoretical point of reflection, also the contrary can be stated: this kind of racially stratified labour market risks making the normalisation of predominantly white leadership invisible and to legitimise it.

The study by Krinovos (2018) on white Russian-speaking migrants aspirations to claim whiteness through racialising other groups in the same position brings further complexity to the analysis of whiteness. In contrast to the other analysed articles, it highlights whiteness primarily as a social process that regulates what bodies possessing it have access to (Ahmed, 2007). That might help us to understand why the white European immigrants felt the need to claim this privilege, even if it meant further marginalising others. It can nonetheless be questioned if this kind of behaviour should be primarily related to claiming whiteness or claiming other sorts of social positions. Hübinette & Lundström (2014) have however pointed out, that claiming whiteness for the sake of privilege cannot be simplified into matters of black and white. According to the authors, all racialised minority groups have suffered from the normative effects of whiteness, and all minorities are able to identify and aspire to use the advantages of whiteness. In relation to the current trends in global politics and migration, observing whiteness in the intersections of ethnicity, migration, nationality and citizenship status can be seen as a highly relevant topic. Especially in relation to the stated fluid and contextual character of whiteness, studying whiteness might provide a useful theoretical tool for examining discrimination and racism as causes of the causes for health disparities in migration and citizenship.

9.5. Ethical discussion

In Public Health research it is generally custom for research to have an ethics review and approval as well as a reflection in evidence-based literature. All of the identified articles in this literature-based study were, however, of mainly theoretical and sociological nature. Research mostly not involving human participants rarely requires the research ethics to be reviewed, thus exhaustive ethical reflections were lacking in the majority of the identified articles and were therefore not seen as a relevant requirement for this study.

However, there are other ethical aspects that should be taken into consideration for the study in question. Besides the object of study, a researcher also has a responsibility towards those that may directly or indirectly be at risk to be affected by their results – whether these effects are positive or negative (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017). Furthermore, *The RESPECT Code of Practice – An EU Code of Ethics* (IES, 2004) highlights that although the issues of racism in the use of language in research are often unclear, an awareness should be promoted. Thus, due to my own social position as a white researcher, centring whiteness as a study object calls for several ethical considerations.

Firstly, due to its historical and current socio-political implications, examining whiteness as a white person in the context of Social Medicine includes a risk of sustaining and re-centring the normative position of whiteness (Ahmed, 2004). In light of these results and the existing literature, it may be discussed whether this risk is worth taking and vis-à-vis; what would be the risk of not taking it. In either case, a Public Health context affirms that risks should not be taken without an ethical consideration. Secondly, racialised denominators are always contextual. From all the other options deemed as less suitable, I chose to use the phrase ‘people/persons of colour’ in this study along the lines of Reni Eddo-Lodge (2018) in *Why I No Longer Talking To White People About Race*. Notably, this phrase does ultimately enclose a different essence if designated by a white person in Social Medicine to generalise a heterogeneous group of individuals, or if purposely chosen to be taken on by someone to bear a specific meaning or identity. This serves as an example of how exactly the system of racism functions as an unequal, racialised hierarchy. As mentioned above, this balance between categorising or re-marginalising people as a means for promoting population health remains a central ethical discussion about positions of power within Public Health.

Lastly, studying whiteness has been critiqued to merely provide a tool or a platform for white researchers to feel included or to gain agency within the mainstream of studying racialised and ethnic relations (Doane, 2003; Andersen, 2003; Hübinette, etl.al., 2012). In comparison, Ahmed (2004) has noted that making the effects of normative whiteness visible “*only makes sense from the point of view of those for whom it is invisible. [...], though for non-whites, the project has to be described differently: it would be about making what can already be seen, visible in a different way. (Ahmed, 2004)*”. Hence, it should be recognised that both the methodology and the results of this study have unquestionably been shaped by my social location and biases as a white researcher.

9.6. Method discussion

There are several limitations in this study. The methodological shortcomings in this literature study are mainly related to an inability to locate and include articles with comparable research

methods, study designs and terminology. This led to an inability to generate evidence-based knowledge grounded on empirical research data, as is preferred within Public Health research. Although it is noteworthy that the aim of this study was not to produce evidence-based knowledge on the subject. In terms of aiming to produce this kind of research in the future, an alternative approach could be to include only ethnographic research or interview-based studies and therefore offer more comparable data. However, the lack of studies available outside of the educational and pedagogic contexts as well as the lack of established study methods and vocabulary in the field made this challenging when constrained to current Public Health research methodology.

The results of this study are based on published literature identified through a systematically conducted search and an additional manual search. Nevertheless, the search process failed to fulfil all of the criteria for a systematic literature search. For example, the articles identified by the data-base searches where access to a free full-text was lacking were excluded, which may have had an impact on the study results. Additionally, some relevant articles located during the preliminary searches were not found through the final systematic search. This suggests that the keywords chosen for the final systematic search may have been insufficient, which can be deemed as the most important limitation of this study. Due to the ambiguity of the chosen context and research field, pinpointing the correct keywords was a major challenge for this study, and additional keywords were further located even after the final search was conducted.

After the final search a preliminary number of articles was selected based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria. Several articles were excluded based on their titles, and although the process was executed carefully with the study objective in mind, this can be seen as a weakness in the study method due to the risk of excluding relevant material. The procedure was, however, followed in order to support a realistic time-plan and the capacity of a bachelor thesis. The scope of this study was also limited in terms of the databases used for the systematic search. Only two databases Scopus and ProQuest Social Sciences were used, where the main body of literature was located in Scopus. Additional databases may have been able to contribute with other relevant material. The results may also have been affected by the small sample size, since the search only resulted in 12 articles deemed relevant for the study objective.

The transferability of these results is subject to certain noteworthy limitations. For instance, it is a known fact within the field that racism and discrimination should be studied with the specific socio-political and historical factors of the society in mind (Hübinette & Lundström, 2014; Darvishpour & Westin, 2015). This study included studies from seven different countries, whereas the majority of the studies (1-7) discussed the topic in an US context. Differences in colonial history and patterns of immigration between countries may have had an impact on the results of this study, leading to some aspects being overemphasized while leaving others unnamed. An additional limitation for the study was the lack of research conducted in Swedish and Nordic contexts, which in itself can be highlighted as suggesting the need for more research on the topic in these contexts. Due to this, an extra literature search was conducted with the names of two Swedish researchers' active within the academic field of Critical Whiteness Studies. The choice of scholars was based on the preliminary searches and the authors prior knowledge of the field. As a result, only one article was included. While whiteness remains a scarcely studied field in Sweden, it is noteworthy that the position paper included may not provide sufficient foundation for comparison between Sweden and the other countries despite drawing on information from other peer-reviewed articles and public policies.

The results of this literature-based study do not reflect high reliability or validity. The concept of whiteness has been interpreted in relation to the context of each article and saturated with the prior knowledge and the racial, ethnic and social position of the author of this thesis. If conducted by a different person, this study might therefore result in conclusions that differ from those drawn here. The chosen articles have also been selected and read by only one person, which further affects the reliability, validity and generalisability of this study. Validity is, however, not merely linked to the way in which the data has been collected. Malterud (2001) points out that full objectivity is not achievable in qualitative research. Instead, the process will always be affected by the researcher's social position and motives. Accordingly, the researcher's ability to communicate about their preconceptions and to discuss controversies rising in the material are in the key position in striving for validity in qualitative research. Furthermore, reflexivity (i.e. the researcher locating themselves in relation to their social position, previous experience and relation to the studied subject) is a well-established method for quality control in qualitative research (Berger, 2015). Additionally, the main idea of reflexivity as challenging the assumed objectivity of knowledge production can be seen as well aligned with the claims of the theoretical framework of this study.

10. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this research was to examine how normative whiteness manifests itself in structural and institutional contexts, and in relation to structural racism as the cause of the causes for disparities in social determinants of health. A second aim was to investigate the intersectional perspectives used in the literature to problematise 'whiteness'. Lastly, this paper also set out to discuss the relevance of studying whiteness for Public Health.

This study has identified how normative whiteness manifests itself in relation to three structures according to the arguments of the reviewed authors. Firstly, whiteness was described to centre the definitions of 'desirable'. Secondly, it was seen as a factor for racialised educational, residential and labour segregation both horizontally and vertically. Lastly, normative whiteness was experienced differently by persons of colour and white people. For persons of colour whiteness was experienced as i.e. systematic structural discrimination and taking responsibility for racialised issues both at workplaces and regarding white people's discomfort with racism. For white persons, normative whiteness was seen to manifest in an inability to discuss racialised issues or to see or take responsibility for racist actions, as well as to 'police' the boundaries of who was included into whiteness. Intersectional perspectives were generally lacking and whiteness was mainly discussed in relation to either social class or migration-/citizenship-status.

The lack of evidence-based literature in the analysed material can be seen as one of this study's limitations in the Public Health context. Due to a broad variation of scientific articles analysed for this study, it is not possible to draw any general conclusions based on this research. Despite its exploratory nature, this study offers some insight into how studying whiteness could contribute to our understanding of structural racism as an underlying cause for disparities in social determinants of health. Nevertheless, although the analysed articles do not provide a completely transferable framework for Swedish or Nordic circumstances, the general patterns described in the material were similar throughout different socio-political contexts. Several questions still remain unanswered. In particular, more studies regarding the role of whiteness for predominantly white institutions and leadership are needed in order to understand how racialised inequalities are reproduced. Further work may also include studying the

embeddedness of whiteness in public policies through norm-criticism and discourse analysis. To ensure the issue of studying normative whiteness within Public Health research moves forward, it is strongly recommended to approach the topic through the framework provided by Critical Race Theory and intersectionality.

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Appendix A.

Summary of the analysed articles

Reference	Author, title, year, land	Objective	Study population	Study design	Main statements	Quality
(1) Gulati-Partee & Potapchuk, 2014	Gulati-Partee, G. & Potapchuk M. Paying attention to white culture and privilege: A missing link to advancing racial equity 2014, USA	The aim of this study was to discuss tools for promoting racial equity within foundations through reflecting on effects of white privilege and white culture within the institution.	Staff and members of foundations and organisations	Report Based on experiential empirical material	Overlooking whiteness and privilege will ignore and obscure half of the problem with racial inequality and only maintain racial hierarchy if not acknowledged in internal and external racial equity work within foundations and organisations. Providing practical tools and discussing challenges on internal reflexive work within foundations.	-
(2) Wingfield & Alston, 2014	Wingfield, A. H. & Alston, S. R. Maintaining Hierarchies in Predominantly White Organizations: A Theory of Racial Tasks 2014, USA	The aim of this article is to argument for a sociological theory, which presents a possible explanation for persisting racial hierarchies in workplaces and organisations.	Workers of colour and White staff members at workplaces and organizations	Theoretical article	Staff belonging to ethnic and racial minority groups working in Predominantly White Organizations are forced to perform the white culture through various “racial tasks” (in form of ideological, interactional and physical labour). Job requirements and implicit responsibilities associated with work at different levels of the organizational hierarchy are imbued with racialized meanings that affect the practices, behaviours, and actions that occur within the organization.	-
(3) Asumah, 2004	Asumah, S. N. Racial Identity and Policy Making: Redefining Whiteness 2004, USA	This article aims to argument for the benefits of conceptualizing of Whiteness in multiracial societies and among predominantly White policy makers.	White policy makers in multiracial societies.	Theoretical article	There needs to be paid careful attention to different forms of racial representation in workplaces and organizations. By consciously accepting race as an agency in every political activity, Whites in America could use their privilege positively in race relations in the policy making sphere and be more empowered to tackle racial problems.	-
(4) Liu, 2017	Liu, W. M. White Male Power and Privilege: The Relationship Between White Supremacy and Social Class 2017, USA	The aim of this article is to discuss privilege of whiteness as a multi-identity facilitated and supported by institutions and organisations as power-governors.	White upper-, lower- and middle-class men	Theoretical article	White upper-class men are using privilege as means to access and gain power, while lower- and working-class men use privilege to build relationships and legitimize inequality. Whiteness can also work as a prowy-privilege for White women and POC in certain physical spaces.	-
(5) Moras, 2010	Moras, A. Colour-blind discourses in paid domestic work: foreignness and the delineation of alternative racial markers 2010, USA	The aim of this study is to research how institutional racism, colour-blindness and changes in the US demographics are reflected in contemporary negotiations of racial privilege and subordination in domestic work.	30 open-ended interviews with upper middle-class heterosexual white women who currently employ domestic workers.	Grounded theory	White employers insisted that race didn't matter in their hiring decisions. Instead, other cultural markers such as language, immigration and citizenship were used as alternative racial markers.	Middle
(6) Pierce, 2003	Pierce, J. L. “Racing for Innocence”: Whiteness, Corporate Culture, and the Backlash against Affirmative Action 2003, USA	The objective of this article is to argue how disclaiming accountability for racist practises meanwhile everyday racism is experienced by POC workers results in reproducing whiteness as a structural relationship of inequality in workplaces.	The study population consisted of 43 lawyers who had been working in the company at the time of the original study 1988-1989 and were contacted	Argumentative article, based on earlier ethnographic fieldwork	The lack of elaborate language for speaking about those who oppress and the nation's emphasis on democracy and equality, belief in a classless meritocracy are complicating the process of dismantling inequalities in the society. The need to proclaim innocence among Whites risks to marginalise the experiences of racial and ethnic minorities.	-

			again 1999. 2 of the respondents were Black men, 1 Black woman, 32 White men and 8 White women.			
(7)	Shapiro, T.M. & Johnson H. B. Good Neighborhoods, Good Schools: Race and the “Good Choices” of White Families 2003, USA	The aim of this article is to discuss which narratives are White parents using to describe their choices of schools and neighbourhoods in relation to race and class.	Data from an earlier study conducted between 1998-1999 including 200 Black and White families. The study population consisted of 75 interviews with White families.	Qualitative interview analysis	The process of school and community choice can be seen as a key mechanism that reproduces racial and class stratification and socioeconomic inequalities. The choices of Whites are often grounded in racialised definitions of “good” or “decent” and acting on these belief systems is generally rewarded with better education and more ample community resources.	High
(8)	Jugé, T. S. & Perez M. P. The Modern Colonial Politics of Citizenship and Whiteness in France 2006, USA	The aim of the article is to explore the redefinition of French citizenship in relation to whiteness and as rooted in the concept of ‘otherness’. A critical analysis of French ideologies of egalitarianism and colour-blindness.		Critical analysis	Whiteness as conceptualized and studied in the American context has been overlooked in France, but can be observed as a relevant source to examining oppression.	-
(9)	Lowe, F. Keeping Leadership White: Invisible Blocks to Black Leadership and Its Denial in White Organizations 2013, UK	The aim of this study was to explore the reasons for persisting predominantly White leadership, and especially senior leadership in British organizations	Barriers hindering black and minority ethnic groups to get appointed to leadership positions	Argumentative article	The barriers hindering black and minority ethnic groups to get appointed to leadership positions are largely invisible due to unconscious norms of whiteness and the culture of white organisations, and their combined impact on the confidence of POC staff.	-
(10)	Krivosos, D. Claims to whiteness: Young unemployed Russian speakers’ declassificatory struggles in Finland 2018, Finland	The study objective is to analyse the position of unemployed Russian-speaking migrants in Finland in the Helsinki metropolitan area as both racialised and racializing Others.	Study population consisted of 54 Russian-speakers between ages 20-32 years, of whom 20 were male and 34 female. The respondents from Russia and Balkan countries. Most of the participants had vocational or higher degree education from their home countries.	Ethnographic study	The young Russian-speakers’ are claiming whiteness through racializing other minority groups. In order to resist classification as ‘welfare abusers’ or unemployed and low-skilled workers they are generating alternative narratives, where whiteness intersects with class, citizenship and respectability.	Middle/High
(11)	Siebers, H. Struggles for recognition: The politics of racioethnic identity among Dutch national tax administrators 2009, Netherlands	The study objective is to study the effects of ‘White organisational practises’ and migrant-hostile discourses in the society on racioethnic identity in organisations.	Study population consisted of 56 respondents among Dutch national tax administrators. 29 of the respondents were from minority	Ethnographic study	Whiteness in organisational practises is not rigid and uniform, but imposes solid and fixed categories becoming real in life-events and meaning-making. As an invisible factor to the majority workers and a visible factor constructing the definitions of a good colleague and work careers. Minority staff members experienced being constantly tested on and need to accommodate to these definitions.	Low

			ethnic groups.			
(12) Hübinette & Lundström, 2011	Hübinette, T. & Lundström, C. Sweden after the recent election: the double binding power of Swedish whiteness through the mourning of the loss of “Old Sweden” and the passing of “Good Sweden” 2011, Sweden	The aim of the position paper is to reflect on the reactions of both Swedish anti-racist and feminist movements and the racist Sweden Democrat’s after the 2010 election in Sweden and to analyse these two ideologically opposing groups relation to ‘whiteness’.	Swedish anti-racist and feminist movement and the nationalist Sweden Democrat’s ideologies relation to Swedish whiteness.	Position paper	The paper states that both ideologies are invested in mourning the loss of “Good Old Sweden” and Swedish whiteness and concludes the necessity to disentangle ‘Swedishness’ and whiteness in order to be able to deconstruct the ‘Swedishness’ which does not allow non-white Swedes to be Swedish.	-

Appendix B.
Quality appraisal models for reviewing qualitative research papers

**COREQ - Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research:
a 32-item checklist for interviews and focus groups**

No Item

Guide questions/description

Domain 1: Research team and reflexivity

Personal Characteristics

1. Interviewer/facilitator - Which author/s conducted the interview or focus group?
2. Credentials - What were the researcher's credentials? E.g. PhD, MD
3. Occupation - What was their occupation at the time of the study?
4. Gender - Was the researcher male or female?
5. Experience and training - What experience or training did the researcher have?

Relationship with participants

6. Relationship established - Was a relationship established prior to study commencement?
7. Participant knowledge of the interviewer- What did the participants know about the researcher? e.g. personal goals, reasons for doing the research
8. Interviewer characteristics - What characteristics were reported about the interviewer/facilitator? e.g. Bias, assumptions, reasons and interests in the research topic

Domain 2: study design

Theoretical framework

9. Methodological orientation and Theory- What methodological orientation was stated to underpin the study? e.g. grounded theory, discourse analysis, ethnography, phenomenology, content analysis

Participant selection

10. Sampling- How were participants selected? e.g. purposive, convenience, consecutive, snowball
11. Method of approach- How were participants approached? e.g. face-to-face, telephone, mail, email
12. Sample size- How many participants were in the study?
13. Non-participation- How many people refused to participate or dropped out? Reasons?

Setting

14. Setting of data collection- Where was the data collected? e.g. home, clinic, workplace
15. Presence of non-participants - Was anyone else present besides the participants and researchers?
16. Description of sample - What are the important characteristics of the sample? e.g. demographic data, date

Data collection

17. Interview guide - Were questions, prompts, guides provided by the authors? Was it pilot tested?
18. Repeat interviews- Were repeat interviews carried out? If yes, how many?
19. Audio/visual recording- Did the research use audio or visual recording to collect the data?
20. Field notes - Were field notes made during and/or after the interview or focus group?
21. Duration - What was the duration of the interviews or focus group?
22. Data saturation - Was data saturation discussed?
23. Transcripts returned - Were transcripts returned to participants for comment and/or correction?

Domain 3: analysis and findings

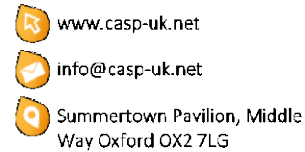
Data analysis

24. Number of data coders- How many data coders coded the data?
25. Description of the coding tree- Did authors provide a description of the coding tree?
26. Derivation of themes- Were themes identified in advance or derived from the data?
27. Software- What software, if applicable, was used to manage the data?
28. Participant checking- Did participants provide feedback on the findings?

Reporting

29. Quotations presented - Were participant quotations presented to illustrate the themes / findings? Was each quotation identified? e.g. participant number
30. Data and findings consistent- Was there consistency between the data presented and the findings?
31. Clarity of major themes- Were major themes clearly presented in the findings?
32. Clarity of minor themes- Is there a description of diverse cases or discussion of minor themes?

CASP - Critical Appraisal Skills Programme For Qualitative research



CASP Checklist: 10 questions to help you make sense of a **Qualitative** research

How to use this appraisal tool: Three broad issues need to be considered when appraising a qualitative study:

- ▶ Are the results of the study valid? (Section A)
- ▶ What are the results? (Section B)
- ▶ Will the results help locally? (Section C)

The 10 questions on the following pages are designed to help you think about these issues systematically. The first two questions are screening questions and can be answered quickly. If the answer to both is “yes”, it is worth proceeding with the remaining questions. There is some degree of overlap between the questions, you are asked to record a “yes”, “no” or “can’t tell” to most of the questions. A number of italicised prompts are given after each question. These are designed to remind you why the question is important. Record your reasons for your answers in the spaces provided.

About: These checklists were designed to be used as educational pedagogic tools, as part of a workshop setting, therefore we do not suggest a scoring system. The core CASP checklists (randomised controlled trial & systematic review) were based on JAMA ‘Users’ guides to the medical literature 1994 (adapted from Guyatt GH, Sackett DL, and Cook DJ), and piloted with health care practitioners.

For each new checklist, a group of experts were assembled to develop and pilot the checklist and the workshop format with which it would be used. Over the years overall adjustments have been made to the format, but a recent survey of checklist users reiterated that the basic format continues to be useful and appropriate.

Referencing: we recommend using the Harvard style citation, i.e.: *Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (2018). CASP (insert name of checklist i.e. Qualitative) Checklist. [online] Available at: URL. Accessed: Date Accessed.*

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Paper for appraisal and reference:

Section A: Are the results valid?

1. Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can't Tell	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

- HINT: Consider
- what was the goal of the research
 - why it was thought important
 - its relevance

Comments:

2. Is a qualitative methodology appropriate?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can't Tell	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

- HINT: Consider
- If the research seeks to interpret or illuminate the actions and/or subjective experiences of research participants
 - Is qualitative research the right methodology for addressing the research goal

Comments:

Is it worth continuing?

3. Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can't Tell	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

- HINT: Consider
- if the researcher has justified the research design (e.g. have they discussed how they decided which method to use)

Comments:

4. Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can't Tell	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

HINT: Consider

- If the researcher has explained how the participants were selected
- If they explained why the participants they selected were the most appropriate to provide access to the type of knowledge sought by the study
 - If there are any discussions around recruitment (e.g. why some people chose not to take part)

Comments:

5. Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can't Tell	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

HINT: Consider

- If the setting for the data collection was justified
- If it is clear how data were collected (e.g. focus group, semi-structured interview etc.)
- If the researcher has justified the methods chosen
 - If the researcher has made the methods explicit (e.g. for interview method, is there an indication of how interviews are conducted, or did they use a topic guide)
 - If methods were modified during the study. If so, has the researcher explained how and why
 - If the form of data is clear (e.g. tape recordings, video material, notes etc.)
 - If the researcher has discussed saturation of data

Comments:

6. Has the relationship between researcher and participants been adequately considered?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can't Tell	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

HINT: Consider

- If the researcher critically examined their own role, potential bias and influence during (a) formulation of the research questions (b) data collection, including sample recruitment and choice of location
- How the researcher responded to events during the study and whether they considered the implications of any changes in the research design

Comments:

Section B: What are the results?

7. Have ethical issues been taken into consideration?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can't Tell	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

HINT: Consider

- If there are sufficient details of how the research was explained to participants for the reader to assess whether ethical standards were maintained
- If the researcher has discussed issues raised by the study (e.g. issues around informed consent or confidentiality or how they have handled the effects of the study on the participants during and after the study)
- If approval has been sought from the ethics committee

Comments:

8. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can't Tell	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

- HINT: Consider
- If there is an in-depth description of the analysis process
 - If thematic analysis is used. If so, is it clear how the categories/themes were derived from the data
 - Whether the researcher explains how the data presented were selected from the original sample to demonstrate the analysis process
 - If sufficient data are presented to support the findings
 - To what extent contradictory data are taken into account
 - Whether the researcher critically examined their own role, potential bias and influence during analysis and selection of data for presentation

Comments:

9. Is there a clear statement of findings?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can't Tell	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

- HINT: Consider whether
- If the findings are explicit
 - If there is adequate discussion of the evidence both for and against the researcher's arguments
 - If the researcher has discussed the credibility of their findings (e.g. triangulation, respondent validation, more than one analyst)
 - If the findings are discussed in relation to the original research question

Comments:

Section C: Will the results help locally?

10. How valuable is the research?

HINT: Consider

- If the researcher discusses the contribution the study makes to existing knowledge or understanding (e.g. do they consider the findings in relation to current practice or policy, or relevant research-based literature
- If they identify new areas where research is necessary
- If the researchers have discussed whether or how the findings can be transferred to other populations or considered other ways the research may be used

Comments: