# **Master Thesis**

# Identity development of 'mixed race' people in the Netherlands



Esmeralda Esajas 502729

25-06-2023

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Master Social Inequalities

First Supervisor: Bonnie French

Second supervisor: Lore van Praag

Word Count: 8396

#### **Abstract**

This thesis investigates the identity formation of Black/white 'mixed race' people in the Netherlands. There is currently no existing research on this topic. Interviews were conducted with 10 Black/white 'mixed race' respondents who were asked about their racial lineages and how they came to understand themselves. The results showed that the identity formation process is unique and a struggle for all respondents. They experience being pushed away from whiteness due to exclusion, microaggressions and discrimination. On the other hand, they feel pushed away from Blackness, by feelings of disconnection from Blackness. Lastly, most of the respondents felt a sense of self and cultural belonging in being 'mixed race' and/or Black because of doing research and interacting with other people with similar experiences. However, a difference between men and women in the sample was noted. The conclusion is therefore due to their social/cultural upbringing, societal variables in the Netherlands, family structure, racial-ethnic socialization, external racial gaze, and cultural (dis)connection, Black/white 'mixed race' persons in the Netherlands have a range of experiences, which makes their identification process distinct. Further research should focus on a bigger sample size and look into the difference between genders and identity formation.

Keywords: Blackness, identity formation, 'mixed race', whiteness

# **Table of Contents**

Introduction	3		
Theoretical framework	4		
Race in the Netherlands			
Origin of Dutch raceless language	5		
Dutch notions of race	6		
Dutch = white	7		
Multiracialism			
Legal identification	8		
Social identification	8		
Personal identification	9		
Relevance of research	10		
Data & Methods	11		
Operationalization			
Sample	11		
Data collection	12		
Validity & reliability			
Analysis	13		
Findings & Analysis	13		
Demographic data	13		
Findings	14		
Struggle	14		
Pushed away from whiteness	17		
Pushed away from blackness	18		
Self/cultural belonging in 'mixed race'/Blackness	19		
Analysis	21		
Struggle	21		
Pushed away from whiteness	22		
Pushed away from blackness	24		
Self/cultural belonging in 'mixed race'/Blackness	25		
Discussion	27		
Conclusion	29		
Bibliography	31		
Appendix	36		

## Introduction

In the 1950s, the Netherlands allowed Dutch citizenship for people from its former colonies Surinam and the Antilles (Aruba, Bonaire, Curacao). Consequently, people from Surinam and the Islands, a large proportion of whom are Black, immigrated to the Netherlands. In 1960, 12,700 Surinamese people migrated to the Netherlands and in 1983 this number increased to 190,000 (Oostindie, 1988). Antilleans started migrating later with 13,630 Antillean people in the Netherlands in 1970 and 43,000 in 1983 (Oostindie, 1988). People from the Antilles and Suriname, many of whom are now first, second, or third generation, make up a significant part of the Dutch population today, with over 450,000 Surinamese people and over 90,000 Antilleans (Humanity in action Nederland, n.d., para 12). Due to their fluency in the Dutch language and the racial mixing with white Dutch natives, they are considered to be well integrated into Dutch society and culture in the Netherlands (Amponsah, 2017).

Even though Black people from Suriname and the Islands are considered to be well integrated, they are still perceived as foreigners in the Netherlands due to their skin tone because the Dutch identity is still associated with being white (Wekker, 2016; Humanity in action Nederland, n.d., para 8).

In colonial times monoracial Black people and (Black/white) 'mixed race' people were both considered Black while the personal identification differed between them (Essed & Trienekens, 2008). Now, however, children born with mixed racial heritage, have a range of personal identities including being 'mixed race'. Multiracial people often struggle with racial, cultural belonging and identity and often experience a difference between their legal, social, and personal identification (Khanna, 2011; Root, 1999). The Dutch identity is a complex phenomenon because since the Holocaust, the Dutch do not speak of 'race' since the notion of 'race' was used to commit mass genocide (Kanobana, 2021). As a result,

notions of race are avoided, and other terms related to migration background are used to indicate lineage (CBS, 2022).

This thesis will examine the identity development of (Black/white) 'mixed race' people in the Netherlands. The majority of studies on 'mixed race' identity forming has been done in the United States (e.g., Khanna, 2011; Campion, 2019; Omi & Winant, 2011). It is important to look at the 'mixed race' identity forming in the Netherlands because of their growing share of the population, because they are neglected in current research and because their experienced identities cannot be compared to the 'mixed race' people in the United States nor Black Dutch monoracial people. The research question is therefore: *How do Black/white 'mixed race' people in the Netherlands formulate and understand their racial identities*?

There is limited writing on 'mixed-race' identification in the Netherlands and so this thesis will first discuss the notion of race in the Netherlands. Next, it will discuss multiple aspects of multiracialism from research in the United States, sequentially legal identification, social identification, and personal identification. After that, the data and methods will describe how the research is conducted. Then the findings and analysis section will show the results of the research. Finally, the discussion and conclusion will be discussed.

#### Theoretical Framework

In order to comprehend how Black/white 'mixed race' people form their identities in the Netherlands, the sections that follow will first discuss the history of race in the Netherlands and how race is not spoken of. Following that, the multiplicity of how identities are formed is explored where research for the Netherlands is missing. Finally, the gap in current research is explained.

#### Origin of Dutch raceless language

Race and racism were foundational to Europe's long history of colonization as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century and live on in cultural memory of the Holocaust between 1933 and 1945 (Wekker, 2016). Europe played a crucial role in the slave trade which began in 1510 (Slave Trade, n.d.). The concept of race was created in Europe during colonization, but nowadays it's not used in much of Europe (Wekker, 2016, p. 4). During colonial times in the Netherlands, racial categories were made, and a distinction was made between white people and non-white people. The Dutch don't use the translated word of white, *wit*, to name white people but instead use the word *blank* (Schoonderwoerd et al., 2018). In Dutch this word means 'not stained', blank and having no colour (Schoonderwoerd et al., 2018, p. 100). While the Dutch terminology used to refer to Black people were not favourable, the word *blank* is. Black people were named *negers* or called *exotisch* in colonial times which is considered offensive language nowadays (Schoonderwoerd et al., 2018).

Race translated in Dutch is *ras* and this word in the Dutch context has a heavy meaning and is not spoken of in the Netherlands (Kanobana, 2021). This is mainly because of the Second World War and since fascism was related to race, the idea of race was fully rejected in Europe after the Holocaust (Kanobana, 2021, p. 271). Despite this, Dutch people historically have an overtly extensive relationship with race and the racism that has accompanied it (Cottingham & Andringa, 2020).

Today, to describe non-white people "ethnicity, ethnic group, and ethnic minorities are the preferred terms in the Netherlands to refer to groups of racialized others and these words make the conversation about racism essentially a conversation about culture, language, religion, and migration" (Kanobana, 2021, p. 271). To describe people of mixed, Black, and

white, racial heritage, the word *halfbloed*, half-blood, was used and is sometimes still used in spoken language among the population (Schoonderwoerd et al., 2018). Today the white Dutch society prides itself in believing there is no race nor racism and thus sees itself as color blind (Wekker, 2016).

#### Dutch notions of race

When migratory laborers arrived in the Netherlands in the 1960s and 1970s, they were referred to as buitenlanders (foreigners), gastarbeiders (guestworkers) and later as Etnische minderheden (ethnic minorities). Because minderheden (minorities) had a negative connotation, the words allochtonen and autochtonen were introduced in 1971 because these people were considered when formulating policies and became more integrated into Dutch society (Bovens et al., 2016). Allochtonen were the people that were not born in the Netherlands or at least one parent was not born in the Netherlands and autochtonen were the people that were born in the Netherlands (Çankaya & Mepschen, 2019). By doing this, concepts of race were avoided by making a distinction between allochtonen and autochtonen.

Because of the stigmatization of the words and the dichotomy it caused, these words were replaced in 2016. From then on, people were categorized by "migration background" and divided into having a "non-western" or "western" migration background (CBS, 2022). The Central Bureau for Statistics in the Netherlands describes having a non-western migration background as: "person originating from a country in Africa, South America, or Asia (excluding Indonesia and Japan) or from Turkey" (2022, para 1). A person with a western migration background is described as "originating from a country in Europe (excluding Turkey), North America and Oceania, or from Indonesia or Japan" (CBS, 2022, para 1). Most with a migration background in the Netherlands have a lineage from Turkey, Morocco,

Surinam, Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba, and/or Indonesia. Mainly people from Turkey and Morocco came to the Netherlands in the 60s and 70s as labour migrants. Individuals having a migratory history from Surinam, Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, and Indonesia are descendants of former Dutch colonies (CBS, 2022). Evidently what this means is that people from Surinam or the ABC-Islands in the Netherlands are considered having a non-western migration background while the ABC-islands are still a part of the kingdom of the Netherlands and Surinam is a former colony which caused a lot of people migrating to the Netherlands (Jones & Hart, 2020). The CBS (2022) has adjusted the categorization of people in 2022 and people are now being categorized based on having migrated to the Netherlands, being a child of a migrated person or being born in the Netherlands.

#### <u>Dutch</u> = white

While the Netherlands claims to see everyone as equal, categorizing individuals shows that "in practice, dominant notions of Dutch identity and (non) belonging are heavily racialised" (De Witte, 2019, p. 613). Because of this division, to be considered "Dutch" is to be white, without a migration background. Everyone who is dissimilar from that image is considered a foreigner (De Witte, 2019). Wekker (2016) describes the characteristics of what not being Dutch entails: "such as language, an exotic appearance, *een kleurtje hebben*, having a tinge of color, outlandish dress and convictions, non-Christian religions, the memory of oppression" (Wekker, 2016, p. 7).

#### Multiracialism

The majority of research on multiracialism has been conducted in the United States and therefore the subsequent sections will rely largely on research from the United States.

#### Legal identification

In the United States, people are given a legal racial classification. Before the 2000 census, people could only pick one race when asked to answer in the survey, and people with mixed racial heritage were categorized on the basis of hypodescent (Leverette, 2009). Hypodescent is when a person of mixed racial heritage is categorized as the race that is seen as inferior compared to the other, commonly referred to as the "one drop rule" (Leverette, 2009). In 2000, people could mark as many races as they wished to designate their race (United States Census Bureau, n.d., para. 1). Black and white racial mixing was stigmatized during colonization and slavery, and the acknowledgement of the history of 'mixed race' people was marked by the change toward being permitted to identify as having multiple races in the 2000 census (Perez & Hirschman, 2009).

Biologically, the term 'mixed race' is a complex concept because in essence everyone is of mixed racial heritage. Most importantly, no one has just one race and most importantly race is socially constructed (Leverette, 2009; Wilson, 1984). However, individuals with two or more racial ancestries are 'mixed race' in the societal sense (Wilson, 1984).

#### Social identification

In the eyes of society 'mixed race', "Black and white people", are seen as Black in the United States due to the legal legacy of hypodescent. However, the experiences of 'mixed race', Black/white people in society are different than the experiences of white or Black monoracial

people (Campion, 2019). Historically, 'mixed race' people were seen as aesthetically more appealing than monoracial Black people and therefore had a better social position than monoracial Black people (Campion, 2019). Rockquemore (2002) revealed that 'mixed race' people are often discriminated by Black people based on phenotypical characteristics. This phenomenon is for example with women because 'lighter-skinned' ('mixed race') women were more attractive to Black men. The reason for this is because 'there is a history of colorism in the black community due to Eurocentric beauty standards in the broader society' (Sims, 2016, p. 571). For example, 'mixed race' women have hair that sometimes is less coily and curlier or wavier, occasionally even straight, which is more in line with the norm for European women. This resulted in aversion from Black women towards 'mixed race' women. 'Mixed race' people often find themselves being not white enough for white people and being too white for Black people and not able to identify with either while society automatically categorizes them as Black (Leverette, 2009; Gilbert, 2005).

Research shows that race is a social construction and that "one result of the social construction of race is cultural ideas of what members of each race physically look like" (Sims, 2016, p. 570). In the context of the United States, a person's race is determined by their physical features (Omi & Winant, 2011). Certain "dominant Black features" can cause people in society to categorize 'mixed race' people as either Black or White (Khanna, 2011, p. 50). These black features include hair texture, hair color and skin color (Khanna, 2011). With 'mixed race' people, racial identities are formed by being more similar in appearance to either Black people or white people (Sims, 2016).

#### Personal identification

Research showed that people who are of 'mixed' racial heritage and appear Black frequently self-identify as Black. They often don't want to identify as either race when they appear white

or 'can pass as white' (Sims, 2016, p. 570). When they appear 'mixed' and it is difficult to categorize them as Black or white, they frequently identify as such (Sims, 2016, p. 570). However, the failure to identify with neither Black nor white because they are both, often causes an inner conflict. 'Mixed race' people can feel like they don't belong or are not understood when family members such as parents do not look like them and do not experience the same problems (Root, 1999). When they grow up without people who look like them and can understand them it can add to racial identification conflicts. Khanna (2011) asserts that social contexts also play a role in how people who identify as 'mixed race' come to understand who they are, she says about this: "identity for biracial individuals, for instance, is a process by which they come to understand themselves, at least in part, through daily social interactions with family, friends, peers, coworkers, and others" (p. 65).

#### Relevance of research

Having discussed the existing research on the meaning of race in the Netherlands and how 'mixed race' identities are formed, the proposed research will fill the gap by combining the existing research and applying it to the Dutch case. Unfortunately, most research on 'mixed race' identity forming has been done in the United States where race and 'mixed race' is commonly used. However, because the Dutch do not look at race or 'mixed race' there is no research on the Black/white 'mixed race' identity forming. Interestingly, a resemblance can be seen between the United States' system of hypodescent and the Dutch system of categorization according to migration background. When a person is 'mixed race' they are still categorized as Black in the United States and similarly when a person has one parent with a migration background they are categorized as having a migration background in the Netherlands (CBS, 2022; Leverette, 2009). This research thus will fill in the gap by providing data on Black/white 'mixed race' identity forming in the Netherlands.

#### **Data & Methods**

#### **Operationalization**

To investigate the research question (How do Black/white 'mixed race' people in the Netherlands formulate and understand their racial identities?), qualitative interviews have been held with Black/white 'mixed race' people in the Netherlands. The purpose of having done this is to make the respondent's personal experiences the main focus and, this has been researched by means of 10 semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. To have achieved this, an interview protocol has been made which gave the interviews some structure when necessary and made sure every important topic was addressed (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The topics that the respondents have been interviewed about are concerning their (racial)identities, racial backgrounds, racial socialization by example of the research from Sims (2016) about 'mixed race' identities. Examples of questions that have been asked are: "what is your racial background", "how do you identify regarding your 'mixed race' background", "How has this affected you?", "Have you had experiences where you felt like you did not belong?", "Do you feel Dutch?", to indicate how they identify themselves. The interviews have been 30 minutes to an hour long and each interview has been transcribed.

#### Sample

The sample consisted of Black and white 'mixed race' adults in the Netherlands and ten respondents have been interviewed. Seven respondents identified as female, and three respondents identified as male. The ages of the respondents ranged between 19 and 31. 'Mixed race' in this research means that one parent must be Black and the other one white. It is important to note that this is an oversimplified definition of 'mixed race' but has been used to make it easier to recruit respondents. Prior to the interviews, the respondents have

given their informed consent to ensure that the data can be used and that they know that their data will be handled with care and anonymity is guaranteed.

#### Data collection

The respondents have been recruited through my own network where *snowball sampling* and *convenience sampling* is used. *Snowball sampling* is where the people in my network have recruited other people which will fit the criteria, for example family or friends (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The *Convenience sampling* method is where people have been recruited in my direct network because of easy accessibility (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

#### *Validity & reliability*

To ensure the validity of the research, so called validity procedures have been done. Firstly, the findings have been extensively described so that the reader gets a good idea of the environment of the interviews and to also discuss multiple point of views within a theme (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 274). Also, the researcher's positionality is explained. I, the researcher am a Black/white 'mixed race' woman, and this causes certain biases. Therefore, I can understand the difficulties that accompany being 'mixed race' and the tripartition of the different means of identification. This was expected to be beneficial and was proven to be because this allowed the respondents to be more open because 'I might get it' and it made the conversations more fluent. The ethics and privacy checklist in the appendix can offer more information.

The reliability has been maintained by having made sure the interviews can be repeated by other researchers using the interview guide. The interviews have been coded using the software programme *Atlas*. *Ti* which guarantees intercoder reliability (Creswell &

Creswell, 2018). This will be because a codebook has been used in which primary and secondary codes have been applied.

Analysis

The interviews have been audio recorded with permission of the respondents. All the interviews have been transcribed, and pseudonyms have been given to the respondents to guarantee anonymity. By making use of the coding programme *Atlas*. *Ti* the interviews have been coded into different themes (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Open, axial, and selective coding have been used to carry out the study. This has been done using inductive coding, codes have been formed, based on the data from the interviews (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

# Findings & Analysis

Demographic data

From the ten people that participated in the research, seven identify as female and three identify as male. Of the respondents, three identify as 'mixed race', two identify as both Black and 'mixed race', two identify as Black, one as white/Dutch, one as 'just themselves' and one as both of the lineages or neither of them. In table 1, the different lineages and personal identification are shown. First the findings will be discussed and secondly the analysis section will be covered.

Table 1

Interview	Pseudonym	Gender	lineage	Personal	Age
No.		identity		identification	
1	Alaia	Woman	Dutch + Curaçãos	Mixed (Dutch	24
				Antillean)	
2	Sam	Woman	Dutch + Aruban	Mixed (Dutch	31
				Aruban)	
3	Christopher	Man	Dutch + Curaçaos	White/Dutch	19
4	Sayria	Woman	Dutch + Aruban	Black	29
5	Thessaly	Woman	French + Ivorian	Bi-cultural (French	22
				Ivorian) but also	
				Black	
6	Nakita	Woman	Dutch + Egyptian	Just myself	31
7	Jair	Man	Dutch + Curaçaos	Both or none	28
0	τ.	***	A 11 ' I	N. 1 / A 11 '	20
8	Lisa	Woman	Albanian +	Mixed (Albanian	20
			Curaçaos	Curaçaos) but also	
				Black	
9	Amaru	Man	Dutch + Cape	Mixed (Dutch Cape	22
			Verdean	Verdean)	
10	Tisha	Woman	Dutch + Sierra	Black	19
			Leone		

## Findings

## Struggle

Forming an identity is an ongoing process and it is not fixed (Siegel, Elbe & Calogero, 2022). Many respondents indicated that they believe their identity is a process, of which they do not know when or if it will ever be finished. The 'mixed race' experience of identity forming is often described as a struggle because the process is incomparable to those whose lineage stems from a single culture and race, it is unique and therefore an individual process. This is also reflected in the answers about identity forming of all the respondents. In this section I will therefore highlight the most significant and important aspects and stories for the 'mixed race' respondents, navigating their identity formation process.

Struggling with 'mixed race' identity is a common phenomenon among most of the respondents. 7 out of the 10 respondents have pointed out that it was difficult for them to get to know who they are. Not feeling Black enough for Black people and/or not feeling white enough for white people, so not belonging on either side, has also been named by 3 respondents as a cause for struggling with their identity. For example, *Sayria* illustrated this with a story from when she was about 12 years old. She tells:

'Then I went along to a camp, just a children's camp, and then the young people or the children thought of playing soccer and we would play Black against white. I can laugh about it now, but it wasn't fun at all, but then you're young and you don't think about it so much. But I was a little late and they had already started by then so I came onto the field and I, I went to the Black group which I thought that's where I belong and then they said 'what are you doing with us, you have to go to the other side' but at that time I didn't realize at all that it was Black against white but well I thought okay well I did what I thought was right so I went to the Black group and they said no you have to go to the other side. So I went to the white group, then the white people said to me 'you have to go across'. And that was for me the first moment that I really thought I don't belong anywhere, then I just stood as a substitute the whole soccer game so I kind of...yeah that's weird or well I'll never forget that and that was for me the first time I really had the feeling of yes... I'm not black, I'm not white, that's right, but where do I belong?'

Here *Sayria* shows that she felt as not belonging to white or Black people but being somewhere in the middle, leaving her confused about her identity. She adds to that that she still sometimes feels as not belonging and as a result slightly adapts to avoid standing out.

Another respondent, *Tisha*, grew up in a predominantly white area in Italy where she had experienced racism, othering and microaggressions and was made very aware of other people seeing her as Black. When she moved back to the Netherlands, to Rotterdam a multicultural city, she felt the fear that others would think she was whitewashed and coupled with the fact that she did not know much about her culture from her black parent, she was afraid that people would not accept her. She expresses her fear by saying: 'oh my god people now think I'm whitewashed'. This shows that the environment a person grows up in, a white, Black, or multicultural environment, can impact how a person feels racially. In this case, *Tisha* felt Black in Italy and had a fear of people thinking she was whitewashed in the Netherlands.

When people have not been taught about racial and ethnic origin by their parents, this also resulted in an internal identity struggle. Respondents indicated having done their own research to understand this part of their identity. Three participants, *Thessaly, Lisa*, and *Tisha* said not having been taught Black history/culture by their Black parent and having done their own research. For example, *Thessaly* says:

'Yes, it's a real pity because I would have preferred to learn a lot of things from my father's culture as well, you know, so now I just do that myself, but I would have preferred to have it from home as well, you know what I mean.'

#### Pushed away from whiteness

The feeling of othering from whiteness is a common theme when it comes to the identity formation of 'mixed race' people among the respondents. Some felt like they were excluded or treated as different from people who are white. Most of the respondents, 6 out of the 10,

specify that they have experienced some form of microaggressions based on Blackness. For example, *Lisa* said that when she would say to people that she finished VWO (pre-university education) they said to her: 'oh I really didn't expect'. And when she would ask them why, they said to her: 'just how you look'. This shows that according to this person, a lower educational level is somehow linked to being Black. *Sayria* mentions that she was once told: 'wow you phrased that really well' and 'you speak good Dutch', which left her questioning why that would evoke surprise. These examples of microaggressions that the respondents have experienced, creates a sense of feeling othered by white people.

These feelings of otherness originated with some respondents when they were young. This then expressed itself in elementary school or middle school by children naming that their hair differed from theirs. *Sayria* says that children mentioned that she has different hair or that her hair was not beautiful. This resulted in the fact that she wanted straight hair like the white girls who made those comments. This is an example of how 'mixed race' people with phenotypically Black hair are exoticized by white people, making them not feel white.

According to the respondents, encounters in society with other people has an impact on how they feel about their own identity. For example, *Alaia* says the following about her personal identification: 'I find it difficult because I feel like other people always have an opinion about it, too, and that automatically just factors in.' She believes personal identity depends on phenotypical features like skin color, hair texture and passing as Black. If she would have a darker skin color and could pass as Antillean, she believes she might identify more towards Antillean than she does now. Coworkers and stranger also have an impact on personal identity. This is shows through remarks and questions about racial origin. Every respondent has been asked questions like 'where are you from?' multiple times in their lives. Some see it as genuine interest, but most see it as annoying and/or tiring having to explain themselves and the puzzled reactions that accompany it when explaining their lineages.

Sayria expressed that she is aware and always knows she is going to be asked that question when she is somewhere for the first time. Sometimes she adjusts herself in certain things she says or in behaviour so as not to stand out, which she does not like.

Besides people, environments also impact how respondents see themselves. Five respondents indicated that they grew up in a white environment and that that confirmed that they are not white. *Thessaly* illustrates this by saying:

'...in Leiden because there are so not very many Black people there, so people just thought okay Black but just not mixed or something. That because of that I also identify myself more as Black than white because when I'm somewhere and people look at me, they don't think 'oh a white girl', you know. And well much easier of course 'oh a Black girl', so in that context.'

She shows that being Black in a predominantly white town has an impact on how she personally identifies.

#### Pushed away from Blackness

Another important theme among the respondents is experiencing a detachment with their Black background in any way. However, the respondents who were feeling this way were not part of the common responses and were in the minority. Respondents reported that this detachment is often caused by others in society and has an impact on how they feel about their Black identity. 1 of the 10 respondents state that she has been told she 'sounded white' by Black people. When asked about feeling discriminated, *Lisa* responded that she has been

discriminated based on her vocabulary which she believes she acquired because of her VWO education (pre-university education), she says:

'For example, when I use words it's not really associated with being Black and then I'm often seen as 'why are you acting so white' so especially from the people who are Black I do hear of you have to.... I don't know what they want from me, but they find it weird that sometimes I say words or use phrases because then I am seen as intellectual.'

In this case an extensive vocabulary which is associated with a higher socio-economic status is seen as odd for a Black person by Black people. *Tisha* also described this feeling of disconnection. She thinks her father thinks of her as being a little whitewashed as his reaction to her sister going to therapy was: 'oh yeah, that's that white people shit'.

#### Self/cultural belonging in 'mixed race'/Blackness

Finally, the most important part of the process of identity is finding a sense of self and cultural belonging in 'mixed race' and/or Blackness. A significant part of that is connecting with other people with a 'migration background' or other 'mixed race' people. 4 respondents have indicated that interacting with other people of 'migration background' or other 'mixed race' people helped them feel more understood and better about themselves and their identity. *Sayria* described the feeling as: 'just a certain kind of connection that you have'.

Uncertainties about their identity resulted in 3 respondents doing their own research and this gave them a sense of belonging in Blackness. *Thessaly* says she did this 'through the Internet a lot, watching a lot of movies, looking things up on YouTube'. They all also pointed

to the sentiment of 'feeling more Black than white' because of this and said doing research on Black culture has helped them understand themselves better. Another result of the self-study on Black culture is that 4 respondents said they found pride in Black culture. *Thessaly* answers when asking her about what she is most proud of:

'I think the people and then especially in for example music, movies that kind of things uhm yes that. I can identify with that. And just how beautiful we are actually, how beautiful anyway but I mean by beautiful I mean also in the sense of the art we make say, how we write, how we yes how we express ourselves that kind of thing. Even just how we dance just everything.'

This shows that she has found a sense of belonging within the space of Blackness. Also, *Lisa* expresses acceptance in her identity, and she says: 'I just have to be myself and it's just the way it is, and everybody just has to accept everybody, so I do take pride in the fact that I, as well as other people, the Black culture, Black community, are doing just that more now.' This indicates a sense of belonging and peace within her Blackness.

To conclude it is important to mention that 8 of the 10 respondents felt proud of who they are, became, their struggles and their heritages. Despite the, for most, difficult process of identity formation with peaks and valleys, they were all able to find some peace and most look forward to only discover more about themselves.

#### Struggle

Research has shown that navigating a Black/white 'mixed race' identity can be difficult. An issue navigating 'mixed race' identity is colorism by both Black people and white people. Consequently, 'mixed race' people can be 'seen as too white to be Black and too Black to be white' as *Sayria* discussed (Robinson, 2018, p. 25). This can lead to even bigger questions of racial belonging. 'Mixed race' persons frequently adopt a racial identity that serves them well in each circumstance (Robinson, 2018, p. 24). Identity for 'mixed race' individuals depends on social influences such as neighbourhood, region, and the country where a person lives (Rockquemore, 2002). As previously discussed, conflict over racial identification might increase when people lack others that look like them (Khanna, 2011). And can decrease when there are people who look like them. So, when *Tisha* was in Italy where it is predominantly white it increased her sense of feeling Black. In Rotterdam, where it is multicultural, this sense decreased because there are other Black and 'mixed race' people.

Nakashima (1992) points to the fact that 'mixed race' 'people who are part white are seen as inherently whitewashed, their loyalty is always in question, and they are not allowed to discuss their multiraciality if they want to be included as legitimate persons of color' (p. 174). This corresponds with when *Tisha* taught other people will think she is whitewashed because of her white upbringing. Research has revealed that early racial-ethnic socialization can help a child to build and understand their racial identity that includes their white and Black heritages (Rollins, 2019). This includes teaching them about history, culture, values but also racism and discrimination. When this is not given to a child, issues with identity can develop (Rollins, 2019). *Thessaly, Lisa,* and *Tisha* mentioned that that they have not been taught Black history/culture by their Black parent and as a result experienced identity

struggle. The urge to do the research themselves when not taught by their parents, which *Thessaly, Lisa,* and *Tisha* felt and did, is not surprising but no research about it could be found.

#### Pushed away from whiteness

Johnston & Nadal (2010) describe multiracial microaggressions as the 'daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, enacted by monoracial persons that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative slights toward multiracial individuals or groups' (p. 126). There are three types of racial microaggressions that can be distinguished from each other: microassaults, microinsults and microinvalidations (Sue et al., 2007). Microassaults are the more direct form of microaggressions and microinsults or microinvalidation are more subtle. The microaggressions the respondents, Lisa and Sayria experienced are forms of microinsults. Microinsults contain 'ascription of intelligence, assigning high or low intelligence to a racial group and pathologizing values/communications – notion that values and/or communication styles of people of color are abnormal' (Sue et al., 2007, p. 73). Sayria mentioned that she was told 'you speak good Dutch' which is an example of these microinsults. Racial microaggressions based on phenotypes and/or racial stereotypes causes serious emotional and/or psychological stress, such as effects on identity development (Sue, 2010b). When 'mixed race' people experience microaggressions and are 'excluded by individuals of one of his/her heritages' it can cause them to reject that heritage and develop a monoracial Black or white identity (Sue, 2010b, p. 1961).

Exoticization is also considered a form of microaggression that pushed people away from whiteness (Sue, 2010a). Exoticization is when a 'mixed race' person experiences

exoticization due to their distinctive racial and cultural backgrounds (Sue, 2010b, p. 1954). For example, when people make remarks about hair texture, skin colour and cultural background (Nadal et al., 2011). So, when Sayria mentioned that she was told that her hair was not beautiful this caused her to reject her white side. This could lead to a feeling of being 'othered' or constantly being viewed as different, which can cause feelings of loneliness, confusion, or a struggle to forge a clear sense of identity (Touchstone, 2014). This aligns with the finding and Sayria reported that consequently she felt more Black than white. Exoticization manifests itself in 'mixed race' people getting asked questions, such as 'where are you from?' or 'what is your racial heritage?'. It is because phenotypically they are difficult for other people to categorize into a certain racial box, and they often pass as Black (Khanna & Johnson, 2010). Some respondents find these questions annoying and others see them as people showing interest in their heritage. Alaia feels that the opinions others have about your categorization weighs in on how she personally identifies because according to her it has to do with phenotypical features and being assumed to be Black. Passing is the ability to be perceived as a member of a different racial group than one's actual racial heritage. 'Mixed race' people use different strategies to pass as white but most often to be assigned 'Blackness'. Two strategies Khanna & Johnson (2010) mention are: 'verbal identification/disidentification' and 'manipulation of phenotype' (p. 386). Like Sayria said, she sometimes alters herself verbally to be able to pass as Dutch/white because of the questions about racial heritage. Straightening your hair when you are born with curly/coily hair is a form of manipulation of phenotype, as one respondent also mentioned doing (Khanna & Johnson, 2010).

An environment manifestation of a microaggression is that 'Black-white multiracial people are seen as monoracially Black' (Touchstone, 2014, p. 122). Difficulties about racial identification might increase when people lack peers or other people who phenotypically look

like them and therefore can understand their experiences, as they grow up (Khanna, 2011). This is shown with what *Thessaly* said how growing up in a white neighbourhood without people who look like her, highlighted that she was not perceived as white. This made her feel Black and contributed to identifying more with her Black side. According to Khanna (2011), social settings also affect how persons who identify as 'mixed race' learn about themselves. When growing up in an environment with mainly white people, such as white cities or neighbourhoods this can add to identity struggles, which 5 respondents can relate to.

#### Pushed away from Blackness

There is not much data in the findings that the respondents feel pushed away from Blackness by Black people. However, two of the respondents do have had this feeling. From the slavery era, colorism played a big role in intergroup membership of Blackness. 'Mixed race' people often had a lighter skin tone than monoracial Black people and they enjoyed benefits that monoracial Black people did not have (Harris & Khanna, 2010). Due to this, 'mixed race' people 'became increasingly discriminated against by other Blacks who charged that they were 'not Black enough'' (Harris & Khanna, 2010, p. 644). Today, racial authenticity regarding Blackness is still an issue (Harris & Khanna, 2010, p. 644). Being 'authentically Black' and 'Black performativity' is associated with social class and skin color/tone (Harris & Khanna, 2010, p. 644). Blackness is frequently seen as connected to the urban ghetto culture and whiteness is connected to middle class culture (Harris & Khanna, 2010, p. 644). Because of this 'members of the middle- and upper classes may have trouble being perceived as authentically black by other blacks (Harris & Khanna, 2010, p. 644). In relation to this, the way a person speaks is connected to whiteness or Blackness. Language that is considered Black is 'Black English vernacular or slang' (Harris & Khanna, 2010, p. 644). Lisa said that

black people have told her she 'sounded white' which she thinks is because of her educational level.

There is more research done on 'mixed race' people being discriminated by Black people because of 'not being Black enough' and/or 'acting white', which has to do with phenotypes and behaviour (Rockquemore, 2002; Ruebeck et al., 2009; Fryer & Torelli, 2009). Rejection based on phenotypical differences occurs more among women than among men. This rejection can be based on hair texture and style, skin tone and certain facial or physical features (Rockequemore, 2002). The respondents indicated that the rejection is mainly based on behaviour, or so called 'acting white' (Fryer & Torelli, 2009). 'Acting white' is frequently linked to actions that are indicative of high socioeconomic position, which is linked to whiteness. For example, 'speaking standard English' is in the literature related to whiteness and when 'mixed race' people are speaking standard English, they are often seen as 'acting white' by Black people (Fryer & Torelli, 2009, p. 382). This corresponds with the feeling Lisa had when speaking 'good' Dutch amongst Black people. Research shows that white, 'mixed race' and Black people categorize certain behaviours as belonging to different races, such as 'doing drugs', 'smoking' and 'stealing' (Ruebeck et al., 2009, p. 12). Interestingly, research also shows that 'mixed race' people 'on average adopt white behaviours' (Ruebeck et al., 2009, p. 25).

The situation in the Netherlands differs from the situation in the United States. While rejection by Black people based on phenotype is common and rejection based on behaviour is not common in the literature about the United States, in the sample used in this research only a small amount of people indicate rejection by Black people based on behaviour.

#### Self/cultural belonging in 'mixed race'/Blackness

Identity development is inherently a social process and thus 'selective association with other individuals and groups' such as friends, colleagues, happens as a method for forming an identity (Snow & Anderson, 1987, p. 1348). Four respondents reported that they selectively associate with other 'mixed race' people or people with a migration background, because interacting with like-minded people helped them to feel more understood and learning more about who they are.

In this stage of self-exploration, 'mixed race' people begin to actively learn more about their racial heritage, history, and cultures. Where the Black culture is the one with the most often painful history and tends to have the upper hand in their research, as three of the respondents also described, they found a sense of belonging in Blackness (Kich, 1992, p.12). The research made them feel 'more Black than white' which corresponds with the research the respondents did. A person's choice of identification is influenced by a variety of factors, including shared experiences, phenotypes, microaggressions, and knowledge about their race and culture, as previously mentioned (Poston, 1990). This has also played a big part in having a sense of belonging in Blackness for the respondents that did the exploration. This is evident in what *Thessaly* said about finding her sense of belonging in Blackness through research on the internet, YouTube and through watching movies.

After the period of struggling to accept who they are as 'mixed race' people, they arrive at the stage of 'self-acceptance and assertion of an interracial identity' (Kich, 1992 p. 13). Eight of the ten respondents indicated that they are proud of who they are and found self-acceptance within their 'mixed race' identity. However, as Kich (1992) also states: 'Self–acceptance, substantially different from, yet influenced by, the quest for other–acceptance, may never be fully achieved by anyone' (p. 14). But they are able to achieve a sense of peace and positivity within their identity, despite the negative societal creation of Blackness/mixed-

ness' and fortunately all of the respondents have indicated that they found peace within themselves (Kich, 1992, p. 14).

#### **Discussion**

For this research, ten Black/white 'mixed race' individuals in the Netherlands were interviewed to examine how they have formed their racial identities. The questions posed to the respondents were based on the study of Sims (2016). Also, the environments where the interviews took place are comparable and the same interview guide was used with all respondents (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Although the sample was small, the respondents had various backgrounds. On this premise, it can be stated that if the study were replicated, the results would be similar, and so the findings of this research are valid.

The interviews revealed that being Black/white 'mixed race' in the Netherlands almost always has resulted in an inner identity conflict for the individuals. This result is in line with previous research by Root (1999), which revealed that 'mixed race' people struggle with forming their identities because they have two lineages. However, there was a difference between the men and the women in this research. Although I cannot make conclusions based on the small sample size, the men that I interviewed did not have the same experiences as the women. The men came across as if they did not have much trouble forming their identity and besides, they indicated that they have not given their identity forming process much thought and consideration. This result is not in line with the expectation that every 'mixed race' person experiences this in the same way and consciously develops their identity. However, a possible explanation for this might be that men are socialized in a different way than women. With men the focus is on masculine traits which are to not talk about emotions and feelings but to be 'stronger'. Also, women are historically more confronted with their

appearances and are more often confronted with stereotypes and phenotypes which belong to 'mixed race' people.

Another interesting finding was that other people influenced the personal identification of the respondents. This was done through microaggressions, discrimination and growing up in predominantly white environments. These results are in line with previous research about 'mixed race' identity formation (Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Sue et al., 2007; Khanna & Johnson, 2010; Khanna, 2011; Harris & Khanna, 2010). Also not having been brought up with the Black culture influences the personal identification of the respondents. The results of this research show that three respondents did their own research about their Black side because it was not taught them in their upbringing. Interestingly, the research they do is mostly about Black culture and history in the United States and not necessarily about the Black parent's country of origin. However, this outcome has not been detailed before in existing research. An argument can be made that doing exploratory research about Black culture is quite logical for 'mixed race' people who did not receive explanations from a Black parent about their racial heritage because this is the only way they might understand that part of themselves.

Fryer & Torelli (2009) and Ruebeck et al. (2009) showed that 'mixed race' people are discriminated against by Black people based on behaviours. This aligns with the findings because the respondents reported that they felt discriminated against by Black people because of their behaviour such as talking neatly, which they felt Black people viewed as 'acting white'.

This research adds to existing research on how persons of Black/white 'mixed race' establish their identities because no previous research has been done on this group in the Netherlands. This research can provide insights into the identity development of 'mixed race' people in the Netherlands and contribute to a better understanding of their experiences. Also,

it can be made possible to recognize and comprehend the difficulties they face and types of discrimination and microaggressions that 'mixed race' people experience. As a result, the experiences of this rapidly expanding population in the Netherlands may be acknowledged.

However, limitations of this research are that the sample size is small, and the distribution of 'mixed race' men and women is not proportional. The results may be different when the sample size is expanded, and genders are proportionally selected.

The advice for future research is therefore to execute similar research with a bigger sample size and with a specific focus on the differences between genders in the identity formation process.

#### Conclusion

This research attempted to answer the following question: *How do Black/white 'mixed race'* people in the Netherlands formulate and understand their racial identities? This question was explored through interviews with Black/white 'mixed race' people in the Netherlands about their identity development.

From the results of this study, it can first be concluded that forming an identity for Black/white 'mixed race' people in the Netherlands is an ongoing struggle. Forming an identity is described as a difficult process that is never finished by most respondents. The reasons for this are that they feel like they are not Black enough for Black people and/or not white enough for white people, and when they did not grow up with the culture of the Black parent this adds to the struggle.

The respondents described being pushed away from whiteness because they feel they are treated differently by white people due to experiences with exclusion, microaggressions

and discrimination. Being asked 'where are you from?' add to the feeling of exoticisation by white people and this results in them not feeling white.

On the other hand, the respondents also reported being pushed away from Blackness because they are accused of sounding white or experienced a sense of disconnection with their Black side due to prejudices about what Blackness should be.

Finally, it appears that the respondents reported that connecting with 'likeminded' people, people with a migration background or other 'mixed race' people, has helped them to find a sense of self and cultural belonging in Blackness and in being 'mixed race'. Also, doing research about their Black heritage and culture has helped respondents understand themselves better and find a sense of belonging in Blackness. Most respondents, 8 of the 10 said that despite of their struggles with their identity, they are proud of who they are today.

This qualitative study revealed that Black/white 'mixed race' people in the Netherlands have a variety of experiences due to their social/cultural upbringing, social factors, family composition, racial-ethnic socialization, external racial gaze, cultural (dis) connection and this makes their identity process unique and incomparable. As the Netherlands is a multicultural country where 'mixed race' people are a part of, this can make the identity process more complex. In conclusion, the culture in the Netherlands of not talking about race is in contract to the respondent's reaction to being 'mixed race'. Most 'mixed race' respondents actively look up information about race from the United States and learn about their identity through this research and their own experiences.

# Bibliography

- Amponsah, E. L. (2017). Mixed couples, mixed feelings: Feelings of white supremacy and black inferiority amongst black-white couples in Belgium and the Netherlands. *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies*, 20(2), 165-181.
- Bovens, M., Bokhorst, M., Jennissen, R., & Engbersen, G. (2016). *Migratie en classificatie:*naar een meervoudig migratie-idioom. Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het regeringsbeleid. Retrieved from:

https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0CAQQw7AJahcKEwiAyNTetb39AhUAAAAAHQAAAAAQAw&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.eng.nl%2Fbinaries%2Fwrr%2Fdocumenten%2Fverkenningen%2F2016%2F11%2F01%2Fmigratie-en-classificatie-naar-een-meervoudig-migratie-idioom-

- 34%2FV034\_Migratie\_en\_classificatieDEF.pdf&psig=AOvVaw11\_OHkmv5TqVqQH tJh2wjb&ust=1677852489334593
- Campion, K. (2019). "You think you're Black?" Exploring Black mixed-race experiences of Black rejection. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(16), 196-213.
- Çankaya, S., & Mepschen, P. (2019). Facing racism: Discomfort, innocence and the liberal peripheralisation of race in the Netherlands. *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie*Sociale, 27(4), 626-640.
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2022). CBS introduceert nieuwe indeling bevolking naar herkomst. Retrieved from: https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2022/07/cbs-introduceert-nieuwe-indeling-bevolking-naar-herkomst
- Cottingham, M. D., & Andringa, L. (2020). "my color doesn't lie": race, gender, and nativism among nurses in the netherlands. *Global Qualitative Nursing Research*, 7.

  <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/2333393620972958">https://doi.org/10.1177/2333393620972958</a></a>

- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches. Sage publications.
- De Witte, M. (2019). Black citizenship, afropolitan critiques: vernacular heritage-making and the negotiation of race in the netherlands. *Social Anthropology*, *27*(4), 609–625. https://doi.org/10.1111/1469-8676.12680
- Essed, P., & Trienekens, S. (2008). 'Who wants to feel white? 'Race, Dutch culture and contested identities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31(1), 52-72.
- Fryer, R. G., Torelli, P., & National Bureau of Economic Research. (2005). *An empirical analysis of 'acting white'* (Ser. Nber working paper series, no. 11334). National Bureau of Economic Research. Retrieved 2023, from <a href="https://www-nber-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/papers/w11334">https://www-nber-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/papers/w11334</a>
- Gilbert, D. (2005). Interrogating mixed-race: A crisis of ambiguity? *Social identities*, 11(1), 55-74.
- Harris, C. A., & Khanna, N. (2010). Black is, black ain't: Biracials, middle-class blacks, and the social construction of blackness. *Sociological Spectrum*, *30*(6), 639-670.
- Humanity in Action Nederland. (n.d.). Race in the Netherlands: The Place of the Surinamese in Contemporary Dutch Society. Retrieved from:

  https://humanityinaction.org/knowledge\_detail/race-in-the-netherlands-the-place-of-the-surinamese-in-contemporary-dutch-society/?lang=nl
- Johnston, M. P., & Nadal, K. L. (2010). Multiracial microaggressions: Exposing monoracism in everyday life and clinical practice.
- Kanobana, S. R. (2021). A Black Perspective on the Language of Race in Dutch. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 31(2), 271-274.
- Khanna, N. (2011). Biracial in America: Forming and performing racial identity. *Lexington Books*.

- Kich, G. K. (1992). The developmental process of asserting a biracial, bicultural identity. *Racially mixed people in America*, 304-317.
- Leverette, T. (2009). Speaking up: Mixed race identity in black communities. *Journal of Black Studies*, 39(3), 434-445.
- Nadal, K. L. (2011). The Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS): construction, reliability, and validity. *Journal of counseling psychology*, 58(4), 470.
- Nadal, K. L., Wong, Y., Griffin, K., Sriken, J., Vargas, V., Wideman, M., & Kolawole, A. (2011). Microaggressions and the multiracial experience. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 1(7), 36-44.
- Nakashima, C. L. (1992). An invisible monster: The creation and denial of mixed-race people in America. In M. Root, Ed.), *Mixed race people in America* (pp. 162-178). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Omi, M. & Winant, H. (2011). Racial formation in the United States. In D. B. Grusky and S. Szelényi (Eds.). *The inequality reader* (pp. 222-227). Westview Press.
- Oostindie, G. (1998). Caribbean migration to the Netherlands: a journey to disappointment?

  Royal Netherlands institute of southeast Asia and Caribbean studies.
- Perez, A. D., & Hirschman, C. (2009). The changing racial and ethnic composition of the US population: Emerging American identities. *Population and development* review, 35(1), 1-51.
- Poston, W. C. (1990). The biracial identity development model: A needed addition. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 69(2), 152-155.
- Rockquemore, K. A. (2002). Negotiating the color line: The gendered process of racial identity construction among black/white biracial women. *Gender & Society*, 16(4), 485-503.

- Rollins, A. (2019). Racial socialization: A developmental perspective. *Biracial families:*Crossing boundaries, blending cultures, and challenging racial ideologies, 159-181.
- Root, M. P. (1999). Resolving "other" status: Identity development of biracial individuals. *American families: A multicultural reader*, 439-54.
- Ruebeck, C., Averett, S., & Bodenhorn, H. (2008). *Acting white or acting black: mixed-race adolescents' identity and behavior* (Ser. Nber working paper series, no. w13793).

  National Bureau of Economic Research. Retrieved 2023, from <a href="https://www-nber-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/papers/w13793">https://www-nber-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/papers/w13793</a>
- Siegel, J. A., Elbe, C. I., & Calogero, R. M. (2022). "It's an ongoing process": A qualitative analysis of men's feminist identity growth. *Psychology of Men & Masculinities*, 23(3), 321.
- Sims, J. P. (2016). Reevaluation of the influence of appearance and reflected appraisals for mixed-race identity: The role of consistent inconsistent racial perception. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 2(4), 569-583.
- Slave Trade (n.d.). Historical Geography of Africa. Retrieved from:

  https://web.ccsu.edu/faculty/kyem/GEOG466\_Africa/Slave\_Trade\_AfricaPartition.ht

  m
- Snow, D. A., & Anderson, L. (1987). Identity work among the homeless: The verbal construction and avowal of personal identities. *American journal of sociology*, 92(6), 1336-1371.
- Sue, D. W. (2010a). *Microaggressions in everyday life: Race, gender, and sexual orientation*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons
- Sue, D. W. (Ed.). (2010b). Microaggressions and marginality: Manifestation, dynamics, and impact. John Wiley & Sons.

- Sue, D. W., Bucceri, J., Lin, A. I., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2007). Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience. *Cultural diversity and ethnic minority psychology*, 13(1), 72.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (2004). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior.

  In *Political psychology* (pp. 276-293). Psychology Press.
- Touchstone C.A. (2014). Tie-dyed realities in a monochromatic world: Deconstructing the effects of racial microaggressions on black-white multiracial university students
- United States Census Bureau (n.d.). 2000 *Overview History U.S.* Census Bureau. Retrieved from:

 $https://www.census.gov/history/www/through\_the\_decades/overview/2000.html$ 

- Wekker, G. (2016). White innocence. In White Innocence. Duke University Press.
- Wilson, A. (1984). 'Mixed race' children in British society: Some theoretical considerations. *British Journal of Sociology*, 42-61.

# **Appendix**

#### Interview guide

#### 1. Introductie

- Groeten
- Informed consent
- Ik zal je eerst even wat vertellen over het doel van het interview: persoonlijke ervaringen van 'mixed race' mensen met betrekking tot hun identiteitsontwikkeling/hoe ze zijn geworden hoe ze nu zijn. Nog geen onderzoek naar gedaan.
- Lengte interview: 30-60 minuten duren.
- Er zal vertrouwelijk worden omgegaan met gegevens + anonimiteit is gegarandeerd en om dit te verzekeren wil ik je vragen om het informed consentformulier in te vullen (of heb je al gedaan)
- Interview opnemen zodat ik deze later kan uitwerken
- Nog vragen voordat we beginnen? We kunnen altijd stoppen of pauzeren als je dat wilt.

#### 2. Achtergrondinformatie

- Allereerst zou ik graag wat achtergrondinformatie van je willen weten: Leeftijd, wat je doet in het dagelijks leven; werk/studeren?
- Als welk gender identificeer je jezelf? (Man, vrouw, trans, genderqueer, non-binair, agender etc.)
- 3. Raciale identificatie door anderen/samenleving/jezelf
- Zou je mij kunnen vertellen: Wat is je raciale achtergrond; waar komen je ouders vandaan?
  - Welke ouder is wit en welke is zwart?
  - o In NL geboren of ergens anders? Wanneer naar Nederland gekomen?
  - Met beide opgegroeid/beide culturen? Van beide veel meegekregen of was er 1 dominant? Wat vindt/vond je hiervan?
  - o Hoe ben je omgegaan met culturele verschillen tussen je ouders?
  - o Heb je ooit het gevoel gehad dat je tussen twee werelden in zit?
- Wat heeft dit voor jou betekent? En hoe identificeer je je als het gaat om je 'mixed race' achtergrond? (Zwart, wit, mixed, Nederlands)
  - O Waar heeft dat mee te maken denk je?
  - o Hoe zien je moeder/vader/gezinsleden/omgeving dit? Is dit anders dan jij/geen idee?
  - o Hoe heeft dit je gevormd/beïnvloed?
  - o Hoe heeft je gemengde afkomst je geholpen om jezelf beter te begrijpen?
  - Hoe heb je leren omgaan met vooroordelen en stereotypen over gemengde mensen?
  - Welke aspecten van je mixed afkomst ben je het meest trots op?
  - o Kan je me daar een voorbeeld van geven?

- Wat zijn je eerste ervaringen met het begrijpen van het begrip 'ras' (Dus dat er een verschil is tussen o.a. wit/Zwart)?
- Merkte je dit op school, binnen je familie/gezin, of ergens anders?
  - o Wanneer hoorde je voor het eerst over het begrip 'ras'?
  - Wat betekent dit (nu) voor jou?
  - Hoe heeft dat beïnvloed hoe je over je eigen identiteit nadenkt? (Zwart, wit, mixed)
  - Wat zijn de uitdagingen volgens jou bij het opgroeien als een mixed race persoon?
  - Heb je ooit het gevoel gehad dat je jezelf moest bewijzen vanwege je mixed afkomst?/ verschillende verwachtingen
  - o Kan je me daar een voorbeeld van geven?
- Nederland is een land met mensen met veel verschillende culturen, rassen, etniciteiten;
- Kan je me vertellen wat jij denkt dat het betekent om 'Nederlands' te zijn?
  - Voel jij je 'Nederlands'? Waarom wel/niet?
  - o Kan je me daar een voorbeeld van geven?
  - o Hoe/wanneer wist je dat niet 'wit' was?
  - Hoe voelde dit voor jou? / hoe was deze ervaring?
- Hoe zie/denk je dat andere mensen in de Nederlandse samenleving je zien (als het gaat om je achtergrond)?
  - o Wat betekent dat voor jou? Wat vind je hiervan?
  - Welke ervaringen heb jij met vragen zoals: 'waar kom je vandaan?', 'wat is je afkomst?'
  - Waar ervaar je dit? Hoe heb je dit ervaren? Wat vindt/vond je hiervan?
     Waarom denk je dat dit gebeurt?
  - o Hoe heeft dit je gevormd denk je?
  - o Kan je me daar een voorbeeld van geven?
- Heb je ooit een ervaring gehad waar je voelde alsof je ergens niet bij hoorde (vanwege je afkomst/huidskleur etc.)?
  - Heb je ooit discriminatie ervaren vanwege je afkomst?
  - o Waar merkte je dat aan?
  - O Waar heb je dit ervaren? / ervaar je dit nog steeds en zo ja waar?
  - o Hoe/wanneer wist je dat niet 'wit' was?
  - o Welke situaties hebben je gevormd tot de persoon die je nu bent?
  - o Kan je me daar een voorbeeld van geven?

#### **Ethics & Privacy Checklist**



#### 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). 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. Bonnie French, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

#### **PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION**

Project title: identity development of 'mixed race' people in the Netherlands

Name, email of student: E.F. Esajas (502729ee@eur.nl)

Name, email of supervisor: **Bonnie French (French@essb.eur.nl)** 

Start date and duration: 27-03-2023, duration of 4 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.	participants can expect during the study be withheld from them?	<del>-YES</del> - NO
2.	Will any of the participants not be asked for verbal or written 'informed consent,' whereby they agree to participate in the study?	<del>-YES</del> - NO
3.	Will information about the possibility to discontinue the participation at any time be withheld from participants?	<del>YES</del> - NO
4.	Will the study involve actively deceiving the participants?  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.).	<del>-YES</del> - NO
5.	Does the study involve the risk of causing psychological stress or negative emotions beyond those normally encountered by participants?	YES - <del>NC</del>
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 - <del>NO</del>
7.	Will the study involve the participation of minors (<18 years old) or other groups that cannot give consent?	<del>YES</del> - NO
8.	Is the health and/or safety of participants at risk during the study?	<del>YES</del> - NO
9.	Can participants be identified by the study results or can the confidentiality of the participants' identity not be ensured?	<del>-YES</del> - NO
10.	Are there any other possible ethical issues with regard to this study?	<del>YES</del> - NO

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

racial/ethnic origin: the purpose is to look into people with a specific racial/ethnic origin in order to say something about their specific views. This topic may bring up emotions with the respondents.

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

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.

Interviews are about racial/ethnic origin and upbringing. This may cause negative emotional consequences for the participants because they might have had a negative upbringing or a negative relationship with their family.

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?

#### **Netherlands**

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

#### 10-15

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the size of the population from which you will sample? **Black/white multiracial people in the Netherlands.** 

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?

#### Digitally on surfdrive with password protection.

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?

### Me (E.F. Esajas).

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?

#### By using pseudonyms.

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: E.F. Esajas Name (EUR) supervisor: Bonnie French

Date: 22-03-2023 Date: 22-03-2023

#### **APPENDIX I: Informed Consent Form**

# Informatiebrochure en toestemmingsverklaring

# Titel van het onderzoek: Identity development of 'mixed race' people in the Netherlands

Mijn naam is Esmee Esajas en ik doe onderzoek binnen de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam.

Hieronder leg ik dit onderzoek uit. Als u iets niet begrijpt, of vragen heeft, dan kunt u die aan mij stellen.

Als u wilt meedoen aan het onderzoek, kan u dit aan het einde van dit formulier aangeven.

## Waar gaat het onderzoek over?

Het onderzoek gaat over hoe 'mixed race' mensen in Nederland (mensen met 1 witte ouder en 1 Zwarte ouder) hun identiteit ontwikkelen en hebben ontwikkeld in Nederland. Voor dit onderzoek interview ik mensen die binnen dit criteria vallen om zo naar hun persoonlijke ervaringen te kunnen vragen.

Ik vraag u mee te doen omdat uw persoonlijke ervaringen als 'mixed race' persoon mij helpt meer te weten te komen over de individuele identiteitsontwikkeling.

#### Wat kan je verwachten?

Het onderzoek duurt 3 maanden.

Als u meedoet aan dit onderzoek, dan doet u mee aan:

#### Een interview:

1 interview dat tussen de 30 minuten en 1 uur duurt. Als u tijdens het gesprek een vraag niet wil beantwoorden, hoeft dat niet. Ik neem het geluid van het gesprek op om dit later te kunnen analyseren.

Aan het eind van het interview/de discussie krijgt u de gelegenheid om op uw antwoorden terug te komen. Als u het niet eens bent met mijn aantekeningen of als ik u verkeerd heb begrepen, kunt u vragen om gedeelten ervan te laten aanpassen of schrappen.

Deelnemen aan dit onderzoek is geheel vrijwillig. U kunt op ieder moment en zonder uitleg stoppen.

Tijdens het interview zullen persoonlijke vragen worden gesteld over (wellicht) gevoelige en persoonlijke gebeurtenissen/verhalen die u heeft meegemaakt. Het kan zijn dat dit herinneringen bij u oproept en emoties bij u losmaakt. U kunt altijd stoppen met het onderzoek als u zich hier niet prettig bij voelt.

## Welke gegevens heb ik van u nodig?

Ik sla uw gegevens op zodat ik contact met u kan opnemen. Voor het onderzoek heb ik ook nog andere gegevens van u nodig.

Tijdens het interview worden de volgende persoonsgegevens van u verzameld: leeftijd, genderidentiteit, geluidsopnamen, beroep, culturele achtergrond, etnische achtergrond, emotie over/ gevoel over/ mening over raciale identiteit, IP-adres,

Ook heb ik uw mailadres nodig, om de resultaten van het onderzoek naar u op te sturen als u dit wilt.

## Wie kan uw gegevens zien?

- Ik sla al uw gegevens veilig op.
- Enkel personen die betrokken zijn bij het onderzoek kunnen (een deel van) de gegevens inzien. Alleen ik (de hoofdonderzoeker) heeft toegang tot uw gegevens zoals uw naam.
- Gemaakte geluidsopnames worden omgezet in tekst. Uw naam wordt vervangen met een verzonnen naam.
- Over de resultaten van het onderzoek schrijf ik een onderzoek dat ik inlever. De resultaten zijn voor niet iedereen toegankelijk.
- Ik gebruik uw specifieke antwoorden mogelijk in het onderzoek. Als uw antwoord naar u te herleiden is of ik graag uw naam noem, dan vragen wij u daar eerst toestemming voor.

## Hoe lang bewaar ik uw gegevens?

Uw gegevens worden minimaal 2 maanden bewaard. Ik bewaar de gegevens zodat andere onderzoekers de mogelijkheid hebben om te controleren of het onderzoek juist is uitgevoerd.

#### Wat gebeurt er met de resultaten van het onderzoek?

U kunt aangeven of u de resultaten wilt ontvangen.

# Heeft u vragen over het onderzoek?

Heeft u **vragen** over het onderzoek of uw privacy rechten, zoals inzage, wijziging, verwijdering of aanpassing van uw gegevens, neem dan contact op met mij.

Naam: Esmee Esajas

Telefoonnummer: 0641721996 E-mail: esesajas@outlook.com

Heeft u een **klacht** over uw privacy? Mail dan naar de functionaris voor gegevensbescherming (privacy@eur.nl)

## Spijt van uw deelname?

Het kan zijn dat u spijt krijgt van uw deelname. Geef dit aan of neem hiervoor contact met [mij/ons] op. Het verwijderen van uw gegevens is niet meer mogelijk als de gegevens zijn geanonimiseerd, waardoor niet meer te herleiden is welke gegevens van u afkomstig zijn. Het anonimiseren van de gegevens gebeurt binnen 1 week na het verzamelen van de data.

# **Toestemmingsverklaring**

Ik heb de informatiebrief gelezen. Ik begrijp waar het onderzoek over gaat en dat er gegevens van mij worden verzameld. Ook kon ik vragen stellen. Mijn vragen zijn voldoende beantwoord.

Door dit formulier te ondertekenen

- 1. Geef ik toestemming voor deelname aan dit onderzoek
- 2. Geef ik toestemming voor het verwerken van mijn persoonsgegevens;
- 3. Bevestig ik dat ik ten minste 18 jaar oud ben;
- 4. Geef ik aan dat ik begrijp dat deelname aan dit onderzoek geheel vrijwillig is en ieder moment kan stoppen; en
- 5. Geef ik aan dat ik begrijp dat mijn gegevens zullen worden geanonimiseerd.

Kruis hieronder de hokjes aan als u hier toestemming voor geeft.

Gegevens over 'mixed race' identiteitsontwikkeling			
Ik geef toestemming aan de onderzoeker voor het verzamelen, gebruiken en bewaren van de volgende gegevens: Raciale/etnische afkomst			
Geluidsopname Ik geef toestemming voor het opnemen van [het interview] door een geluidsopname.			
Het delen van gegevens			
Ik geef toestemming voor het delen van mijn gegevens met Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam in Nederland			
Mijn antwoorden in het artikel Ik geef toestemming voor het gebruiken van mijn antwoorden in stukken in het onderzoek. Mijn naam staat er niet bij.			
Naam van de deelnemer:			
Handtekening van de deelnemer: Datum:			

U ontvangt een exemplaar van het volledige informatie- en toestemmingsformulier.

47