

# Towards an Antiracist Future

*A qualitative investigation of the White racial identity of self-identified White antiracists living in the Netherlands and their antiracist child-rearing*

Name: Lieve Graaf (471351)

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Faculty: Erasmus School of Social and Behavioral Sciences (ESSB), Erasmus University of

Rotterdam (EUR)

Master: Governance of Migration and Diversity - Sociology

Supervisor: Bonnie French

Second reader: Jess Bier

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## Abstract

Whiteness studies have underlined the importance of Whites developing a White racial identity in building an antiracist future. Because children are the future, the new generations must be taught antiracist values as well. Hence, this study investigates the White racial identity development of self-identified antiracists Whites living in the Netherlands and explores how they incorporate their antiracist values in raising their children. The current study draws on in-depth interviews with eleven participants, of which 8 are parent. The analysis identified that the White racial identity among self-identified White antiracists living in the Netherlands is not well-developed. Besides, the findings show that there are no evident indications of White racial socialization of their children and parents enroll their children in predominantly White schools, even though most considered the schools' range of racial and ethnic diversity.

*Key words: antiracism, whiteness, White innocence, White racial identity development, White antiracist parenting*

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## 1. Introduction

In order to successfully defeat systemic racism – racism that is embedded as normal practice in institutions such as education and law enforcement – one must continually work towards equality for every race, striving to undo racism in minds, personal environments, and the wider world. In short this means that one needs to be anti-racist. The police murders of Black people like George Floyd and Breonna Taylor, have thrown up an apparent collective sense of White guilt and an increased interest in knowing how to be antiracist all around the world (Deggans, 2020; Reid, 2021).

Within the anti-racist discourse, the construction of whiteness is of great importance (Bonnett, 1996; Desmond-Harris, 2015). Whites often understand the White identity as a fixed entity which is not up to change or challenge. However, it is crucial for White people to see whiteness as a mutable social construction (Bonnett, 1996). Besides, White people should see the appeal of scrutinizing the White identity. However, the perception of whiteness is as Nell Irvin Painter, a professor of history at Princeton University and the author of *The History of White People*, describes, as being “on toggle switch between ‘bland nothingness’ and ‘racist hatred,’ neither of which is particularly appealing” (Desmond-Harris, 2015). The fact that whiteness is seen as a fixed entity and as something lacking characteristics or even racist hatred, is what often complicates the studying of whiteness (Desmond-Harris, 2015).

Studying whiteness is not new in the academic world. Works of pioneers such as Du Bois in 1903 and later Baldwin in 1963, show that Black scholars have been questioning the workings and prevalence of whiteness in American society for some time (Matias & Mackey, 2016). However, the development of whiteness studies as a widespread field of study did not happen until the 1990s and only recently whiteness gained mainstream attention (Desmond-Harris, 2015). In whiteness studies academics seek to confront White privilege and analyze whiteness as a race, a culture and a concept that has contributed to racism (Kolchin, 2009;

Desmond-Harris, 2015). Because whiteness is a race, a culture, and a concept, even though we are so used to 'White culture' that it is not viewed as 'a culture,' but more like 'the culture' (Azimy, 2020).

An example that illustrates the view of whiteness as "the culture" is the dominant representation of Dutchness as whiteness (Wekker, 2016). In the Netherlands whiteness is not even acknowledged as a racialized and or ethnicized positioning at all. The reluctance to discuss and acknowledge race in the Netherlands, makes the question of Dutch whiteness as identity a complex one (Essed & Trienekens, 2008). Whites who are part of antiracist organizations are assumed to have a stronger White racial identity than Whites who are not part of antiracist organizations (McDermott, 2015). While in the United States studies about White antiracists and their White racial identity have been conducted, similar research in the Netherlands remains absent (Malott et al., 2015 & Warren, 2011). Therefore, the first research question of this study is: *What is the White racial identity development of self-identified White antiracists living in the Netherlands?* In answering this question the goal is to understand which elements of self-identified White antiracists' life history were important to their racial development.

Also, the existence of racism and discrimination is often denied in the Netherlands, since the Dutch think of themselves as citizens of an ethical nation where the people are color-blind and thus free of racism (Wekker, 2016). However, the existence of racism seems to be confirmed by an abundance of studies such as *Monitor Rassendiscriminatie* and publications of *Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau* showing that people with a first, second or even third generation migration background run a real risk of discrimination and exclusion (Siebers, 2016).

These experiences of racism, discrimination and exclusion can prompt the racial identity development of youth of color. White children are protected from this because of White privilege (Moffitt & Rogers, 2011). White privilege is defined by McIntosh (1989) as: "an invisible package of unearned assets" (p. 188). The White person holding this package is

oblivious to this package, but can reliably depend on its contents (Wildman, 2005). McIntosh (1989) further illustrates: ‘‘White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools, and blank checks’’ (p. 188). Studies on White racial socialization confirm that most parents of White children do not talk about racism or take a color-blind approach. As a result of these kinds of approaches, White youth also become less willing to discuss race. Research has shown that these youth are less willing to talk about race compared to peers who did receive race-conscious socialization (Moffitt & Rogers, 2021).

The family is only one entry into racial socialization, next to schooling and media for example. However, in this thesis the focus will be on the family, and specifically on White parents of White children. The reason for this is that the relationship between the parent and the child is a relationship in which racism is likely to be reinforced or interrupted. As parents are primary socializing agents for future generations of White people, the antiracist orientation of White parents of White children is an important site for research (Matlock, 2011).

Additionally, racism is evident in housing, school, and childcare decisions (Matlock, 2011). The decisions about the environment of a child are made by the parents and this environment influences the lived experiences and interactions of their children, which in turn influences their children’s ideas about race and racism (Hagerman, 2018). As the Netherlands becomes more racially and ethnically diverse, but not more equal (Elibol & Tiebelke, 2018), it is essential to understand how White parents incorporate antiracist child-rearing practices. Not many studies have focused on White families’ racial socialization, and those that did have demonstrated that some White parents are unconcerned about racial socialization (Hagerman, 2017). It is therefore interesting to look into antiracist White parents, because one would assume that they consider racial socialization important. This brings me to the second research question: *How do self-identified White antiracist parents living in the Netherlands bring anti-*

*racist values into the upbringing of their children?* When investigating this, it is important to understand how parents see their role as White parents in antiracism, how their attempts to raise antiracist children both challenge and reinforce hegemonic whiteness and what role race privilege plays in this process (Hagerman, 2017).

## 2. Theoretical Framework

### 2.1 Racism

An important gain of the civil rights movement in the United States was the removal of overt racism in forms of segregation and discrimination. However institutionalized disparities through systemic racism continue to exist (Burke, 2016). This means that racism is systematically perpetuated by social and political institutions, such as schools, courts, or the military (Nittle, 2021). Therefore, racism is defined as “an institutionalized system of power. It encompasses economic, political, social, and cultural structures, actions, and beliefs that systematize and perpetuate an unequal hierarchy of privileges, resources and power distributed between White people and people of color” (DiAngelo, 2004, p. 1). Not everyone believes in the existence and significance of systemic racism, proponents of the colorblind ideology argue that we live in a post-racial society where individual effort is more important than race in determining social outcomes (Hartmann et al., 2017). Also in the Netherlands the politics of color-blindness is upheld (Rose, 2022).

In addition to colorblind ideology, colorblindness can also operate as an identity according to McDermott (2015). Colorblindness as an identity means that it: “can become a characteristic or quality that an individual self-consciously claims as an important dimension of their personhood, value commitments, or social ideals” (Hartmann et al., 2017, p. 870).

There are multiple differences between colorblind ideology and colorblind identification. Ideology is latent, abstract and often more hidden in contrast to identification being self-consciously, directly and more on the surface. Whereas ideology is directed ‘outward’, meaning that it makes claims about the workings of the objective social world, identification only focus on how the subjective self approaches that world. Hartmann et al. (2017) conclude that colorblind identification is not driven by colorblind ideology. Besides, colorblind identification is more connected to perceived antiracist ideals and aspirations than colorblind ideology (Hartmann et al, 2017).

An individual with a colorblind identification might believe that when one does not notice race, they cannot act in a racially biased manner making them not racist (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Perry et al., 2012; Burke, 2016). It expresses itself in statements as claiming to not see race or color, or that our national identity or the human race is what links us together, that those transcends race and ethnic origin (Hartmann et al., 2017; McDermott, 2015; Perry et al., 2012). However, colorblind identification is in fact problematic for antiracism. It reduces the problem of racial inequality to color, when it is the interpretation that we put on color that makes the problem. Race is connected with political, material and emotional currencies which should not be dismissed. Racial categories organize our society and they are important for identity formation, therefore they should not be denied, but acknowledged (Sefa Dei, 2006).

## **2.2 Whiteness**

Whiteness is multi-dimensional, of which the first dimension of White is that it is a location of structural advantage (DiAngelo, 2004; Frankenberg, 1988). This has become known as White privilege. White people often do not think of themselves as privileged, making this one of the most normalized elements of White ideology. Because of its normalization, the unearned White privilege contains enormous oppressive power (Mawhinney, 1998). Whiteness studies therefore



seek to deconstruct how Whites accumulate racial privilege and how being White carries unearned privileges (Mathias & Mackey, 2016; Wekker, 2016). The second dimension of whiteness is that it is a ‘standpoint,’ a place from which White people look at everything (DiAngelo, 2004; Frankenberg, 1988). As a third dimension, Frankenberg (1988) refers to whiteness as a set of cultural practices. Cultural practices include material culture, such as art, hairstyle and clothing, but also nonmaterial culture, such as ways of thinking and doing, beliefs and values (Withers, 2017). These cultural practices are most often unmarked and unnamed (Frankenberg, 1988). All dimensions of whiteness are normalized in a way that whiteness has become invisible to White people (DiAngelo, 2004). Wekker (2016) explains the unmarked, unnamed states of whiteness as the perception of it as ordinary, lacking in characteristics, normal, and devoid of meaning. This signifies that whiteness is seen as ‘empty’, while, at the same time, as earlier discussed whiteness generates norms, reference points, and conceptualizations of the world, and therefore dominates culture, showing that whiteness is content laden or ‘full’ (DiAngelo, 2004).

Because whiteness is presumed neutral and normal, one can only study whiteness by making it ‘strange’ (Dyer, 1997). To displace whiteness from the unmarked, unnamed status that is itself an effect of its dominance, whiteness should be identified and named (Wekker, 2016). In other words, whiteness should first be acknowledged and understood before one can understand systemic racism (Applebaum, 2016). This importance of studying whiteness is illustrated in the following quote ‘‘If racism is the symptom, then enactments of whiteness that uphold White supremacy is the disease; to cure such a disease we cannot simply apply antiracist approaches without thoroughly understanding the disease itself.’’ (Mathias & Mackey, 2016, p. 34). Because of this need, critical whiteness studies have become an academic field dedicated to disrupting racism by problematizing whiteness rather than focusing on the racialized ‘other’, which is the traditional way of studying racism (Applebaum, 2016).

The racialized othering of people of color is intimately related to the construction of race (Applebaum, 2016). Whiteness studies therefore operate from the assumption that whiteness is a socially constructed and interactive process (DiAngelo, 2004), just as race is an ideological or social construct (Kolchin, 2009). The social categorization of 'White' and 'people of color' and their relations are interconnected, because we come to our racial identity, when we know who we are not (DiAngelo, 2004; Frankenberg, 1996). However, differences between racial groups are exaggerated because of our perceptions being distorted by social categorization (Jhangiani & Tarry, 2014; Smedley et al., 2003). Multiple authors such as Rosenberg et al. (2002) and Zuckerman (1990) show that there is much more genetic variation within groups designated as races than between such groups.

### **2.3 White innocence**

Although racial categories in the United States have fluctuated over time, two categories have proven to be consistent 'Black' and 'White' (Allen, Jones & McLewis, 2019). However, not every country uses racial categories. One of these countries is the Netherlands (Siebers, 2015). Dutch society and Dutch policymakers and scholars prefer the term 'ethnicity' over 'race', which fails to account for hierarchical power and ignores racial identities and racialization processes in Dutch society (Weiner, 2014). This preference not to use the term 'race' stems from the Holocaust trauma in the Netherlands, which links race to the atrocities of the Holocaust that were supported by a collaborative Dutch bureaucracy and justified in overtly racist terms (Siebers, 2015). Because of this, race is considered a taboo topic and the context within which the debate is thus situated, makes it difficult to create an open dialogue on racism in the Netherlands (Weiner, 2014; Essed & Hoving, 2014).

Another reason that makes open dialogue on racism in the Netherlands hard is the specific kind of Dutch whiteness. When claims of equal treatment are brought up by Blacks in

the Netherlands, these are waved away by the Dutch because they perceive themselves as either already non-racist or they want to hold onto their White privilege (Wekker, 2016). Wekker (2016) labelled this perception of the Dutch as racism-free as ‘White innocence’. White innocence contains both not-knowing, as not wanting to know. This stems from the dominant way in which the Dutch have a self-image that they are citizens of a small, just, and color-blind ethical country. This perception has a long history in the Netherlands. When the Surinamese and residents of the Dutch Antilles migrated to the Netherlands, they were perceived as aggressive, lazy and resistant to the Dutch culture (Rose, 2022). On the contrary the Dutch viewed themselves as “trustworthy, civilized and ruled by reason and intelligence” (Esajas, 2014). Because the Dutch want to hold onto this self-image, they do not seriously work through and come to terms with the Dutch colonial past and the present-day consequences of it (Wekker, 2016; Aouragh, 2019).

#### **2.4 White racial identity development**

Helms’s (1990) White racial identity development (WRID) model seeks to explain coming to terms with whiteness (McMahon, 2007). The model finds its origin in the field of psychology and focuses on antiracist features in the development of a positive White identity (Sánchez et al., 2021). Helms (1990) states that the evolution of a positive WRID involves both the abandonment of racism and the development of a non-racist White identity. For the development of a non-racist White identity, it is required that “he or she must accept his or her own whiteness, the cultural implications of being White, and define a view of Self as a racial being that does not depend on the perceived superiority of one racial group over another” (Helms, 1990, p.49). The WRID model consists of six stages according to Helms (1990). All stages are characterized by their unique race-related attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours (Malott, et al., 2014).

The first three stages develop into the abandonment of racism. The first stage is the contact stage, starting when one encounters the idea or the actuality of Black people. The environment, especially friends, family and media, influences on a certain degree how one will enter the contact stage of Helms (1990). This can be for example with naïve curiosity or timidity and or uneasiness regarding Blacks while at the same time having a superficial and lacking awareness of being White, impacts of privilege and the effects of individual and institutional racism (Helms, 1990; Malott et al., 2014). This stage indicates Whites' adoption of dominant cultural norms concerning race and acting upon racist behaviors (Malott et al., 2014). The contact stage is followed by the second disintegration stage, which implies a more conscious, but also conflicted acknowledgment of one's whiteness resulting from increased interaction with people of color (Tatum, n.d.-a). The stage distinguishes itself from the contact stage by the replacement of ignorance or lack of awareness by feelings of discomfort towards one's advantages of being White. In the third reintegration stage, one may overtly or covertly accept the status quo of White superiority. The feelings of guilt and anxiety of the second stage may be turned into feelings of fear and anger towards people of color. This can lead to avoidance of people of color (Tatum, n.d.-a).

The last three stages develop into the defining of an antiracist White identity. Continuing with the fourth stage, the pseudo-independence stage, one seeks information about people of colour. Although one is slowly abandoning White superiority beliefs, one may still unintentionally perpetuate the system through one's actions. In this process, the White person is likely to disclaim their whiteness (Tatum, n.d.-a). When in the immersion/emersion stage, one feels uncomfortable with their whiteness and therefore tries to discover a new, more comfortable White identity. In this stage one begins to become familiar with information about Whites being antiracist allies and finds comfort knowing others have same experiences and feelings. In the last stage then, autonomy, one successfully internalized a new defined sense of

self as White. This leads to positive feelings and motivates people to confront racism and oppression in one's daily life. In this stage alliances with people of colour can be formed with ease, because of the expression of one's antiracist behaviour and attitudes (Tatum, n.d.-a). In this stage the White person integrates consciousness and competency in life decisions, relationships and anti-racism work (Matlock, 2011).

However, this model is criticized by scholars such as Rowe et al. (1994) who in their alternative proposal state that the WRID model focuses too little on describing the development of a White identity, by focusing predominantly on describing how Whites develop different levels of sensitivity to an appreciation of other racial or ethnic groups. Besides, the WRID as a developmental stagewise progression must be questioned according to them, because there are exceptions of White people skipping one or more stages, stagnating in their WRID, or progressing backwards across stages (Rowe et al., 1994).

## **2.5 Antiracist parenting**

The family is one of the entries into racial socialization, which is typically defined as “the mechanisms through which parents transmit information, values, and perspectives about [...] race to their children” (Hughes et al., 2006, p. 747). White racial socialization differs from the racial socialization of people of color, because the first one learns to navigate structural advantage and the second one learns to navigate structural disadvantage. Parents construct a child's racial socialization by making decisions about schools, neighborhoods, peer groups, travel, media consumption et cetera (Hagerman, 2017). As seen in Helms's (1990) contact stage, family influences on a certain degree when and how a child will enter the contact stage of Helms (1990), through deciding to or deciding not to send a child to a racially mixed school or live in a racially mixed neighborhood. However, also smaller everyday choices of White

parents can make an impact on a child's racial socialization, such as whether and how they respond to questions their children ask them (Hagerman, 2017).

Many White adults refrain from openly or explicitly talking about race or recognizing race. This stems from the normalization of whiteness earlier discussed, inexperience of talking about race or their underdeveloped White racial identity (Hagerman, 2017; Michael & Conger, 2009). Research has shown that within families with colorblind parents, subtle modeling behaviors, send racialized messages that hold huge power. These parents believe that besides themselves, their child also does not see race (Hagerman, 2017).

For White parents wanting to incorporate antiracism values into the upbringing of their child, it is needed that they understand that their racial messages carry powerful meanings which are adopted, consciously or unconsciously, by children. When antiracism is the true goal of White parents, they must confront it directly and serve as an example in taking action, instead of only talking about equality (Matlock, 2011).

### 3. Data and Methods

#### 3.1 Research design

In order to provide an answer to my research question, a Grounded Theory approach was chosen to let the data guide the research (Bowen, 2006). I conducted six qualitative in-depth interviews with narrative elements. As my research is part of a larger research group, five interviews were used of colleague students, so combined 11 interviews were used for this study. I chose interviews as the research method, because interviews are best suited to ask for in-depth individual experiences and social situations influencing their antiracism work and White racial

identity development. Moreover, the process of interviewing also sheds light on the meanings that participants give to those experiences.

### **3.2 Participants**

For the sampling, a combination of snowball, theoretical and convenience sampling was used. These sampling methods were used, because we wanted to recruit participants who can provide in-depth and detailed information about being White and doing antiracism work (Complete Dissertation by Statistics Solutions, n.d.). I contacted groups and organizations active in racial justice. Recruitment invitations were sent out via email with a brief description of the research and its purposes.

My inclusion criteria were people who identify as White, live in the Netherlands and are parents. Besides, they had to be actively committed to antiracism and working for racial justice or identify as antiracist. This entailed having certain ideals, which should include a systemic understanding of racism. Furthermore, when one is committed to antiracism and working for racial justice this entailed doing something active. Examples of people doing this can be writers, teachers at schools, teachers of workshops and protesters. Activism and ideals were broadly defined when looking for participants, because of the understanding that there is a range of meanings and commitments to antiracism and this association was examined as part of this research.

Eventually, eight participants fit all criteria, so I added three other interviews to my analysis. One of these three interviews was with a participant whose girlfriend is pregnant, which will make him parent soon. The other two participants were chosen because I conducted those interviews myself and therefore this provided familiarity with the data. Of the eight parents, seven parents have White children, and one parent has biracial children. Nine of the participants described their selves as male and two described their selves as female. Their age

ranged between 32 and 71. Participants resided in villages and cities geographically spread across the Netherlands. All participants were high educated, meaning they completed Higher Professional Education (HBO) or university in the Netherlands.

**Table 1**

*Characteristics of participants*

Participant	Age	Gender
R1	32	M
R2 (P)	52	M
R3 (P)	46	M
R4 (P)	56	M
R5 (P)	58	M
R6 (P)	38	M
R7	51	M
R8 (P)*	57	F
R9	45	M
R10 (P)	71	F
R11 (P)	42	M

P = parent

\*Has biracial children

### 3.3 Procedure

Before the start of the interview, I explained the structure of the interview and that I would begin the interview asking demographic questions and follow-up with the interview questions specifically about their White antiracism, their own White racial identity, and their parenting in an anti-racist way. A semi-structured interview guide (appendix 1), consisting of a list of



questions that I hoped to cover during the course of the interviews, was used. These questions were derived of the larger project of Bonnie French's research about White racial identity development and antiracism commitment, and of a master's Thesis of Matlock ((2011) about White antiracism in the context of parenting.

The interview guide covered four main areas. The first area were questions about demographics and the meaning of them to the participants. In the second area the participants' memories about their youth and upbringing in relation to antiracism was asked for. Then in the third area the goal was to follow chronology in the life story of the participant which has led them to be antiracist. The fourth area consisted of questions about antiracist parenting. The answers to the interview guide questions provided the emergence of follow-up questions and possibilities to probe for further details and explanations. This was important in making sure that the participants reflected deeply about their experiences. I placed questions that are more delicate or require more trust at the end of the interview, when rapport had been established (Massengill, 2014).

The six interviews spanned from 50-100 minutes each. Five of the 11 interviews were conducted via Microsoft Teams and the others were in person. All interviews were audio-recorded, and video recorded and transcribed verbatim. The data was securely stored by Bonnie French on a password protected EUR cloud from the ethics committee. The transcripts were anonymised and will be removed within five years. After graduating the videotapes will be deleted.

### **3.4 Analysis**

Before the start of the coding, a general overview of the participants was made within the research team to improve the transparency and strengthen the trustworthiness of the analysis (O'Connor & Joffe, 2020). Then the interviews were analyzed and coded using Atlas.ti. Coding

is the key process in Grounded Theory (Bryman, 2012). However, there was no initial coding, which is the constant reflection on the codes while continuing with data collection, what in turn guides what is asked for in the remaining interviews (Charmaz, 2006). The interview questions remained the same, apart from some minor changes. This means that I started with focused coding, meaning that after I collected all data, codes were created to find patterns, commonalities, and differences between the interviews (Charmaz, 2006). Categories were developed largely inductively, but I am aware that categories were also developed theoretically from propositions I recognized that come from relevant literature. Memos in Atlas.ti were used as building blocks for the findings and analysis (ATLAS.ti 9 Windows - User Manual, n.d.).

### **3.5 Ethics**

Before the start of the interviews, I sent an informed consent form by email to the interviewees. This informed consent form is added in appendix 1. The purpose of this informed consent was that I wanted participants to understand what I am doing with their data in my research and to indicate their willingness to participate in this research. The consent was therefore more important than the signing of the document, therefore this consent was given verbally on audio. All participants were adults and therefore there were no implications regarding minors.

The thesis is part of a larger project of Bonnie French's research about White racial identity development and antiracism commitment. This larger project is approved by the Erasmus School of Social and Behavioural Sciences ethics board. All ethical and privacy aspects of this study were checked according to the ethical and privacy checklist of the Department of Public Administration and Sociology (DPAS). This checklist was completed and is added in appendix 2. The completion of the checklist was done before I commenced with data collection or approaching participants.

### **3.6 Positionality**

I did not place myself outside of this research, since I acknowledge that my position influenced my engagement with and analysis of the data. I am a White researcher, which means that I had an insider's position among other White people (DiAngelo, 2004). I have been socialized to be White, and therefore have a racial connection with the White subjects of this research. This racial connection was an asset, because Whites are more willing and comfortable to speak to other Whites about race topics. Tatum (1997) calls the reluctance and unease of White people to discuss racism with people of color the 'paralysis of fear'.

However, as a White person brought up in a predominantly White environment and being socialized within a White dominant culture, this means that my interpretations and relations in the social world are shaped by whiteness. Therefore, my White racial position also might have blinded me (DiAngelo, 2004).

## **4. Findings and Analysis**

This study sought to extend theory and research regarding the White racial identity of self-identified antiracists living in the Netherlands, and the incorporation of anti-racist values in their children's upbringing. In this section the findings and analysis are presented in an intertwined manner. Below, I describe a selection of three main themes that emerged from the interviews. These themes do not stand alone, but are related to each other. In the following paragraphs, I review those themes, providing participant statements to illustrate their meaning. The quotes of the participants have been translated from Dutch to English. The participants are referred to by means of an 'R' for 'respondent' and each participant is assigned a number to protect confidentiality. These can be found in table 1.

### **4.1 Understanding privilege and racism**

#### 4.1.1 Hegemonic form of racism

Firstly, to understand the participants' antiracism experiences, and meanings they give to those, it is important to outline the participants' understanding of White privilege and racism. In the interviews seven of the 11 participants recognized their White privilege. Some did this explicitly by naming the words "White privilege", "privilege" or "being privileged", others described this indirectly with different words. R2 for example told how an antiracist book made him realize his privilege: "[...] this book has made me even more aware of the fact that I'm pretty lucky that I am a White man". R5 said about this: "I know it is important for society. And that it opens doors and closes doors. So in that sense I am aware that I am getting a certain preferential treatment because I am not Black." Overall, my data indicate that a majority of the participants think of themselves as privileged, thus this element of White ideology is acknowledged by them while for most White people this is not (Mawhinney, 1998). Of the 11 participants, four mentioned that the Dutch society is a White dominated society, where White is the norm. This indicates that Whiteness is visible to those four, which is also not the case for most White people (DiAngelo, 2004).

Another difference among respondents was that some participants briefly mentioned it, and others demonstrated a critical consciousness. A few participants outlined situations in which they realized they possess social benefits. R5 did this by describing his thoughts and experience at the airport. He told that when he arrives at the airport and the Customs are picking people out of the line, he knows that they will investigate Black people. While social benefits are mentioned by the participants, no economic benefits from being White were mentioned. The analysis of their attitudes towards White privilege is discussed in the section about feelings and emotions.

#### 4.1.2 Individual vs. Systemic Racism

Although White privilege closely relates to systemic racism, sometimes participants tended to subscribe to a view of racism as a more individualized phenomenon. This is often easier recognized than systemic racism (ACLRC, 2021). Viewing racial discrimination ‘as actions, or series of actions, inflicted on the victim by the perpetrator’ is what Freeman (1978, p. 1053) calls the ‘perpetrator perspective’. The focus is on what certain perpetrators do to the victims of racial discrimination, overshadowing the overall life situation of the victims (Freeman, 1978). From this perspective one understands that society needs to eliminate the perpetrators, who are villains acting out of dislike and hatred motivated by racial discrimination. Those who are not perpetrators are then not guilty of racism (Brown & Jackson, 2013). A quote of one of the participants (R2) illustrates this ‘perpetrator perspective’: ‘I saw that other people do make a distinction and I am ashamed of that. I can't imagine doing that.’

This tendency to individualize race related problems, rather than looking at the larger picture is one characteristic of colorblindness. Three participants clearly expressed colorblind identification attitudes. Statements about how there is only one race, and that we are all just humans were repeated several times. Two of the three participants who showed colorblind identification, expressed difficulty with the use of explicit racial terminology and showed resistance to the use of ‘Black’ and ‘White’. This can be explained by inexperience of and discomfort when talking about race for people living in the Netherlands, discussed by multiple authors (Siebers, 2015; Weiner, 2014; Essed & Hoving, 2014).

Others talked more about the systemic racist processes. Participants did this in multiple ways. Where some talked about racism in educational systems, others looked at racism in law enforcement. Three participants explicitly mentioned influences of the Dutch (neo)colonialism in organizations, institutions, and systems, and one participant did this more implicitly. Also capitalism, the economic system, was mentioned. R1 talked about racism’s interlinking with the capitalist system:

Racism should be broadened. Being drawn wider than just that people are racist within a certain nation state, but also how intertwined the state or how the state is developed and that in my view you can in principle only be antiracist if you are actually anticapitalist, because otherwise you are just trying to deprive the breeding ground of racism in a very reduced way. But people are not racist by default, they are forced that way, because it is easier to blame someone else for the failure of the capital and your position vis-a-vis the capital where you just sink into poverty, while other people of color do have work.

However, sometimes the participants' statements showed that the racial disparities, inequities, power system, history of violence and current trauma of racism was not always understood and acknowledged by them (Fitchburg State University, n.d.). Some participants reduced race to a skin color, thereby stripping it from any consideration of power, hierarchy or structure, which are deeply connected to the social identity of race (Olivas, 2006). R7 said for example:

I myself have never felt discomfort, but I think you really have to explain that from my point of view of the human as a human, because I think, not literally of course, but you could take the skin off and then we are all exactly the same, so really zero distinction. So the whole racial thinking anyway, what are we talking about? It is about pigment and so in that sense it is just totally irrelevant to me, but of course that is also very easy for me to say, because I am in a certain position which is White, and I am aware of that.

This statement also closely links to a colorblind identification (McDermott, 2015), because the participant makes claims about how he as an subjective individual deals with the workings of racial thinking in the objective social world (Hartmann et al., 2017).

Another example of a lack of understanding of the loss, trauma, and frustration from a systematic discrimination of Blacks is R4 arguing that examples of reverse racism are possible in some situations: ‘‘Look, I’m anti-racist, but I, uh, don not see racism as

an exclusively White thing. I also know that in some Black schools, including high schools, kids who are White can get into trouble there too.” This participant claims that when people of color say something offensive about White people it can also be labelled as an act of racism. Such reverse racism he asserts does not exist, as it would require generations of White loss, trauma, and frustration from a systematic discrimination to make such a statement (Backer, 2016).

#### 4.1.3 The Dutch context

It appears that almost all participants acknowledged the need for antiracism in the Netherlands. However, sometimes the participants showed signs of White innocence (Wekker, 2016). One way of doing this was comparing the Dutch culture to that of the United States. These participants did not deny racism in the Netherlands when they compared it to the United States, but they stated that the situation in the United States is different or worse than here in the Netherlands. This can be classified as a strategy to weaken the severity and degree of racism in the Netherlands and hold onto the image of the Netherlands as an progressive country (Wekker, 2016).

In contrast to this, two participants were aware of Dutch White innocence (Wekker, 2016) and both elaborated on this in their own way. R11 and R1 both directed criticism at this Dutch attitude. R11 explains how White innocence is embedded in systems of politics and policies:

One of the reasons that in all kinds of politics, migration politics, ideas about asylum policy or social facilities... The ideas that play a role in this actually contribute to saying we are better than other people, because we are enlightened and emancipated and progressive and liberal. And we love freedom.

R11 later explains how this is contraproductive in dismantling racism:

That is exactly what I just meant, ... that ideal of progress and everything in it, all the assumptions about how the world works and where we are going in history and all those kind of bigger stories that we have about ourselves and the world, to not only take it down but also to show that if you try to hold on to it, it will never work because you are still trying to save yourself.

Another participant describes how Dutch education also contributes to the maintaining of this positive and tolerant perception of the Dutch. While teaching history he was confronted with the content of the Canon<sup>1</sup>, in which the colonial history is mentioned very briefly. R1 elaborates:

[...] the colonial past of the Netherlands, which has always remained a bit unexposed or at least is not talked about very often, because I also taught history for a while and then you see how easy they talk about the entire colonial past and in which way the capital accumulation has made it possible for the Netherlands to be so prosperous. And then you just get a sentence or two about it like yes there were slaves, of course, but not at the big scale as in other countries is often said. Or it is a bit trivialized. Those things give you insight into what those logical views of a certain culture are, such as a Dutch culture about their own past or the past that likes to be presented as the Dutch past and the ‘golden century’ and those kind of things.

## **4.2 White racial identity development as a nonlinear process**

### 4.2.1 Personal meaning

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<sup>1</sup> An overview of important events in the history of the Netherlands. Together they tell how the Netherlands has developed over the centuries. Teachers use the Canon for their curricula (Rijksoverheid, n.d.).



When the participants were asked about their characteristics and its meaning to them, several participants mentioned that being White does not mean anything special to them. R6 for example told me: “It means... I do not think it means anything special to me to me. But it does mean something right, about me in relation to others in society.” The lack of personal meaning given to being White, shows the invisibility of being part of the dominant White group identity, and how White people have not been forced to think about their identity (Iling, 2019; Tatum, n.d.-b). R3 describes this using a metaphor of a fish in the water, in which the water symbolizes whiteness, when I asked him if he has any memories with regard to his whiteness:

No, it is like a fish in water, you know, he only knows he is swimming in the water when he is on dry land, gasping for breath, so uhm I have no memories or notions of my youth in which whiteness played a role.

Participants often showed difficulty in trying to answer questions about their White identity development, indicating that their White racial identity has not regularly crossed their minds before. Those who put more thought in it, did this in a later stage in life, also indicating how White people have the privilege of choosing whether and when to develop their racial identity in a White dominant culture. No participant seemed to have a positive identification with one's whiteness, which contradicts the second phase of Helms (1990) where a positive White racial identity is central.

However, although their White identity did not mean anything personal to most participants, some participants had been thinking about their role as a White person in antiracism work. The ones in which antiracism work plays the most prominent role in their lives, were also the ones who take a critical look at their position as a White person in the antiracism field. They told me they judged the situation depending on the context they find themselves in. Based on the participants' position in relation to the rest of the environment, the participants decide whether to put themselves in the spotlight. An example of when they

allowed themselves to be in the spotlight was when they were talking to other Whites, showing that they were cautious to not center themselves and speak for Black people.

#### 4.2.2 Contradictory statements

While analyzing the statements in the interviews through an antiracism lens, it stood out that participants often said contrasting things. They spoke in an antiracist manner in one moment, and in the next moment they did not, indicating that both attitudes are concomitantly alive and dead in the same individual (Hughey, 2022). An example of this is how one participant (R7) described how he is aware of the privileges attached to being White, while at another moment in the interview he claims that race is just skin pigment. So at one moment he is aware of the distribution of power between Whites and Blacks, and in another moment he states that there are no distinctions expect for the color of skin. Another example where contradictoriness can be identified is in the following quote of R6:

Sure, but it is also... look it is not my fight. My children are not bothered by ethnic profiling and will not be bothered by it. So in that sense, I am fighting a battle that is not mine, and I am positioning myself in that regard as well. It is very important that there are White people who are committed to racism in the Netherlands. It is not my fight, but at the same time it is my fight, because it is also my society. And I want to contribute to a better society where there is less racism, but the difference is that I can stop in a year and then do something else and not be bothered by it anymore, while my colleagues of color, my colleagues with a visible Islamic background, my colleagues who are Muslim, my colleagues with a visible migration background, they do not have that privilege, nor that luxury. And that also determines how I position myself in my work, consciously.

He points to antiracism as not a White's person problem when one's children do not experience racial discrimination, but shortly after that he follows by saying that antiracism is his fight

because it is his society and responsibility. This communicates two different stances. From the interviews it thus seems that the creation of a White identity is a fluid, changing and nonlinear process. Also, it indicates how the process is one of trial and error. This contradicts the WRID model's linear approach, and is more in line with critics who state that the process is not linear (Rowe et al., 1994).

#### 4.2.3 Feelings and emotions

By asking the interviewees to reflect on their feelings and emotions related to race, White privilege and racism, I intended to understand important key moments against which these participants possibly adopted ways of dealing with these feelings and emotions. Nine of the 11 participants talked about their feelings and emotions. Various emotions were named, which were: anger, loneliness, shame and sadness. In addition, multiple feelings were brought up by the participants. These were: feeling awkward, feeling optimistic, feeling bad, feeling like a coward, feeling unsafe, feeling responsible, feeling scared, feeling impatient, feeling painful, feeling powerless, feeling liberated or the absence of feeling guilt. Participants named multiple strategies to cope with the experience of feelings. The most named strategy was talking to colleagues in their antiracism work. One participant (R3) shared about his strategy:

What helped me then was the realization that that is the reality for people who are in a suppressed position, Black people have this all the time. So I found that realization helpful. But sparring with fellow White activists about how to see that has also helped me.

The finding that the majority of participants describe their emotions and feelings with regard to race, White privilege and racism, supports that emotions and feelings are central to understanding racial attitudes, whiteness and White supremacy. Besides, emotions can have consequences for behavior (Spanierman & Cabrera, 2014). As earlier mentioned, some

participants reflected on their emotions by talking about them. This might have contributed to growth and development in their White racial identity. For other participants, there was no evidence of self-reflection.

### **4.3 Antiracist parenting**

#### 4.3.1 Conversations about race and racism

Most participants were not raised in a politically aware family. The parents of the participants did not make race and racism talks a standard practice. When the participants were asked if and how they talked about racial inequality with their own children, almost all participants indicated they discussed this with their children. But different responses were given to the question of how they did this. A few participants with school-age children mentioned that they often talk about the antiracism work of themselves. Of those that spoke about racial inequality with their children, some described their way of doing in general and vague way. Few participants engaged in conversations that they could recount or that were focused, rich or deep, confirming Sullivan et al. (2012). Again, this seems as an example of the privilege of White parents to not experience the high need of discussing racial injustice with their White children, because their children do not suffer from it. This is in stark contrast within Black families, where not talking about race is not seen as an option for Black parents (Ramachandran, 2021). For Black parents racial socialization is an essential parenting practice to protect their children's well-being (Anderson et al., 2020). To illustrate, the parent (R3) who described his conversations with his children the clearest said:

Yes I discuss that, in what way ... well, if I go out on the street with an antiracist group then the whole house is strewn with protest signs and vests and all kinds of preparation materials and such and then that raises questions and then I tell them that I go demonstrate. Then I try to connect as closely as possible to their the world view and I

explain why I do that. And in other ways... yes my daughter brings forward these topics as well, you know then she has seen another tiktok video and then we will talk about it but it is not like “come on guys now we are going to talk again about”, no it is in the everyday where I just try to take that with me yes.

Interesting is that no parent told me they discuss racial identity with their children. This could mean that White racial socialization is not a common practice among the parents. This can be explained by Hagerman (2017) and Michael and Conger (2009) who state that being White is perceived as so normal, that it does not come across parents’ minds to discuss it with their children. Another reason could be that parents lack a developed White racial identity themselves (Hagerman, 2017; Michael & Conger, 2009).

#### 4.3.2 School choice

One of the most discussed topics with regard to parenthood, was the school choice of their children. Of the eight parents, six parents considered the range of racial and ethnic diversity of the school when choosing a school for their children. These advantaged parents considered the benefits of racial and ethnic diverse schools in preparing their children for a diverse society. However, this did not mean that the children of all participants’ went or are going to a racially diverse school. Other criteria than the school’s level of racial diversity, were often pivotal. Criteria as proximity of a school to the house, preferences of the child itself and teaching methods were given more priority.

This confirms the findings of Roda and Wells (2013) that many White, mostly upper-middle-class parents are bothered by racial segregation in schools, but are simultaneously experiencing tension between their beliefs and their worries and options. This also links to the struggles of making life decisions that honor antiracist beliefs by Malott et al. (2015). White

advantaged parents are, because of their resources and knowledge, more likely to enroll their children into what they believe to be the highest-status schools, often predominantly White schools (Roda & Wells, 2015). The participants have the privilege of deciding this, but they also have the privilege of choosing to not do this and send their children to a more racially mixed school. They can choose to let their child experience and learn from a range of diversity and at the same time have the “privilege of risk” to send their child to such a school knowing that they have a safety net of financial and human capital to make sure their children thrive in school. In the case their child does not succeed, they have alternatives to turn to (Turner et al., 2021).

This is a clear example of how few self-identified White antiracists are willing to sacrifice their perceived opportunities and advantages for oneself and one’s family, to actually disassociate from their privilege (al-Gharbi, 2019). What we see here is that opposition to more racially mixed schools is not grounded in antipathy towards children of another race, but out of a drive to see their own children succeed. This primary goal of making sure your child does well in school is common among Whites. While this is also important for Black parents, there are also other values important in the Black community (Puchner & Markowitz, 2015). Among Black communities interdependence and collectivism are seen as more important values to function in society, than it is among Whites. The notion that individual functioning occurs within families and communities arises from cultural heritage and afri-centric beliefs (Thomas, 2017). White parents’ decisions for the benefit of the success of their child is deemed most important, even if it is at others’ expense. As al-Gharbi (2019, p. 1210) indicates: “Yet this is, fundamentally, how systemic racism operates.”

These decisions show how important racial justice really is to those benefiting from the system the most. This can only be determined on the basis of action, or a lack thereof. It can be

tempting to attribute the responsibility of resolving the problem to the collective. One participant (R11) did this by talking about the role of politics in school choices:

And so it is also very uncomfortable that she now indeed attends a school where, like many schools, there are a lot of White children, and fortunately also some non-White children, but that is nothing compared to the city in which we live. And I can very easily explain why this is structurally the case, of course, so how those choices for those schools are determined by the segregation of Dutch primary schools, and I can explain that nicely, [...] it is true that my daughter attends a mainly White school, that is just the way it is. But I really do think, not only sociologically but also politically, that in the end it is not just up to the parents in terms of school choice. I do mean it is up to parents in a different sense, but not in terms of school choice to solve that problem, because the whole reduction to school choice makes the problem unsolvable. So I think that is political. I think politically that it is up to the municipality, for example, but in a certain sense also to the government, to change the education landscape in such a way that there are no more White schools at all.

These kind of statements show that the White person is aware of the problem on the system level, but at the same time by stating this, it provides the parent the opportunity to refrain from making substantive changes to one's behavior or lifestyle (al-Gharbi, 2019).

## 5. Discussion and Conclusion

### 5.1 Main points and importance of this thesis

The results showed that although all participants are self-identified antiracists, some statements, views and attitudes of racism and antiracism do not align with the traits of White antiracism.

Approaching racism as an individualized phenomenon, taking a colorblind approach and features of White innocence are problematic in the field of antiracism. However, there were also moments where clear progress was seen in the participants' antiracism journey. These heterogeneous attitudes make it difficult to label one as antiracist or not.

From the data it seems that the WRID model of Helms (1990) which approaches the development as linear with a sequence of stages, is oversimplified. In reality the development of a White identity seems much more complex. Whites can exhibit an antiracist attitude at one time and contradict this one moment later or the other way around.

I found that my sample lacked a well-developed White racial identity. Those who have been constructing a White identity were a clear minority and started developing this at a later age in life. It is evident that there is much to win for the White racial identity for White people in the Netherlands. Skills and tools need to be provided to assist this process.

I see an important role for education here. Not only for the elementary schools, but also high schools and further education. When the curriculum pays attention to identities, race, whiteness and systemic inequalities, this can serve as a catalyst for the start of developing a White identity. However, this means that the teacher force should get guidance in this as it can be challenging for White teachers living in a White environment to initiate these discussions in class. Before education can be an inflection point for racialized understandings of the world, it is of vital importance that this does not impact students of color in a negative way. Also, caution must be exercised to not excessively emphasize whiteness.

Another implication for education is that more measures need to be taken to desegregate the schools in ways that both benefit White children as children of color. Action is needed of White parents to establish this, because they benefit from this system the most (al-Gharbi, 2019). Al-Gharbi (2019) states that exactly these changes in behavior or lifestyle of White



parents can have significant effects within the local community. He clarifies: ‘‘the best solution for a collective action problem is for someone to step up and do the right thing’’(p. 1211).

White parents perceive themselves as good parents when their child succeeds in school. Whites thus have to see the advantages for their child, otherwise they will not decide to change their school decisions, and with that also benefit people of color. Bell (1980) explained this as ‘‘the interests of Blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of Whites’’ (p. 523), also called the ‘interest convergence’. Therefore, for segregation policies to work, remedies presented in school policies must secure or advance these interests of Whites, and a common ground should be found where the interests of Whites and people of color align (Bell, 1980).

## **5.2 Limitations**

The qualitative interviews have offered me the opportunity to go into depth of the participants’ experiences and their meanings. However, due to the time this takes, together with the limited time resources, the sample size of 11 is relatively low. This relatively low number of participants is also explained by the experienced difficulty in trying to find participants. It could be that these communities are harder to find. Sometimes members of antiracist organizations stay under the radar due to security reasons. Another reason could be that maybe the pool of participants who fulfil the criteria is small. Although there is discussion about the question of what sample size is needed for qualitative research in the academic world (Boddy, 2016), I mention the sample size as a possible limitation because not data saturation, but time resources determined the stop of recruiting participants (Aldiabat & Le Navenec, 2018).

Moreover, the study is limited by the use of interviews of colleague students. Because I did not conduct all interviews myself, I noticed that during the analysis I was less familiar with the interviews of others compared to the interviews I conducted myself. This could have limited

the quality of the analysis (UCL, n.d.). Another limitation related to this is that not all participants were asked the same questions. This impacted the comparing of participants for some topics.

Another limitation is that all interviewees are middle or upper middle class and high educated, meaning all have completed Higher Professional Education (HBO) or university in the Netherlands. Therefore, the findings of this study must be read in the light that only people of middle or upper middle class and those with educational privilege were studied.

### **5.3 Lessons I take with me**

After a reflection of my learning process in the time of writing this thesis, I come to the conclusion that apart from increasing my scientific knowledge, I learned the most about myself. I was confronted with my own underdeveloped White racial identity and my unawareness of how my whiteness privileges me in every aspect of my life. I see it as my responsibility to incorporate everything I read and learned in my never-ending learning journey. I would therefore strongly advise every White person to look into this material. It makes you understand yourself and the world and the systems in it better.

From a relatively young age I have been interested in learning about racism, but this thesis surprised me with a whole other perspective, which is not studying the victims of systemic racism but the ones that benefit from it. If it was not for this thesis I would have not (or at a later moment in life) come across whiteness studies and learn the societal importance of these studies. It makes me proud that, besides completing a thesis, I contributed to the knowledge about whiteness, even if it is a small contribution.

### **5.4 Future research**

The lack of White people of working class in this study provides an opportunity for future research to do similar research for working class-Whites. This is especially interesting, because Bonilla-Silva (2004) found that for women White racial progressives were significantly more likely to be working class. Because of the frequency of and openness of participants talking about their experienced emotions and feelings, another suggestion for future research would be to study what strategies of dealing with emotions and feelings could be beneficial for people in the Netherlands in learning about antiracism and their White racial identity. Lastly, it might be interesting to do research on how White parents in the Netherlands can be moved to making substantive changes in decisions concerning their White child, thereby starting a movement within a local community, and in turn contributing to the reducing of systemic racism.

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## Appendix 1: Interview Guide

1. Vraag (nogmaals) of het OK is om het interview op te nemen. Druk vervolgens op **record**.
2. Heb je nog vragen over dit interview of het project voordat we beginnen?
3. Leg uit: Dit interview maakt deel uit van een groter project, waarin we proberen te begrijpen wat witte mensen ertoe brengt zich in te zetten voor antiracisme. Ik heb een aantal vragen te stellen, maar weet dat dit het grotere doel is, dus als ik niet de juiste vragen voor je stel, laat het me dan weten. Ik ga beginnen met een paar demografische vragen, dan zal ik vragen stellen over hoe uw inzet voor antiracistisch werk er nu uitziet. Dan gaan we terug en zal ik enkele vragen stellen over uw persoonlijke geschiedenis en ervaring en wat u tot uw inzet heeft geleid.
4. Heeft u vragen? (opnieuw)

<b>Demografie/achtergrond</b>	
Kun je me vertellen waar je bent geboren en waar je nu woont?	
Hoe oud ben je?	
Heb je kinderen? (Hoe oud zijn ze?)	
Wat doe je voor je werk/hoe besteed je je tijd?	
Welke karakteristieken zijn voor jou belangrijke manieren om jezelf te omschrijven? (bijv. <i>Huidskleur, gender, seksuele geaardheid, ability, etc.</i> ). <i>Als <u>huidskleur</u> niet wordt benoemd: hoe zit dat met witheid?</i>	
Wat betekenen deze vormen van zelfidentificatie voor jou?	
Wat voor rol vullen deze karakteristieken in bij jouw werk tegen racisme?	
Als ik naar jou refereer in het onderzoek, welke pronouns zal ik dan gebruiken?	
Hoe ziet je huidige inzet voor antiracisme of raciale rechtvaardigheid eruit/ wat houdt je inzet in?  <i>Hier, of later in het interview, is het belangrijk om een idee te krijgen van de opvatting van de persoon over wat racisme is en wat antiracisme is en we proberen dit te doen zonder directe vragen te stellen. Maar wijzen hun antwoorden op een systemisch of individueel begrip van racisme (bijvoorbeeld)?</i>	
<b>Sleutelvragen</b>	

Kun je me iets vertellen over je jeugd en hoe je bent opgegroeid?  <i>(Deelnemers kunnen zich op hun eigen manier "anders" voelen, voordat ze ras/racisme begrijpen.</i>	
Wat waren de opvattingen van je familie over ras?	
Had je familie interesse in te politiek en zo ja, wat was de politieke voorkeur van de familie of omgeving waarin je bent opgegroeid?	
Hoe kwam deze politieke voorkeur tot uiting?  <i>Had de omgeving waarin je opgroeide duidelijke ideeën over mensen die anders waren of mensen van kleur?</i>	
Wat zijn enkele van je herinneringen over rassen of witheid?  <i>(Sommigen merkten verschil op voordat ze hun eigen witheid begrepen)</i>	
<b>Chronologisch verhaal</b>	
Kun je me vertellen wat in je leven ervoor heeft gezorgd dat je bewust bent van racisme en je ook daartegen inzet?	
Waar heb je geleerd over ras en racisme?  <i>(Opleiding/cursus/een persoon in hun leven die deze interesse heeft gewekt)</i>	
Is je sociale omgeving van invloed geweest binnen de ontwikkeling van je witte identiteit en zo ja, zou je daar wat meer over kunnen vertellen?	
Om als witte mensen dit werk te doen, moeten we ons soms ongemakkelijk voelen, hoe benader je deze ongemak?  <i>(Mindfulness/ meditatiebeoefening of iets dergelijks waarbij ze werken aan "comfortabel zijn met ongemakkelijk zijn" of ze hebben een spirituele oefening, enz.)</i>	
Wat vinden je ouders/familie van je antiracisme?	
<b>Wanneer de respondent kinderen heeft:</b>	
Wat is de raciale samenstelling van de vriendschapskring van je kind/kinderen?	

Hoe raciaal divers is de buurt en school van je kind/kinderen nu?	
Hoe bewust is je kind/zijn je kinderen van ras en racisme?	
Op welke manieren bespreek je ras met je kind/kinderen?	
Hoe zie jij de rol als ouder in relatie tot antiracisme?	
Hoe beïnvloedt jouw antiracisme jouw manier van opvoeden?	
Hoe zou je jouw mening over antiracisme voor en na het ouderschap omschrijven?	
Wat hebben je ouders je verteld over ras toen je opgroeide en hoe breng je deze ervaring in je eigen raciale communicatie en socialisatie als ouder?	
<i>Als je met mensen spreekt die nog niet over hun witheid hebben nagedacht, is het misschien gemakkelijker om <b>achteruit</b> met hen samen te werken. Dat wil zeggen, begin met wat ze nu doen met betrekking tot antiracistische inzet. Hoe zijn ze bij dit werk betrokken geraakt? en traceer het verhaal in omgekeerde volgorde.</i>	
Als iemand net is begonnen met de reflecties over wit-zijn, wat zou je diegene meegeven aan kennis, informatie en inspiratie?	
<i>Reflecteer hun verhaal/ belangrijkste punten terug naar hen</i>	
Wat ontbreekt er?	
Wat heb ik niet gevraagd?	
Zijn er andere mensen met wie ik zou moeten praten?	

## Appendix 2: Checklist Ethical and Privacy Aspects of Research



### INSTRUCTION

This checklist should be completed for every research study that is conducted at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology (DPAS). This checklist should be completed *before* commencing with data collection or approaching participants. Students can complete this checklist with help of their supervisor.

This checklist is a mandatory part of the empirical master's thesis and has to be uploaded along with the research proposal.

The guideline for ethical aspects of research of the Dutch Sociological Association (NSV) can be found on their website ([http://www.nsv-sociologie.nl/?page\\_id=17](http://www.nsv-sociologie.nl/?page_id=17)). If you have doubts about ethical or privacy aspects of your research study, discuss and resolve the matter with your EUR supervisor. If needed and if advised to do so by your supervisor, you can also consult Dr. Jennifer A. Holland, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

### PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION

Project title: Towards a Future of Antiracist Generations  
Qualitative thesis part of the internship of Bonnie French

Name, email of student: Lieve Graaf, 4713511g@student.eur.nl

Name, email of supervisor: Bonnie French, french@essb.eur.nl

Start date and duration: 1/2/2022, 6 months

Is the research study conducted within DPAS **YES** - NO

If 'NO': at or for what institute or organization will the study be conducted?  
(e.g. internship organization)

### PART II: HUMAN SUBJECTS

1. Does your research involve human participants. **YES** - NO

*If 'NO': skip to part V.*

If 'YES': does the study involve medical or physical research? YES - **NO**



Research that falls under the Medical Research Involving Human Subjects Act ([WMO](#)) must first be submitted to [an accredited medical research ethics committee](#) or the Central Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects ([CCMO](#)).

2. Does your research involve field observations without manipulations that will not involve identification of participants. YES - NO

*If 'YES': skip to part IV.*

3. Research involving completely anonymous data files (secondary data that has been anonymized by someone else). YES - NO

*If 'YES': skip to part IV.*

### PART III: PARTICIPANTS

1. Will information about the nature of the study and about what participants can expect during the study be withheld from them? YES - NO
2. Will any of the participants not be asked for verbal or written 'informed consent,' whereby they agree to participate in the study? YES - NO
3. Will information about the possibility to discontinue the participation at any time be withheld from participants? YES - NO
4. Will the study involve actively deceiving the participants? YES - NO  
*Note: almost all research studies involve some kind of deception of participants. Try to think about what types of deception are ethical or non-ethical (e.g. purpose of the study is not told, coercion is exerted on participants, giving participants the feeling that they harm other people by making certain decisions, etc.).*
5. Does the study involve the risk of causing psychological stress or negative emotions beyond those normally encountered by participants? YES - NO
6. Will information be collected about special categories of data, as defined by the GDPR (e.g. racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, genetic data, biometric data for the purpose of uniquely identifying a person, data concerning mental or physical health, data concerning a person's sex life or sexual orientation)? YES - NO
7. Will the study involve the participation of minors (<18 years old) or other groups that cannot give consent? YES - NO
8. Is the health and/or safety of participants at risk during the study? YES - NO
9. Can participants be identified by the study results or can the confidentiality of the participants' identity not be ensured? YES - NO
10. Are there any other possible ethical issues with regard to this study? YES - NO

If you have answered 'YES' to any of the previous questions, please indicate below why this issue is unavoidable in this study.

Emphasize the voluntary nature of the study and the fact that we are interviewing people who already do antiracist work, so they are accustomed to these sorts of discussions. White – the topic of the study (see the approved ethics application)

What safeguards are taken to relieve possible adverse consequences of these issues (e.g., informing participants about the study afterwards, extra safety regulations, etc.).

Voluntary

Are there any unintended circumstances in the study that can cause harm or have negative (emotional) consequences to the participants? Indicate what possible circumstances this could be.

No

Please attach your informed consent form in Appendix I, if applicable.

Continue to part IV.

#### **PART IV: SAMPLE**

Where will you collect or obtain your data?

---

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

---

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the size of the population from which you will sample?

Impossible to measure, but easily thousands

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

Continue to part V.

#### **PART V: DATA STORAGE AND BACKUP**

Where and when will you store your data in the short term, after acquisition?

Password protected cloud EUR – shared folder for the research team

Note: indicate for separate data sources, for instance for paper-and pencil test data, and for digital data files.

Who is responsible for the immediate day-to-day management, storage and backup of the data arising from your research?

Bonnie French

How (frequently) will you back-up your research data for short-term data security?

Weekly

In case of collecting personal data how will you anonymize the data?

1. Bonnie will keep metadata of participant names and contact information so that we can be in touch with participants about the results.
2. No real names will be in transcriptions.
3. no identifying characteristics in the coding
4. Pseudonyms in the written analysis.

*Note: It is advisable to keep directly identifying personal details separated from the rest of the data. Personal details are then replaced by a key/ code. Only the code is part of the database with data and the list of respondents/research subjects is kept separate.*

## **PART VI: SIGNATURE**

Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the ethical guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing information to participants about the study and ensuring confidentiality in storage and use of personal data. Treat participants respectfully, be on time at appointments, call participants when they have signed up for your study and fulfil promises made to participants.

Furthermore, it is your responsibility that data are authentic, of high quality and properly stored. The principle is always that the supervisor (or strictly speaking the Erasmus University Rotterdam) remains owner of the data, and that the student should therefore hand over all data to the supervisor.

Hereby I declare that the study will be conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. I have answered the questions truthfully.

Name student: Lieve Graaf

Name (EUR) supervisor: Bonnie French

Date: 20/3/2022

Date: 20/3/2022