What are White Men doing here?

Assessing the role of race, sex, sexuality, and nationality for Dutch, White, heterosexual men doing antiracist work

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Abstract

Through semi-structured qualitative interviews with ten self-identified Dutch, White, heterosexual men doing antiracist work, this study aims to bring to the fore the role positions of privilege in terms of nationality, race, sex, and sexuality have in doing antiracist work. This study is aimed to better understand what it means to be a White, heterosexual man doing antiracist work, and what triggers these individuals into committing to antiracism. Lastly, this study is meant to understand how intersections of race, sex, and sexuality interact and what other forms of self-identification are important to fight racism.

The results show that while White men committing against racism see the intersection between sex and race as something forming their antiracist identity, they do not think sexuality is significant in their antiracist work. Most of the respondents have experienced some form of othering in their earlier life which has influenced their view on racism, though there was no common denominator as to in what way they felt othered. They also generally disagree with the idea that the Netherlands is progressive, instead arguing that this idea holds the Netherlands from progressing.

Keywords: *Antiracism; Individual racism; Intersectionality; Othering; Systemic racism.*

1. Introduction

When a conversation is being held about race and racism, the central point of the conversation tends to be the people who are being discriminated against. This makes sense, as they experience race in a very upfront manner. People who are not being discriminated against, are often less aware of their (racial) identity (Bernard, 2019). Race is not something always experienced in the same way, but it is a relational object, and the definition of race depends on the specific context (M'Charek, 2013). Though there are no racial differences between groups of people biologically, socially a dichotomy stands where racial differences are 'created' and a lens is being portrayed, originally by White people, where one is either White or Black (Jones, 2015). After that, Black became a means of self-identifying as well for non-White people, to emphasize the different experiences non-White people have from Black people (Brown, 2005).

Although many equate 'race' and 'colour', 'Black is the Body' author Emily Bernard (2019) sees a significant division between both. According to her, Race and colour are separated, although they are still related experiences: "race was trauma; colour was beauty. Between race and colour was the distance between our public and private lives." (Bernard, 2019: 100). For me, as a White person, this analogy is hard to grasp, as I have no similar feeling with my skin colour as Bernard has. In the world I experience race is barely touched upon, as whiteness is seen as the standard. Non-whiteness is the exception. As Wekker describes, "whiteness is not acknowledged as a racialized/ethnicized positioning at all. Whiteness is generally seen as so ordinary, so lacking in characteristics" (Wekker, 2016: 2), and because of this lack of characteristics, it is sometimes ignored that whiteness is a position too.

For this thesis, I will touch upon the role of whiteness by interviewing self-identifying White, heterosexual men who work to fight racism. My original research question has thus been: 'what social factors lead White, heterosexual, Dutch men to commit to antiracist practices?' Two additional questions have come up while doing research, conducting interviews and analysing data. This makes sense in the light of grounded theory, as grounded theory is an iterative decision making process, which means that the questions can be adjusted if interesting or surprising new topics arise (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). These questions are as follows:

1. How does the intersection of race, gender, and other characteristics play a role in Dutch, White, heterosexual men's work against racism?

2. How are Dutch, White, heterosexual men aware of their position of whiteness in their work against racism, and how do they deal with this position?

These questions are particularly worth discussing in the context of the Netherlands, as Dutch racism has a specific history and still is unique from racism in other countries, caused by what Wekker calls 'White innocence'. This is the way Dutch people have a shared feeling of innocence in their identity, as it relates towards people of colour as if racism does not exist in the shared Dutch culture (Wekker, 2016). This relates to a general feeling of innocence in the Netherlands, where the Dutch present themselves as innocent bystanders of war and colonialism, rather than active participants in these fields (ibid.). White people perceiving themselves as 'colourblind' has drastic consequences, as it causes people to ignore the actual consequences of racism. White Innocence however is not just thinking one's colourblind, but also deliberately ignoring the truth: "it contains not knowing, but also not wanting to know." (Wekker, 2016: 17). This is different from an American perspective of racism, as racism in the United States is more so related to a reluctance to share power, and work against racism in the United States has been brought more into the foreground than it is in the Netherlands (Essed, 1991). Even in forms of language, Dutch racial inequality is underplayed. This is clear in the apparent fright Dutch people have when it comes to talking about race, rather focussing on other topics such as ethnicity or nationality, using this as a cover-up for race (Wekker, 2016). Compared to the rich history of struggle against racism in the United States, the voices of Dutch people in the Netherlands against racism have been ignored for ages (Kanobana, 2021).

In my research, self-identifying White, heterosexual, Dutch men have been interviewed. I have chosen this specific group of White people, as they are a group not being discriminated against systematically based on race, gender, or sexuality. In 2022 in the Netherlands, the book 'De zeven vinkjes – Hoe mannen zoals ik de baas spelen' became a bestseller (Luyendijk, 2022). This book describes how people who fit in specific criteria, such as whiteness, maleness, and heterosexuality, are most privileged and how these categories are intertwined. Interestingly, this book written by a White, highly educated, heterosexual, and highly privileged man became popular, although his theories are nothing new: Black, female authors Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) and bell hooks (1986), among others, have pointed out

the intersections between gender, race, and many other characteristics for decades, using the notion of intersectionality. By breaking the mainstream on this topic in a way that Black female authors have not been able to do, Luyendijk ironically proves the point these authors have been making for forty years.

Prior research into White people's connections to antiracism shows that women "explicitly credited their own gender oppression as a resource for a deeper understanding of racism" (Case, 2012: 86). Furthermore, White, queer educators on antiracism have specified that their position in antiracist discourse does relate to their queerness and queer experiences, as they choose not to look at whiteness and queerness as separate identities, but as related identities (Schneider, 2022). Because of this, White, non-heterosexual men and White women might have very different reasons to work against racism than White, heterosexual men.

This begs the question: who are the White, heterosexual men committed to fighting racism, and why are they part of this work? The goal of this research is thus to find out why some White, heterosexual men are committed to doing antiracist work. Understanding why some people are committed to this work and other people do not feel the need to participate in antiracist work, might help bring more people to this work. Besides that, it is important to see how these White, heterosexual men look at their position of privilege: do they wish to make use of their position to be heard, or do they see it as a burden? Do they think their position makes it harder to understand, or are they unaware of their unique position in general?

2. Theoretical Framework

The research I have conducted is formed by grounded theory. A core part of grounded theory is that this form of research starts by gathering data by conducting interviews, and during all phases of research, stays close to that data before doing literature review concerning this data (Charmaz, 2003). Nevertheless, this way of conducting research does not mean that I have blindly dived into my research without a theoretical basis. This is why I have used sensitizing concepts which I thought would be of importance in my research. These sensitizing concepts have helped to provide a starting point and help to support the research process, while still giving room to focus on different ideas that might be of importance (Bowen, 2019). The list of sensitizing concepts made before conducting the research has been complemented with concepts that showed to be of importance during the research, which has completed the theoretical framework down below. More specifically, the concept of 'othering' (2.6) has only come forward as a significant concept after conducting research and discussing the respondents' relationship with antiracist work.

2.1. Race and racism

To understand what it means to be a White person doing antiracist practices or being involved in work against racism, we must first know what we are talking about when addressing race and racism. Race and racism are two interconnected concepts, as Omi and Winant (2012) show how deeply ingrained race is in state institutions and its racist consequences. It is near impossible to talk about race without talking about racism and its historical context. As race and racism continuously work in relation to each other, for this research I will use the definition of race proposed by Omi and Winant: "*race is a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies*" (Omi & Winant, 2012: 223). This not only shows the connection of race to racism, but it also shows race as something related to specific conflicts and interests, not having the same meaning in every separate context.

To understand the complex relationship between race and racism, I follow the approach of Bonilla-Silva (1997), who suggests that racism must be understood in terms of racialization. Racialization describes how racism, although we tend to see it as an ideology separate from actual events, has a structural and historical foundation. This construction of race has great implications for people's lives (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). Consequentially, people who are put in different racial groups by society because of historical hierarchical positions

have unique experiences, thus making racism a logical consequence of a world in which races historically are viewed hierarchically.

As race and racism are historically connected, we must understand race in order to map the consequences of racism. M'Charek (2013) describes race as something both factual and fictional. Race must be understood as something that is not just existing independently of society, but as something existing because society acts out race (M'Charek, 2013). This means race might not be completely factual, but it does have a lot of factual implications for people living in a racialized world. As shown by M'Charek, the fictional idea of race has factual implications, even in 'objective' sciences such as medicine and archaeology.

2.2. Racism in the Dutch context

Although most ideas about race and racism are rooted in American sociological research on race, this does not mean that racism is something completely dissimilar in the Netherlands. Dutch racism can be described as a form of Dutch exceptionalism, undermining the role of history in the way racism shapes society. The Netherlands' rich history with slavery is often underplayed and ignored, as it does not fit the positive message of the Netherlands being a prosperous country (Özdil, 2014). This underplaying of Dutch history with slavery makes it possible to continuously ignore and deny the experiences and perspectives of Dutch Black people and people of colour. Essed (1991) describes the difference between Dutch racism and American racism as Dutch ignorance compared to American reluctance to share power. Essed argues that because the historical context of racism is denied in the Netherlands, Dutch Black women are part of a struggle in which they are not given the entire picture in which they seek change.

The lack of historical context combined with a wish to show Dutch exceptionalism is summarized by Gloria Wekker with the term 'White Innocence'. This claim of innocence, according to Wekker, is a way of showing the less-than-perfect stance of Dutch presentation regarding race, as "it contains not-knowing, but also not wanting to know" (Wekker, 2016: 17). Because White people in the Netherlands decide to not read into the racist world they are part of, they can reap the benefits. White Innocence tends to also be a tactic to stay colourblind, by euphemizing race in terms of belonging, thus not uttering words about White and Black and rationalizing discrimination into a differentiation between *allochtonen*, literally translated to 'people from there', and *autochtonen*, 'people from here'. In practice, this is more so used to describe racial differences rather than differences in nationality

(Wekker, 2016). These terms have, in 2016, changed to *mensen met een migratieachtergrond*, 'people with a migration background', and *mensen met een Nederlandse achtergrond*, 'people with a Dutch background' (De Ree, 2016). These terms can be used just as easy to generalize, similar to the way the terms *autochtoon* and *allochtoon* were used.

2.3. Whiteness

Whiteness should be conceptualized because it is a specific experience, not a neutral position. Naming and signalling whiteness, rather than understanding it as an apolitical and ahistorical position, helps us to see it as a status that is a direct effect of its dominance (Wekker, 2016). As Wekker powerfully describes, "whiteness is not acknowledged as a racialized/ethnicized positioning at all. Whiteness is generally seen as so ordinary, so lacking in characteristics, so normal, so devoid of meaning" (Wekker, 2016: 2). This lacking of characteristics is reiterated in the fact that White as a skin colour can be translated to Dutch in two different ways: 'wit' (White) and 'blank' (blank, devoid of colour). 'Blank' as something devoid of colour has an aura of positive neutrality, as if it is something separate from race (Kanobana, 2021). The usage of 'wit' instead of 'blank' is a deliberate attempt to racialize whiteness, to make visible the invisible.

Critical whiteness studies show us that whiteness is not just a personal point of view, it is "the rubric through which many of our ideas of citizenship and human rights are written" (Nayak, 2007: 738). Even though whiteness is in some senses a shared experience, this does not mean that there is a global White scope that can be understood from one singular, often white, perspective. Whiteness needs to be understood in relation to the sociohistorical and geographical location in which it is studied to not be generalized, causing an oversimplified and generic image that whiteness studies wish to avoid (Nayak, 2007: 750). Nevertheless, whiteness, in whatever context and whatever meaning a context tends to give it, has a constant power in the room: it is "always present, but never fully visible" (Wiegman, 1999: 119).

Not acknowledging whiteness as a unique, racialized experience, can lead to colourblind thinking, which sometimes has drastic consequences. Apfelbaum et al. (2012) describe colourblindness as follows: "Whites shift from viewing color blindness as a distributive principle (i.e., everyone should have equal outcomes) to viewing it as a procedural principle (i.e. everyone should receive equal treatment, regardless of existing race-

based inequalities)" (Apfelbaum et al., 2012: 207). In this way, colourblindness limits the understanding of racism to it being something merely individual and underplays the position racial inequality has systemically in society, as described by Bonilla-Silva (1997).

2.4. White People in Antiracism

The most used theory on how White people develop their view on racism, is the White Racial Identity Development (WRID) theory by Helms (1997). This theory describes how White people go through six different phases, starting with getting in contact with Black people while still believing and reproducing racist thoughts and actions, and ending with what Helms calls '*autonomy*', in which White people are actively seeking ways to improve themselves and are actively trying to eliminate racism. Though these six steps seem compelling, Behrens (1997) criticizes the simplified way WRID discusses one's White racial identity: one can be further into their development at one moment, but less developed in their identity at other moments, as they might have thought about some parts of racism but not about others, and one can say antiracist things on the one hand but act in a way that perpetuates racism at another moment. After conducting interviews, the WRID theory did not seem sufficient because of the linearism. Besides that, rather than understanding what people say they do, it might be more helpful to understand how people understand the role of racism within society.

In her theory of four 'personae of racism', Young (2011) discusses understanding of racism in terms of to what extent people are racist. In her research on White educators discussing racism, she recognizes four different 'personae': Racism as Acts of Conscious Perpetrators, Racism as Acts of Unconscious Perpetrators, Racism as Acts of Deceived Perpetrators/Activists, and Racism as Acts of (Partially) Enlightened Perpetrators/Activists. According to Young, all of these personae see racism as something that is actively or passively acted upon at the individual level, and there might be a fifth 'persona': "a "racist" would be anyone who benefitted from this system of advantages and who believed that he or she was somehow entitled to such benefits" (Young, 2011: 1449), and that "as long as we are individuals on Tatum's metaphor of the conveyor belt, we belong to a hegemonic system that perpetuates racism" (ibid.: 1450). Using this definition, the fifth persona of racism would be that one is aware that it is not important to describe one as either racist or not racist, as we are simply all part of a racist society which invariably causes all who can benefit from racism to be, in some way, racist.

2.5. Intersectionality

As Helms points out, different forms of oppression are tied together and related to each other (Helms, 1997). As the target group of my research will be White, heterosexual men, individuals who are part of the generally least oppressed and most dominant group in society, this collection of parts of one's identity is worthwhile to look at. The importance of looking at individuals as a culmination of different attributes is emphasized by Crenshaw (1989), especially regarding the way one form of discrimination does not exclude a different form of discrimination. Crenshaw describes examples in which both Black liberalist movements and feminist movements exclude Black women, only focusing on Black men and White women, respectively. According to Crenshaw, because of the focus on only one category rather than multiple, Black women are constantly erased, and a singular framework undermines both feminist and antiracist goals to erase discrimination (Crenshaw, 1989).

It is important to remember that all people have multiple, intersecting identities. Because generally "White" is deemed the norm in Dutch, and many other, societies, the most listened to group in Dutch society is usually formed by White members, overruling demands by the non-White members of the group. When we forget to realise this, we tend to fight for only the White portion of the group, rather than all members. Thus, *colourblind intersectionality* can be problematic, as it shows itself as inclusive, but the fight is being fought rather exclusively for White people (Carbado 2019: 201). Intersectionality helps us to understand that various categories, or sub-groups, should not be understood separately, even if they are sometimes separated for explanatory purposes. Intersectional trauma happens at the intersections of these categories, where the forms of discrimination are multiplied. One never experiences life as a Black person and as a woman, or as a gay person, separately; one always experiences all parts of their identity at the same time (Harris & Leonardo, 2018).

When looking at White, heterosexual men, it is important to realize that their identities are not to be understood as singular experiences: because of their specific combination of characteristics, with each characteristic being less or more important depending on the context, they have certain privileges and certain experiences that are different from people with a different racial or gender identity or sexuality. Regardless, even within this research, it is important to note that there are many more characteristics than just these three: life experience can also be shaped by many other things, such as class, religion, physical or mental wellbeing, and many more. In their analysis of class-based

intersectionality, Block & Corona (2014) point out that the experience of an upper-class Latino man is very different from that of a lower-class Latino man, as they are viewed differently because of their clothing. Because of this, White people behave differently towards people not only from different nationalities, but from a different class as well, and these experiences cannot be viewed separately. As such, White, heterosexual men from different religious, class, or other backgrounds might have different views on antiracism.

2.6. Othering

Othering, in the broadest sense, can be understood as "a theoretical framework for analysing how we engage with those perceived as different from self—as Other" (Canales, 2000: 16). Looking at Othering helps to understand how an individual, but also society as a whole, goes along with perceived differences and similarities to create connections between those who seem closely related in terms of identity and characteristics, and those who seem like the 'Other'. Othering has far-reaching consequences related to who is and who is not dominant in society, and who is and who is not in a position of power, both by inclusionary and exclusionary practices (Canales, 2000).

The experience of Othering, or being seen as Other, is highly related to the standard of Whiteness in society because Whiteness is understood as the standard in Western Europe, North America, and Australia; as a consequence, the so-called Other is the non-White individuals (Udah, 2018). Being othered makes the 'Other' feel left out, excluded, and being watched as problematic, and othering causes a division between the 'Self' and the 'Other' which reinforces itself. The dominant group regularly is not aware of active othering, rather thinking they make safe generalizations instead, yet at the same time the group being othered is aware of this othering. Remarkable differences which are blamed on racial or cultural differences might actually have more to do with racialized expectations that influence the 'Other' to behave in a certain way (Johnson et al., 2004).

As being othered has to do with not being seen as part of the norm, it has also a strong relation to the way people look at you as being 'Other'. This fits the theory of double-consciousness, as proposed by Du Bois: "It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (Du Bois, 1903: 14-15). Double-consciousness thus means the constant feeling of being othered by the dominant group and the realization that you can peep through the curtains, sometimes be part of the

dominant group in terms of different characteristics, but in the end will stay the 'Other' because of one's skin colour.

Othering and being Othered is not something that happens exclusively based on race. In their research on the role of being othered in teaching about social justice, Hennig et al. (2020) mention how one of their respondents was othered because of an injury, which hindered her from fully participate in the training to become a physical education teacher, and another respondent struggled with mental health, which othered her in the process of becoming a teacher, as she felt misunderstood (Hennig et al., 2020). This example shows how being othered might help individuals to understand in what ways people might struggle in life, and broaden one's understanding of being disadvantaged by society.

3. Data and Methods

To further understand why Dutch, White, heterosexual men actively participate in work against racism and/or for racial justice, ten in-depth qualitative interviews with Dutch, White, heterosexual men have been conducted. The interviews were conducted with the wish to get answers as detailed and personal as possible, without steering them towards a specific answer (Bryman, 2012). Because of this, some respondents shared stories that were seemingly completely irrelevant to the topics at hand, but in hindsight were helpful to get a full picture. To ensure that all topics possibly important were touched upon and nothing would be forgotten, an interview guide was present during the interviews (see appendix I, in Dutch). Since the topic of race, racism, and antiracism is a personal one, the intention was to ask more personal and delicate questions at the end of the interview. Nevertheless, some respondents were very open from the beginning about their personal experiences, which showed they did not struggle with issues of trust: because of this, in some interviews personal topics were discussed from the very beginning.

Ideally in grounded theory, interviews will be conducted until the point of theoretical saturation (Bryman, 2012). However, because of the limited time for this thesis, 10 White, straight, Dutch men aged 18 or older doing work against racism have been interviewed. As the focus group was small and it took a while until people agreed to participate in this research, many interviews were directly after one another. Because of this, it has not been possible to code all interviews before conducting the next one, which normally is part of grounded theory. Nevertheless, each interview was reflected upon immediately afterward, so information obtained in the interviews was taken to the next one. The coding process has been a combination of the three coding processes distinguished by Bryman (2012). Firstly, open coding has been implemented, which means that all possibly important concepts are turned into categories; secondly, axial coding has been implemented, which helped with making connections between various topics that seemed separate at first glance; lastly, selective coding has been done, which helped to only focus on the topics relevant for this specific research.

During the interview process, some questions were interpreted alternatively multiple times or misunderstood in general. These questions have been changed or were worded differently for later interviews, which meant that not all respondents got the same set of questions. All interviews have been recorded on two devices, to make sure I would be able to

listen back. Afterward, all interviews have been transcribed in Dutch, and only relevant quotes have been translated into English.

To find self-identifying White, straight men actively working against racism who wish to participate in this research has been remarkably difficult. Although this was not surprising, it is still interesting to note how challenging it has been to find people meeting the criteria set for this research. Respondents have been selected using purposive sampling and snowball sampling. Messages via Signal, WhatsApp, e-mail, and websites have been sent to numerous organizations and individuals who seemed fitting for this research. To preserve anonymity, the names of organizations will not be shared. As it was difficult to find ten respondents who fit the criteria, three out of ten respondents do not fully correspond with the description of 'White, heterosexual men'. As all three of them do feel that they are generally seen as White, heterosexual men, they are included in this research, and their slightly exceptional identification has been reflected upon in the findings and analysis.

All respondents in this research have been fully informed about this research beforehand. They have all read, understood, agreed, and signed the form of informed consent (see Appendix II, in Dutch). Furthermore, the respondents are aware of their right to have their data deleted or to withdraw from the research. The ethics and privacy checklist from the EUR has also been filled in to ensure that the respondents are not negatively affected by their participation in this research (see Appendix III).

Below is a chart of the respondent with their age. To preserve anonymity, no names are used, and instead respondents are indicated by R(espondent)1 to 10. If the respondent identifies other than a White, heterosexual male, further explanation of their self-identification is given below the chart.

Name	Age
R1	46
R2	26
R3	42
R4	52
R5*	58
R6	51
R7	39
R8**	45
R9	56
R10***	32

*Does not identify as White or any other racial classification, but is aware that the outside world sees him as White

**Identifies as a Queer man: has had non-heterosexual relationships in the past, but is currently in a heterosexual relationship

***Prefers to not be labeled in any way, but is aware the outside world sees him as a White, heterosexual man

Before diving into the analysis and understanding of the interviews and discussing how the respondents form their antiracist work and what role their positionality as White, heterosexual, men is in this work, it is important to shortly reflect on my own position in this research. As a White, queer man, I inevitably have some conscious and unconscious expectations going into this research, as well as experiences directly linked to different parts of my identity. Though I have tried to keep my analysis as rigorous as possible, qualitative analysis can never be fully objective, as qualitative analysis is done with the idea that objectivity does not exist and is not something we should strive to be. Hence, the research must be understood with this in mind.

4. Findings and Analysis

In this chapter, the findings are presented concerning various aspects of White, heterosexual men participating in antiracist work. These findings are based on seven qualitative interviews with people self-identifying as White, heterosexual men doing antiracist work, and three qualitative interviews who do not fully fit this profile, but who are perceived by the outside world as being White, heterosexual men and who are aware of the way this shapes their own experiences.

The findings of these qualitative interviews are divided into three different topics, which fit the main research questions this research aims to answer. As mentioned before, to preserve the anonymity of the respondents, the names of respondents are substituted by R1 to R10, and other information such as places of birth and current workplaces will not be mentioned. All interviews have been conducted in Dutch and relevant quotes are translated into English.

4.1. Intersectionality

As the group of White, heterosexual men are a very specific group who meet at intersections unique for that group, it is of high importance to understand how these specific intersections shape their experience in antiracist work. This section thus looks into the question: "how does the intersection of race, gender, and other categories play a role in White, heterosexual men's work against racism?

One of the questions the respondents had to answer, was regarding their own positionality. Firstly, the respondents were asked what characteristics they deemed fitting to them, regarding race, gender, sexuality, and other ways of self-identification. Secondly, the respondents were asked what these identifiers meant to them and their antiracist work. As a reaction to this, R1 explicitly mentioned intersectionality: "I believe in an intersectional way of looking and thinking and analysing. I look at deprivation and oppression and that's about sex, gender, race, class, so I see all of those as one field where the same mechanisms are at play". Later on, he also mentions what this means for his own identity: "I have been searching what this means for me, what heteronormativity means, what being able-bodied, being male means, and the conclusion is I'm top of the power pyramid and the world is made for me". Only one other respondent explicitly mentions intersectionality, however: R2 says

how having a lot of female and non-binary friends helped him understand oppression, which gave him "training wheels to start talking about intersectionality", which in turn was his way to enter the field of antiracist work.

Although the other respondents did not directly talk about intersectionality, multiple did mention their own unique perspectives as a White, heterosexual man, often mentioning being middle-aged and upper class as well to demonstrate how their experiences differ from many others. This is not necessarily something they see as a hindrance in their work, as some mention they can use it as a tool in certain situations as well. R7 mentions that in his work as a public speaker of an antiracist organization, he makes use of his whiteness, as in certain spaces he will be listened to differently by the audience than how they would listen to a Black woman saying the same things. Similarly, R3, a teacher who gives lectures about antiracist topics, mentions how he sees how information might come across differently because of his position as a middle-aged, White, highly educated man, but he also somewhat sees this as something positive. When talking about how to discuss sociologists as black scholars in his lectures, he mentions that "in terms of performance, it is just as important, not just for White students but also for non-White students, that a White, male, highly-educated man is centring this as important knowledge".

R9, a 56-year-old man who is very involved in antiracist causes via social media, mentions the same unique position he finds himself in being a White man doing antiracist action. He describes how in multiple instances Black or Muslim people have thanked him for stating his opinion about racist or discriminatory matters, because of his position as a White, middle-aged, man, who does not necessarily gain anything from being involved. Most of the respondents being aware of their unique position, also felt in some way uncomfortable being a White man discussing racism, especially with other people who were not White. R2 felt this reluctance to speak up hindered him in doing antiracist work, as he was sometimes too silent. He mentions the following:

> *"in the past, I have been too timid, which meant I did not dare to say anything, but then I wasn't using my privileged position to help people. Finding the balance between using your privileged position and still not using up too much space, that is the stumbling block."*

R3 felt a similar fight in his lectures. On the one hand, he wants to talk about important Black scholars discussing racial experiences, but he does not want to tell Black

students what they should feel, as he is still talking from his own, White experience, as he told in his interview:

> R3: *"Though I find it hard to calibrate how exactly I need to do the performance of my lectures and what I can and cannot, or should and should not say, I think it is my responsibility to do so."*
> Interviewer: *"To try every time and maybe fail sometimes?"*
> R3: *"Exactly, to not run away from my discomfort, so to take the risk that a couple of non-White students think: what does this stupid Dutchman think, as if he knows what we know, as if he can say these things, bugger off. I need to take this risk, though I think it's terrible if my calibration isn't right."*

While almost all of the respondents viewed their sex and race as parts of their identity important to reflect on while doing antiracist work, as they were aware they take in a specific spot in their work against racism because of these identifiers, almost none of the respondents see their sexuality as something that either helps or hinders their work. R9 felt that sexuality, in general, is not important for doing antiracist work, as in the protests he organizes or the work he does he rarely sees men, regardless of their sexuality: according to him, almost all of the protestors are female and/or non-White, but the men he sees are not overwhelmingly non-heterosexual. The only person who says his sexuality is part of his identity for doing antiracist work is R8, a primary school teacher: he also is the only queer person out of the respondents. To him, his sexuality helps him to somewhat level with non-White children in the classroom and it helps open up the conversation about race with White children as well, because he can use his own experience of being othered in some way to start a conversation with his class on being othered racially. He also has a walking group with two colleagues, of which one is a White lesbian woman, and one is a Black lesbian woman, and he feels that these shared identities help to make conversations around forms of discrimination easier.

These findings make sense, compared to how the respondents looked at their own racial identity. All participants said that they do not impose any worth on their racial identity themselves; though all of them understand that they have specific experiences because of their whiteness, they do not see whiteness as something that has any significant worth for them. Similarly, whereas Case (2012) argues that women doing antiracist work see their gender identity as something that helps them understand racism better, the men in this research do not argue that their gender identity helps them understand racism, though they

understand their own White, male experiences. The heterosexual respondents, lastly, also do not think their experience as being heterosexual matters for their antiracist work, but the respondent identifying as queer does think their own experience as being othered helps him in his work against racism. The relationship between being othered and doing antiracist work will further be explored in the next part of this thesis.

4.2. Feeling Othered

As was discussed in the last part, multiple respondents view their antiracist work as being intersectional, as they see multiple parts of their own identity in their work and are aware of how their identity shapes how other people look at their antiracist work. Besides this, some of the respondents are also aware of how their identity shapes their antiracist work, both in terms of race, sex and sexuality, as in terms of other characteristics, such as nationality, class, and ability. R8, the only respondent who identifies as queer, uses his identity as a queer person to make the conversation about being othered easier with his students:

> *"Children also know that I sometimes wear nail polish or something like that in class, and for sure they have seen me on Monday morning with glitter in my hair. And then I tell them what's what. (…) And then the parents might think, what a weird one. But I think it's important to stand there as a vulnerable person, as the sometimes unknowing teacher, and as a person, not just as a teacher."*

For R8, this helps him to open up the conversation about racism because every child feels othered sometimes. He talks about A, the only black child in his class, and how he sees this child feels othered in some ways. By talking about being othered and how he has an experience of being othered, he can talk with the students about it, because "Every child has an example where they feel like an A. He absolutely feels Black because he is in a White class. And there are enough moments where children feel something alike, and that's good to look into. What is that? What makes you feel different from the others?"

In total, seven out of the ten respondents feel like they are othered in a certain way, with only three respondents saying they are not othered in a specific way. Although not all ten respondents fit in this pattern of having a feeling of being othered before committing to antiracist work, it still is interesting to see how most of the respondents have specific

memories as to how they felt different, and often misunderstood, compared to their surroundings. Surprisingly, there is no clear similarity between forms of being othered, and the respondents experience the feeling of being others due to many different reasons.

Two respondents felt othered because of their nationality: both were born outside of the Netherlands and moved to the Netherlands more than fifteen years ago. R10, on the one hand, experiences a privileged position since he looks White, though he is originally from a country in Mediterranean Europe. Regarding this, he mentions that "when I had job interviews for school, I often didn't get an invitation and I thought this could be linked with my last name. Because of this, I made the conscious choice to apply with a different name, and then in real life say I am indeed (real name)". He explains that in his experience, ethnicity is something changing: you might be part of the dominant society, the 'self', based on the way you look in one moment: in other moments, for example because of an accent or because of your last name, you are still placed as the 'Other'. It also shows the complicated relationship described by Canales (2000) between how you look at yourself and how society looks at you, and how both self-identification and outside identification are dependent on the context. R5 has a similar experience: coming from a South American country, he feels that he is seen as non-White when he is with only White people, but as White when he is with Black people:

> "I arrive at Schiphol, and I look around me. Then I think, they're going to check my luggage. I'm smaller, I'm not blond. There are only blond people around me, so I'm sure they will choose me to check. So I'm walking, and suddenly I also see a Black man. At that moment I immediately know, he's going to be checked. At that moment I do realize the benefits (of being seen as 'whiter'). I have to realize."

Two other respondents feel a form of being othered, though in their case it is related to their connection to other men and masculinity. R2 describes how he never really felt a good connection with other men, and used to be bullied by men a lot during primary school: "I'm still somewhat inherently scared for men, and I think it's hard to get close to them, because I'm scared. Because of this, most of the friendships I got during and after high school were with either non-binary people or women." He also acknowledges that this experience ensured that he had a different group of friends from other White, heterosexual men. Because he felt excluded from one group, he started to be with more and better understand the group usually seen as contrary to his own. This complicated his own relationship with masculinity.

R6 describes a similar struggle with masculinity. He explains how he used to struggle a lot with being expected to have the macho personality men 'should have', as parts of his personality didn't fit this idea at all. He felt othered because of his sensitivity:

> *"Sensitivity… still isn't a trait that's often associated with manliness, and that's something I used to struggle with a lot in my youth. Because of this, during puberty I was fighting against this a lot, against society in general and especially against machismo culture, the army, and the patriarchy in general."*

Lastly, two of the respondents describe how they feel othered because of their class in relation to their environment when they were younger, though they describe two different extremes. R4, coming from a family who finished higher education but lived in a rural environment with people who never studied, felt different because he felt as if the people around him were too narrow-minded. He claims that this is why he never felt connected to the town he grew up in, as he felt able to think more about the world around him than the locals. Remarkably, this seems opposite from all other respondents, as they experience other people looking down on them whereas R4 felt a sense of superiority over the people in his environment. R9 on the other hand feels a discomfort related to class when he went to university, something that was not common in his family or neighbourhood in general, and he felt like the people at university looked down on him:

> *R9: "I remember my psychology teacher told a story about different cultures in one of the first lectures, and how in some cultures people don't eat with a knife and fork, but everyone in the Netherlands did. And then I thought: what the fuck, I don't eat with a knife and fork, people in my social environment don't do that. My parents already always told me that our kind of people doesn't study, and then in my first class, this idea is confirmed. I already felt like the people in my class weren't from my environment, and then my mentor also tells me: what you're doing is not what we do in our society."*

As the examples above show, the feeling of being othered is very common for the respondents, even though they did not feel othered in the racial sense that is most often discussed when talking about othering. Not all of the respondents say that the feeling of being othered directly influence their antiracist work. Nevertheless, all seven do agree that being othered has affected the way they look at the world and how they present themselves, some of them reflecting on how being othered helped them see how privilege works in other

spaces. This is in line with Hennig et al. (2020), though the findings in this research bring a small nuance to the idea by Canales (2000) that othering creates a simple dichotomy between 'Self' and 'Other': depending on the context, one can be part of the 'Self' in one moment, and change into the 'Other' one moment later. This is more or less similar to the idea of double-consciousness (Du Bois, 1903): as the respondents often are aware of a feeling of being othered at some moments, and not being able to be fully part of the dominant group because of a longer built-in form of exclusion, this could influence them into becoming, or trying to become, antiracist.

4.3 Perceptions of Racism

As this research has been conducted with the Dutch context in mind, it is crucial to see how theories of racism in this specific setting fit with the data collected. Pivotal for understanding the Dutch context in racism are three overlapping ideas, namely the role of White Innocence (Wekker, 2016), the view of White Dutch people on its history with slavery and Black Dutch people's experiences (Essed, 1991; Özdil, 2014), and the Dutch people's relation with language. To understand how these White people relate themselves to racism, it is worth looking at Young's 'personae of racism' (Young, 2011), as this will help contextualize to what extent Dutch people think racism is present and at what level it needs to be addressed in the Netherlands.

When discussing their personal experience with racism and how they relate to it, some of the respondents very clearly discuss racism as something inevitable for every White person to be part of, as racism is something so deeply ingrained in everyday society that there is no escaping from it. Both R3 and R1 compare being White in a racist society to being a fish in water. R1 states: "it's similar to being a fish in water right? He only knows that he's swimming in the water when he is outside of it trying to catch his breath". This metaphor also entails that a White person cannot survive without being inherently racist in some ways, which is in line with the fifth persona Young (2011) describes, in which racism is viewed as this society in general in which all who can benefit from racism to be racist. This is in line with the way R3 describes being antiracist:

> R3: "so yeah, well I mean, it is fun to not be rude to other people, whatever, but if you
> want to do something against racism, the world has to be changed. (…) the option of
> if you are doing these things, you are talking in this way, or if you make these excuses,
> or be careful in these ways, and then you're not a racist, that option does not exist."

Similar to R3 and R1, both R2 and R10 see racism not as something individual, but as something inevitable in the society we live in. The two agree that racism is closely related to capitalism, and R10 argues that you cannot be antiracist without fighting capitalism: "In my view, you can only be antiracist if you are really anticapitalistic, because otherwise, you're just trying to deprive the breeding ground of racism in a very reduced way". He argues that people aren't racist by nature, but they are forced because it is easier to blame other people for not having wealth and becoming poor, and it is easy to blame this on people who look differently. R3 agrees that the underlying systems cause racism to exist, though he argues it is not just about wealth, but about power in general. According to him "you should not rationalise racist tendencies: you should let them go, and think okay, but it is not about me. But you can only take this step when you let go that racism is about skin, and start to realize that it is about power".

Conversely, some take a more individual approach to racism. These respondents understand racism as overt or covert actions certain White people do, instead of reflecting on the dynamics that are happening behind the actions at a broader, structural and institutional level, though evidence exists that even White antiracists reiterate forms of racism and can do harm by doing work that is presented as antiracist (Hughey, 2007). Consistent with Young (2011), these respondents generally do not view themselves as being racist, as they themselves are not the perpetrators of these actions, as far as they are concerned: rather, they point to other people who actively say certain things or behave in specific ways. R4 describes how he finds people who say the entire system needs to change as too extreme, and he prefers looking at how individuals do racist actions: "Either you do or you don't do (racist things). And that's for a lot more different things, *do no harm* is really what I am about. I would never deliberately hurt someone". R6 shares this colourblind vision, arguing that "I have never felt uncomfortable, but you can really explain it as, because I look at people as people, because I think you could, not literally of course, but you could skin someone and then we are all the same". This would place their view on racism as one of the first 'personae' described by Young (2011), as they are unaware of the systemic nature of racism, and feel that when you try to do no harm, you will not do any harm. Though this is not proposed by Young, these examples show that the 'personae' also fit together with being colourblind, and one becomes less colourblind as one progresses in the personae.

4.4. White Innocence

Understanding the way White people look at the definition of race and racism as either something systemic or something perpetuated by individual actions, gives a good insight into how they relate to their own whiteness. Two of the respondents, R4 and R5, were adamant in describing White people as 'blank', stating that White people are not White, but rather yellow, beige, or pink. R7 also sometimes refers to White people as 'blank', but he uses White and 'blank' invariably, possibly unaware of the connotations that the word 'blank' entail (Kanobana, 2021). R5 clearly shows awareness surrounding race as a systemic form of oppression, but he sees this as the reason colour should be ignored altogether: "I talk about social aspects of life, I do not talk about my colour because I am a pink colour. Of course we do talk about racism, I do talk about social issues, so yes, of course." This can be seen as a form of White Innocence, as he seems unaware of the meaning of his skin colour in relation to others, and argues colour is irrelevant, regardless of the social consequences of his skin colour compared to others.

Another part of White Innocence, according to Wekker (2016), is by describing differentiation between White and Black not based on race, but based on cultural or social standards, thus minimizing the actual influence racism has on the life of individuals. White Innocence thus is having the luxury of not having to know or understand their privilege, as they do not experience negative consequences. This is clear in the case of R4, who describes that he lives in a White neighbourhood. Discussing what this White neighbourhood means for his children, he says that "my child goes to a school where children of colour are very welcome, but they do not go there because the school is in a neighbourhood where those people don't live." Rather than looking at systemic reasons why Black children do not go to the school his children go to, he sees this segregation as a simple fact and nothing more than that.

White Innocence is closely related to Dutch feelings of being progressive (Wekker, 2016). The Dutch idea of being progressive and forward-thinking, however, is not just based on racial equality, but also on gender and sexual equality (Kesiç & Duyvendak, 2016). Because of this, it is interesting to see how regardless of their own experience with being privileged because of gender, race, or sexuality, almost all of the respondents reject the notion that people in the Netherlands are very forward-thinking. R3 even sees this positive image of the Netherlands as something that stops the country from progressing:

R3: Firstly, about the ideas of the Netherlands being progressive and the Netherlands being progressive and that in the Netherlands everyone's individual freedom is central. Firstly, it is weird that we think it's classically Dutch, because that's inaccurate, but that's not interesting. The point is that a lot of these images play an important role in defining differences, hierarchical differences, between the Dutch, whoever that might be, and the others.

50% of the respondents also mention a sense of shame when they realized this entire image of the Netherlands being progressive was not as accurate as they thought it was. R2 mentions how he thinks White people can become problematic in certain surroundings, as they tend to take over and silence the voices of Black people. Regardless of their unique position of intersections, the White, heterosexual men participating in this research seem aware and reflexive of their position and at least critical of the idea common in the Netherlands that Dutch people are progressive.

Conclusion and Discussion

5.1 Conclusion

Within any identity group, what is seen as 'normal' is often invisible. Therefore, the aim of this paper was to study a group of people systemically privileged within these identifiers, namely White, male, heterosexual men and their affection to antiracism. Using grounded theory and ten semi-structured interviews with self-identified Dutch, White, and heterosexual men who say they commit to antiracist action, this study has focused on the following three research questions:

1. What social factors lead White, heterosexual men to commit to antiracist practices?
2. How does the intersection of race, gender, and other characteristics play a role in Dutch, White, heterosexual men's work against racism?

3. How are Dutch, White, heterosexual men aware of their position of whiteness in their work against racism, and how do they deal with this position?

Regarding the first question, there is no clear common predictor for the respondents to commit to antiracist practices, however one remarkable observation is that most of the respondents report the experience of feeling othered in one way or another, with these experiences mostly being situated around their youth. This makes sense when reflecting upon the study of Case (2012), who claims that woman committing to antiracist practices often do so because of a feeling of empathy because they have experienced being discriminated against based on sex.

The idea of White people being more likely to commit to antiracist practices after experiencing the feeling of being othered, is in line with previous research on othering (Canales, 2000; Hennig et al., 2000). It is important to note however that respondents reflecting on being othered, also mention that this is situational, but always apparent for them. This helps with developing a broader understanding of Du Bois' notion of double-consciousness (1903). Though race must be understood as one specific issue, at the same time this research shows that the feeling of being othered, on whatever experience it is based, is a great way to help people develop empathy on subjects regarding discrimination. This may be a worthwhile observation in regards to further exploration onto what might trigger White people to stand up against racism.

These observations regarding a feeling of being othered fits the discussion regarding the second question, '*How does the intersection of race, gender, and other characteristics play a role in Dutch, White, heterosexual men's work against racism?*' *perfectly.* According to the interview, neither their heterosexuality nor their maleness plays a role in understanding racism better, though the respondents in this research have specific experiences on gender and sexuality that do not match the experience of women or queer people. This once again shows how the 'Self' is not visible when it is dominant, only when it is the least visible group. This fits in with what Du Bois calls "born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight" (Du Bois, 1903: 14), as the dominant group does not have the veil to see others through in another way. This is why intersectional thinking is of worth not only when discussing Black people being discriminated against, but also when discussing White people, especially White people in various different positions of privilege: as long as White people are not aware of their intersectional privilege, they will not stand up against racism. Crenshaw, with her analysis of intersectionality has made clear how Black women are multiply oppressed (1989). To add to this, this research makes clear how White men are multiply privileged, and that this plays an important role in how they look at racism.

The third question, '*how are Dutch, White, heterosexual men aware of their position of whiteness in their work against racism, and how do they deal with this position?',* needs to be understood in the scope of Dutch racism specifically. As is clear from Wekker (2016), Dutch racism has a history of innocence and of wanting to be seen as spotless. Respondents partly reject this notion, saying that racism in Dutch society is very apparent and not getting better. On the other hand, most of them argue that they themselves are not racist, despite evidence that even in antiracism, racism persists (Hughey, 2007). This perceived ignorance, or unawareness, of their own positionality as Dutch, White, antiracists, fits in with the idea of Dutch exceptionalism (Özdil, 2014), in the sense that some of the respondents, also said that the situation in the Netherlands is not as bad as the situation in the United States.

The result of a lack of awareness of one's own position as a Dutch, White, heterosexual man attempting to do antiracist work, can be that one gets stuck in a colourblind view, resulting in an inability to change view. A colourblind view could also cause actions that have backward consequences, as this view ignores actual dynamics (Apfelbaum et al., 2012). Conversely, understanding of one's intersections and positionality in antiracist work as not only a White person, but as a Dutch, White, heterosexual man is important, combined

with a realization that racism is not just something one does, but also a dynamic one lives in and has not only consequences for Black people, but for White people alike.

5.2 Discussion and Limitations

The first limitation of this research is related to the context this research has been placed in. The intention of this research was to focus on the Dutch context specifically, however most research on racism and antiracism has been focussed on the United States. This means that the interview questions and understanding of race have been almost exclusively based on what racism is in the United States. For further research it might be worth to reimagine the definition of racism in the Netherlands and the racialization of 'others', not just in a differentiation between Black and White, but also of religious minorities, more specifically the Muslim minority in the Netherlands (Fassin, 2012).

Secondly, in the search for respondents a definition of 'antiracist work' has never been proposed, which means that the respondents had to self-identify as antiracist, though the researcher might disagree with their definition of being antiracist. This caused for a wide range of people describing themselves as either antiracist or working against racism. In further research it could be helpful to use a specific definition of antiracist work, though finding respondents will be more difficult in that case.

Lastly, for this research I have only looked at the way White men viewed their antiracist work. To understand how this compares to the way White women view antiracist work, further research needs to be done. Though I have looked at White men discussing antiracism and what they think of their male-ness in their work, it is hard to say what this means if it is not being compared to women discussing the role of intersectionality in antiracism.

Regardless of these limitations, this study can still play an important role in understanding what White heterosexual men's understanding of their own positionality and of parts of their identity mean in their work fighting racism. It can also play an important role in understanding the positive and negative sides of White heterosexual men doing antiracist work, and how they relate to their own whiteness. Lastly, this research can help in discussing the role of othering and being othered as a trigger to start doing antiracist work.

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Appendix I: 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)

Demografie/achtergrond	
Kun je me vertellen waar je bent geboren en waar je nu woont?	
Hoe oud ben je?	
Heb je kinderen? (Hoe oud zijn ze?) ***Vervolg Lieve's vragen ja/nee***	
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 het antiracistisch zijn 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?	

Wat doe je voor je werk/hoe besteed je je tijd?	

Welke karakteristieken zijn voor jou belangrijke manieren om jezelf te omschrijven? *(bijv. Huidskleur, gender, seksuele geaardheid, ability, etc.).*
 	
    Als <u>huidskleur</u> niet wordt benoemd: hoe zit dat met witheid?
        Vervolg Bart's vragen ja/nee	

Wat betekenen deze vormen van zelf-identificatie 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?	Hij/hem
Hoe ziet je huidige inzet voor antiracisme of raciale rechtvaardigheid eruit/ wat houdt je inzet in? *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)?*	
Sleutelvragen	
Kun je me iets vertellen over je jeugd en hoe je bent opgegroeid? *(Deelnemers kunnen zich op hun eigen manier "anders" voelen, voordat ze ras/ racisme begrijpen.*	
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? ***Vervolg Demi's vragen ja/nee***	
Hoe kwam deze politieke voorkeur tot uiting? *Had de omgeving waarin je opgroeide duidelijke ideeën over mensen die anders waren of mensen van kleur?*	
Wat zijn enkele van je herinneringen over rassen of witheid?	

(Sommigen merkten verschil op voordat ze hun eigen witheid begrepen)	
Chronologisch verhaal …	
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? *(Opleiding/cursus/een persoon in hun leven die deze interesse heeft gewekt)*	
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? *(Mindfulness/ meditatiebeoefening of iets dergelijks waarbij ze werken aan "comfortabel zijn met ongemakkelijk zijn" of ze hebben een spirituele oefening, enz.)*	
Wat vinden je ouders/familie van je antiracisme?	
*Als je met mensen spreekt die nog niet over hun witheid hebben nagedacht, is het misschien gemakkelijker om **achteruit** 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.*	
Als iemand net is begonnen met de reflecties over wit-zijn, wat zou je diegene meegeven aan kennis, informatie en inspiratie?	
Reflecteer hun verhaal/ belangrijkste punten terug naar hen. Wat ontbreekt er? Wat heb ik niet gevraagd?	
Zijn er andere mensen met wie ik zou moeten praten?	

Appendix II: Form of Informed Consent

Name van Principal Investigator:	Bonnie French Bart Oude Kempers
Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam / specifieke faculteit:	Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, Erasmus School of Social and Behavioral Sciences
Naam van de financieringsorganisatie:	n.v.t.
Project titel en versie:	Witheid begrijpen: narratieve interviews

Introductie

Mijn naam is Bart Oude Kempers, ik ben een masterstudent sociologie (Social Inequalities) aan de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam. Ik doe onderzoek naar de factoren die witte mensen ertoe brengen zich in te zetten tegen racisme en/of zich in te zetten voor raciale gerechtigheid. Ik ga u informatie geven en u uitnodigen om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek. Dit toestemmingsformulier kan onduidelijke woorden of termen bevatten; aarzel niet om mij om uitleg te vragen waar nodig.

Doel van het onderzoek

Het doel van dit onderzoek is om factoren in het leven van mensen te onderzoeken die hebben geleid tot hun inzet om racisme tegen te gaan en/of raciale rechtvaardigheid te stimuleren. Als witte onderzoeker wil ik bijdragen aan kennis die antiracistisch is en bijdraagt aan ons begrip van de manieren waarop wij, als witte mensen, kunnen bijdragen aan antiracistische inspanningen. Er is veel onderzoek gedaan naar het identificeren van racisme binnen witte gemeenschappen en ruimtes, maar er is relatief weinig onderzoek gedaan met als doel te begrijpen hoe en waarom witte mensen een engagement ontwikkelen om tegen racisme en/of voor raciale rechtvaardigheid te werken.

Type onderzoeksinterventie

In dit onderzoeksproject voer ik diepte-interviews uit met narratieve elementen. Het project duurt een half jaar, maar uw deelname aan dit project is beperkt tot één interview. Dit betekent dat ik u eenmalig zal vragen om ongeveer 60-90 minuten met u af te spreken. Dit interview is in persoon, of via Zoom of Microsoft Teams. Ik kan u vragen of ik u een e-mail mag sturen als er vervolgvragen bij mij opkomen. Ik zal ook op verschillende momenten tijdens het halfjarig onderzoek de resultaten met de deelnemers delen.

Selectie van participanten

Bij het identificeren van potentiële deelnemers voor dit onderzoek heb ik contact gezocht met bestaande organisaties die zich bezighouden met vormen van antiracisme. Deze organisaties omvatten bijvoorbeeld toegewijde activistische organisaties, educatieve ruimtes en spirituele ruimtes. U wordt uitgenodigd om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek, omdat u via een organisatie of persoon binnen een organisatie bent geselecteerd als iemand die past bij de premisse van dit werk en die kan bijdragen aan het begrip en de kennis van hoe en waarom witte mensen werken tegen racisme en/of voor raciale rechtvaardigheid.

Vrijwillige deelname

Uw deelname aan dit onderzoek is geheel vrijwillig. Het is uw keuze om wel of niet mee te doen. Op elk moment voor of tijdens het interview kunt u ervoor kiezen om uw deelname in te trekken of een specifieke vraag niet te beantwoorden, ook als u eerder heeft ingestemd met deelname.

Recht tot het intrekken van toestemming

U heeft te allen tijde het recht om uw toestemming voor het gebruik van de door u verstrekte persoonsgegevens in te trekken (tenzij de gegevens geanonimiseerd zijn). Gegevens die worden verwerkt voordat u uw toestemming intrekt, zijn rechtmatig verzameld en kunnen worden gebruikt voor het onderzoek. U hoeft uw besluit om uw toestemming in te trekken niet te motiveren en er zijn geen consequenties aan het intrekken van uw toestemming.

Procedures

Zoals hierboven vermeld, is dit een interviewproject.

- Als uw ermee instemt om deel te nemen, zullen we een één-op-één gesprek hebben, in persoon, via Zoom of via Microsoft Teams, waarin ik open vragen zal stellen over uw levensgeschiedenis en ervaringen. Deze vragen bevatten specifieke vragen over uw raciale identiteit en uw huidige inzet om racisme en/of raciale rechtvaardigheid tegen te gaan. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in het horen van uw herinneringen met betrekking tot uw identiteitsontwikkeling, en in het bijzonder uw raciale identiteitsontwikkeling. Voorbeeldvragen kunnen zijn: "Kunt u me vertellen over enkele gebeurtenissen in uw leven waarvan u denkt dat ze uw toewijding hebben beïnvloed?".
- Als er vragen zijn die u niet wilt beantwoorden, kunt u dat aangeven. U hoeft geen informatie te delen die u niet graag deelt.
- Het interview wordt opgenomen via een geluidsrecorder of via Zoom of Teams. Na het interview zal ik de opname uitschrijven en alle identificerende informatie inclusief uw naam uit het transcript verwijderen. Alle opnamen, aantekeningen en transcripties worden opgeslagen op een met een wachtwoord beveiligde computer, zodat uw privacy gewaarborgd is.
- Nadat de gegevens zijn verzameld en geanonimiseerd, zal ik de bevindingen van het onderzoek met de deelnemers delen voordat ik verder ga met het publiceren van dit onderzoek. U krijgt de gelegenheid om uw reflecties op deze bevindingen te geven.

Potentiële risico's en ongemakken

- Er zijn geen duidelijke fysieke, juridische of economische risico's verbonden aan deelname aan dit onderzoek.
- Het onderwerp van dit onderzoek kan voor sommige mensen tot nadenken stemmen en misschien verontrustend zijn. Als u ervoor kiest, kunnen we een incheckgesprek plannen na het interview om te helpen nadenken over en verwerken van alles wat tijdens het interview naar voren is gekomen. Dit is ook geheel vrijwillig.

Potentiële voordelen

Deelname aan dit onderzoek garandeert voor u geen bevorderende resultaten. Als resultaat van uw deelname kunt u uw eigen verhalende ervaring met betrekking tot ras en uw inzet om racisme en/of raciale rechtvaardigheid tegen te gaan, beter begrijpen. Ik hoop dat het ontwikkelen van een beter begrip van hoe en waarom witte mensen zich inzetten voor het bestrijden van racisme en/of voor raciale rechtvaardigheid, zal bijdragen aan het voortdurende sociale discours over systemisch racisme en tastbare ideeën zal toevoegen om meer witte mensen te werven om te werken tegen systemisch racisme en voor raciale rechtvaardigheid.

Privacy en vertrouwelijkheid

Om het interview te kunnen regelen, kan ik persoonlijke informatie verzamelen, zoals uw naam en e-mailadres. Als er echter identificerende informatie op de opname van het interview staat, wordt deze geanonimiseerd in de transcriptie. Dit betekent dat ik elke deelnemer een pseudoniem zal toewijzen en identificerende informatie

zal verwijderen. Alleen wij, als onderzoeksteam, zullen een "sleutel" hebben die uw pseudoniem verbindt met uw naam en informatie. Deze "sleutel" wordt bewaard op een met een wachtwoord beveiligde computer.

Dit onderzoeksproject omvat het maken van video-opnames of audio-opnames van interviews met u. Getranscribeerde segmenten van de opnames kunnen worden gebruikt in publicaties (bijv. tijdschriftartikelen en boekhoofdstukken). In het geval van publicatie zullen pseudoniemen of een anonieme aanduiding (bijv. Deelnemer 5) worden gebruikt. De opnames, formulieren en andere documenten die in het kader van dit onderzoek zijn gemaakt of verzameld, worden opgeslagen op een beveiligde locatie in mijn kantoor en/of op de met een wachtwoord beveiligde computer.

Uw gegevens bewaren en delen

- Uw persoonlijke gegevens (bijv. audio- of video-opnamen, formulieren en andere documenten die in het kader van dit onderzoek zijn gemaakt of verzameld) worden gedurende een periode van maximaal 10 jaar op een beveiligde locatie opgeslagen.
- Een selectie van de gegevens die u ons verstrekt kan nuttig zijn voor educatieve doeleinden en voor toekomstig onderzoek, ook in andere onderzoeksgebieden. Daarom wil ik mogelijk uw gegevens hergebruiken en zal ik u hiervoor toestemming vragen in het toestemmingscertificaat.
- De kennis die we uit dit onderzoek halen, zal met u en andere deelnemers worden gedeeld voordat deze algemeen beschikbaar wordt gesteld aan het publiek.

Uw privacyrechten en contactgegevens

U hebt het recht om toegang te vragen tot uw persoonsgegevens en om rectificatie, verwijdering, beperking, gegevensoverdraagbaarheid en onder bepaalde omstandigheden bezwaar te maken tegen de verwerking van uw persoonsgegevens.

Als u een beroep wilt doen op uw rechten of een vraag hebt over privacy over dit onderzoek, kunt u contact opnemen met de DPO (Data Protection Officer) van de Erasmus Universiteit via fg@eur.nl. Als u een klacht over privacy wilt indienen, kunt u dit doen bij de Autoriteit Persoonsgegevens.

Wie te contacteren

Als u vragen hebt, kunt u die nu of later stellen. Als u later nog vragen wilt stellen, kunt u contact met ons opnemen via e-mail: supervisor Bonnie French, french@essb.eur.nl, en Lieve Graaf, 471351lg@student.eur.nl.

Formulier van toestemming

Ik heb het formulier voor geïnformeerde toestemming gelezen en ik begrijp het doel van het onderzoek en de gegevens die van mij worden verzameld. Het onderzoek is mij duidelijk uitgelegd en ik heb vragen kunnen stellen.

Door ondertekening van dit formulier, zal ik

1. toestemming geven voor deelname aan dit onderzoek.
2. bevestigen dat ik ten minste 18 jaar oud ben.
3. begrijpen dat deelname aan dit onderzoek geheel vrijwillig is; en
4. begrijpen dat mijn gegevens zullen worden geanonimiseerd voor verder onderzoek en publicatie.

Uitdrukkelijke Toestemming

Ik geef mijn uitdrukkelijke toestemming voor het verzamelen, verwerken, gebruiken en opslaan van mijn persoonlijke gegevens voor de doeleinden van dit onderzoek, waaronder raciale identiteit, ideologische overtuigingen en audio- en videogegevens.

Audio/Video

Hierbij geef ik toestemming voor het maken van audio- en/of video-opnames tijdens het onderzoek en het uitschrijven van mijn antwoorden.

Citaten

Ik stem ermee in dat mijn antwoorden worden geciteerd in onderzoekspublicaties. Wanneer citaten worden gebruikt, worden deze geanonimiseerd.

Verder onderzoek

Ik geef hierbij toestemming dat mijn gegevens worden opgeslagen en gebruikt voor educatieve doeleinden en voor toekomstig onderzoek, ook in andere onderzoeksgebieden dan dit onderzoek.

Naam van participant:

Handtekening van de participant: **Datum:**

Appendix III: 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. Jennifer A. Holland, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION

Project title: White Antiracism

Name, email of student: Bart Oude Kempers, 618098bo@eur.nl

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

Start date and duration: 01-02-2021, 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. Will information about the nature of the study and about what
    participants can expect during the study be withheld from them?   YES - <mark>NO</mark>

2. Will any of the participants not be asked for verbal or written
    'informed consent,' whereby they agree to participate in the study?   YES - <mark>NO</mark>

3. Will information about the possibility to discontinue the participation
    at any time be withheld from participants?   YES - <mark>NO</mark>

4. Will the study involve actively deceiving the participants?   YES - <mark>NO</mark>
    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?   `   <mark>YES</mark> - 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)?   <mark>YES</mark> –NO

7. Will the study involve the participation of minors (<18 years old) or
    other groups that cannot give consent?   YES - <mark>NO</mark>

8. Is the health and/or safety of participants at risk during the study?   YES - <mark>NO</mark>

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.

Participation in this study is fully voluntary. The topic of this research can be tough and personal, however we are interviewing people who already do antiracist work, so they are accustomed to these sorts of discussions. There will also be data collected on skin colour, as White people are the topic of the study.

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

Participating in this study is fully voluntary, people can step out any time they want and they will be made aware of this; afterwards, they will hear the results of the study if they wish.

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 unintended circumstances

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?

This has been left empty to preserve anonymity of respondents.

_____

_____

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

10.

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

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

Impossible to measure, but easily thousands

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: Name (EUR) supervisor:

Bart Oude Kempers   Bonnie French

Date: Date:

17-03-2022   17-03-2022