The Story of that White Conservative who became an Antiracist

Investigating the White racial identity development of antiracist people who grew up in conservative households

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Abstract

In this thesis, social factors have been investigated that led to White Dutch antiracism. Ten semi-structured interviews have been conducted with self-identified White Dutch antiracists with a conservative upbringing. The field of White antiracism has been understudied; therefore, this study contributes to filling the gap. The aim is to understand which social factors led these Dutch Whites' White racial identity development. The social factors that contributed to their development appeared to be emotional intelligence, seminal experiences, and learning resources.

Keywords: White antiracism, conservatism, White racial identity development

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The Story of that White Conservative who became a White Antiracist

Defeating racism has been under increasing attention over the last decade (Nummi et al., 2019). However, this fight already existed when the enslaved people broke free of slavery in the US, with the White abolitionists being allies by trying to improve the social conditions of Black people (Brown, 2017). People of colour have been fighting ever since with as last prominent contemporary global movement, the Black Lives Matter movement (#BLM). In the #BLM-movements, people of all racial categories stand beside each other in the hope of increasing awareness of institutional racism. Race has been created by White people and underscores the different appearances of bodies. The racial categories have been functioning as a social construct since their creation (Smedley & Smedley, 2012).

A prominent movement in the Netherlands is that of Kick Out Black Pete (KOZP), an organisation created by Black people that tries to illuminate the racist figure of the Sinterklaas tradition. In a society where White innocence is the dominant attitude, KOZP's fight has been difficult. That Black people are aware of racial inequality has been apparent due to their visible resistance against racial oppression (Nummi et al., 2019). However, White people have been severely underrepresented in these fights. Especially conservative people have often been reluctant to accept Black Pete as a racist figure (Coenders & Chauvin, 2017). At the same time, they do not consider themselves racist (Wekker, 2016). This ignorant way of declining racism is also seen in their voting habits, as their vote often goes to the party with the strictest refugee policy, which is driven by islamophobia (Witteveen, 2017). This colourblind racism ideology of parents and guardians is often transmitted to their children. Although most children often end up with somewhat the same values when they reach adulthood, some might walk onto another ideological path other than their family´s (Barni et al., 2011). What contributed to that shift for these few people? How did they become aware

of whiteness and their own White racial identity? That is why I chose to research what social factors lead White people with a conservative upbringing to commit to racial justice work.

Little research has been done about the racial identity development of White people, with most of them being performed in the US (Goren & Plaut; 2012; Linder, 2020; Mallott, 2015; Moffitt et al.; 2021; Warren, 2010), with much of the existing research relying on the White Racial Identity Development (WRID) model of Helms (1991) to investigate this matter (Malott et al., 2015; Moffit et al., 2021). The development of White racial identity has been severely understudied outside the US, including in the Netherlands. The White racial identity development combined with a conservative upbringing has not been performed before in qualitative or quantitative research and in or outside the US. This qualitative research aims to contribute to the literature by filling this gap by exploring the White racial identity development of people with a conservative upbringing in the Netherlands, with the help of the meaning-making model of Park and Folkman (1994).

Theoretical Framework

In grounded theory, sensitising concepts are an essential element. Deconstructing the core concepts leads to a better understanding which can function as a guide throughout the research (Bryman, 2016). The concepts' nature changed when the subjects' insights advanced, leading to the following theoretical framework.

Race, Racism, and their History

To be able to understand *antiracism*, *race* and *racism* need to be explained first. There has been an ongoing discussion in academia about how race should be defined, whether it is a biological matter or a social construct. However, there has been a lack of empirical biological data on race (Smedley & Smedley, 2012). Omi and Winant (2012) proposed a definition of race which will be leading in this research: "race is a concept which signifies and symbolises

social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies." (p. 223). Race is a social construct but is essentially influenced by the colours of our bodies. Its fundament is founded in the colonial era. Due to this foundation, is it important to add history to the context when race and its implications are being discussed, as the past and the present influence each other (Omi & Winant, 2012). History shaped our society and collective minds, and consequently, is race intertwined with our institutions; our political, social, and justice systems (Omi & Winant, 2012). Race is, therefore, a social construct with real consequences for society and its variety of civilians with different skin tones.

Race and racism originate from the era of colonisation, where Whites were imperialistically claiming the land and bodies of other people (Miles & Brown, 2004). Black people were enslaved by Whites, which is why White people started categorising people by race (Smedley & Smedley, 2012). By categorising Black people, Whites were able to formulate a variety of legislations that made White people legally superior over Black people and allowed themselves to rule over Black people (Smedley & Smedley, 2012), which led to a world shaped by the consequences of colonisation. The dominant racial category with the most privilege and power is that of the Whites, which has affected the overall society. This is also what created *whiteness*. Whiteness refers to the contemporary system that suggests that being White is neutral and the norm. Whites can allow themselves to stay ignorant about their own racial identity and how their racial category affects others. They often think and act out of a colourblind racism ideology without being conscious that their views are racist. At the same time, there is also institutional racism. This type of racism is nurtured by whiteness, leading to racist outcomes through bureaucratic procedures (Murji, 2007).

The Dutch Context

Racism

Although race is more extensively discussed and researched in the US, race is present in every country, including the Netherlands. The Netherlands also has a history of colonising, as they have forcefully claimed Indonesia, Surinam, and South Africa. Two prominent researchers on race and racism in the Netherlands are Philomena Essed and Gloria Wekker. According to Wekker (2016), symbolic for White Dutch people is their *White innocence.* White innocence entails the dominant way of thinking that the Dutch are just and colourblind. In addition, the Dutch Whites would argue that racism does not exist in the Netherlands. The lack of White people´s notions about races is also found in the Dutch language, in which the skin colour of White people is called *blank* instead of White (Kanobana, 2021). *Blank* is translated into blank and represents neutrality (Kanobana, 2021). Without a doubt, racism does exist in the Netherlands, as Essed (1991) explains by coining the term *everyday racism*: "[everyday racism] connects structural forces of racism with routine situations in everyday life. It links ideological dimensions of racism with daily attitudes and interprets the reproduction of racism in terms of the experience of it in everyday life." (p.2).

Next to the colonisation, the racialisation of Muslims started with the guest worker program in 1960. This program has led to an increasing number of Turkish and Moroccan migrants working in the industrial sector (Turcatti, 2018). Islamophobia ultimately worsened after 9/11 in the US and after the attacks on Pim Fortuyn in 2002 and Theo van Gogh in 2004 in the Netherlands (Wekker, 2016). Next to these situations, the people of Turkish or Moroccan descent are perceived to be a danger to the Dutch culture due to their religious infrastructures, such as mosques and Islamic primary schools, and to what is perceived as a conservative gender ideology (de Koning, 2020). The alien other, together with feelings of danger, lead to racialisation (de Koning, 2020). According to de Bruijn et al. (2017), people

of Turkish and Moroccan descent are the least wanted, followed by the Surinamese and Caribbean people. Racialising people of Turkish and Moroccan descent is a defining characteristic of Dutch racism and is an important difference between the Netherlands and the US.

Conservatism

In order to research White people from conservative households, the pillar system of the Netherlands should be reviewed. Pillarization was seen as uniquely Dutch from 1900 until 1960 (Schrover, 2010). It stands for segmentation in society into different social and religious groups: catholic, protestant, socialist and liberal (Schrover, 2010). The division reached different layers of society as the pillars had their own radio and television broadcasts, schools, universities, newspapers, political parties, shops, and so on. Therefore, people did not easily meet people from other pillars and traditionally voted on the political party of their own pillar, with emphasis on the two religious reformed and catholic groups.

It is not a coincidence the guest worker program started the same year that the pillared society 'ended' (Hoogeboom & Scholten, 2018). The Dutch were unable to maintain the traditional four pillars and included one pillar extra for all the Non-Europeans (Hoogeboom & Scholten, 2008). Although the strict division from that time does not exist in contemporary Dutch society, it also never really disappeared.

Since the murder of Pim Fortuyn, political parties have been more outspoken about their dislike of the number of people migrating from Islamic countries or Central Africa (Oudenampsen, 2018). For this research about antiracist work, it is important to note that these political parties are against immigrants from Islamic and African countries and want to implement a stricter refugee policy, mainly driven by islamophobia (Witteveen, 2017). Examples of the two biggest political parties with this stance are The Liberal-Conservative

Party (VVD) and the PVV (Party for Freedom). The VVD won the election for the third time in 2021. Centre-right and right-winged parties have been dominating the Dutch political party landscape. The VVD is the party with higher-class voters (Lijphart, 1990), and the PVV the lower-class voters. The traditional religious voters tend to go for the Christian Democrats (CDA) or Reformed Political Party (SGP) (Jedan, 2013).

Identity Matters

In the above sections, we discussed the relevant historical and contemporary context of racism and the Netherlands. Next, it is time to dive into the individuals in relation to others and society. To research the White racial identity development, there are some aspects to keep in mind, such as their upbringing, their intersectional oppressive or power identities, and identity aspects of White antiracism. All of these identity matters are in relation to others and society. Lastly, I will also discuss a meaning-making model to be able to analyse the global meaning of the world and the selves of the respondents.

Conservative Upbringing

The targeted group are self-identified White Dutch antiracists with a conservative upbringing. All the respondents, therefore, have been brought up with conservative values. These conservative values are in a political or religious ideology, or both, of the parents or guardians and could transmit to their children (Barni et al., 1996). This is called *value transmission* and shapes the way children view the world. In a racial-conscious household, racial awareness in children could already be stimulated due to parenting (Hagerman, 2017). However, in the case of White conservative households, children possibly do not become aware of their racial identity through their upbringing, considering traditional values towards races, discussed in the section above about conservatism. In addition, the Dutch had less contact outside their social or religious group due to the traditional pillars for a long time, which is why people tended to stay in their own social or religious group. Therefore, people

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with a conservative upbringing must likely develop their racial identity outside their original household.

Intersectionality

Although an upbringing in a conservative household is not necessarily an identity of oppression, looking at intersectionality in research is still worthwhile as it emphasises the forms of oppression and power relations that differ per combination of different identities. Kimberlé Crenshaw first coins the term intersectionality. It refers to "[…] the critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities." (Collins, 2015, p.2). There are no specifics formulated on gender, class, sexuality, ability, and age for the targeted group. Therefore, the respondents could have an identity in one or more of these categories and have experienced *othering*. Othering is "transforming a difference into otherness so as to create an in-group and an out-group" (Staszak, 2009, p. 1). Having experienced being oppressed in any way makes it easier to understand what it must be like for others with other oppressive identities (Feagin & Vera, 2000). Next to the oppressive identities, the power identities are just as important. Central in this research is the power identity of the respondent of being White. Still, this could correspond with other non-normative identities. Intersectionality is important to keep in mind because it ensures sensitivity to the context in which the White racial identity is formed and which power structures or social inequalities a respondent has encountered.

White Antiracism

When reading the academic literature on White antiracism, it becomes clear that Whites seem unaware of the potential harm they inflict by trying to help when being insufficiently educated on all the implications of the racist society (Spanierman & Cabrera, 2014). Being a White antiracist means being aware of all the different types of racism, how

racism influences the institutions and the collective minds, and how that all came into being (Spanierman & Cabrera, 2014). There are also individual competencies required. Firstly, by being uncomfortable and enduring emotions, such as anger, guilt, and shame. According to Linder (2015), people experience these emotions in the reaction of appearing to be racist. These emotions make it hard for White people to engage in antiracism work. Secondly, the competencies of being able to be empathetic and self-reflect are seen as valuable (Spanierman & Cabrera, 2014). The inability to reflect makes Whites unaware of their own responsibility in oppressing (Feagin & Vera, 2000). It is impossible to leave some of these mentioned above out of the formation of White antiracism. For example, according to Spanierman et al. (2008), is empathy alone insufficient to end up doing antiracism work. Feagin and Vera (2000) also see the importance of empathy and discuss it thoroughly. They state that being empathetic is about strongly identifying with a human being by taking the perspective of that other person, feeling the pain and circumstances, and understanding how that person must feel cognitively and emotionally. Empathy is about humanising the other, in contrast to sympathy in which Whites only feel sorry for people of colour and mistake that feeling for feeling empathetic (Feagin & Vera, 2000).

White Racial Identity Development Theories. In addition to the White antiracism literature, there have also been made contributions by creating identity models. It is noteworthy that both models are created in the US context. The Dutch context is different regarding White Dutch's attitudes towards race and types of marginalised groups, which might affect the applicability of these models.

According to Choney and Rowe (1994), Helms developed the *White Racial Identity Development Model*, which became a significant contribution to the academic literature concerning White identity. In this model, six steps have been formulated that White people could go through in developing a sense of their own race. However, these stages seem linear,

but identity development stages cannot and should not be seen as a linear process. Therefore, this model is not centred in this research.

Another theory about the development of the White racial identity is one of Warren (2010). According to him, almost all White people he interviewed mentioned a *seminal experience*. This experience refers to an exact situation in which his participants had a moral shock. This moral shock functioned as a push that helped them become conscious of race and its consequences, followed by strong emotions such as anger. For many of his participants, this experience was why they started with White antiracism work. Warren's (2010) theory is called the *Head, Heart, Hand* theory, which refers to the stages of becoming a White antiracist. The first stage is when Whites gather information about race and racism by reading books and talking to other people who are aware of this inequality. This is the head phase. Secondly is the matter of the heart: being empathetic and touched by the injustice caused by racism. Lastly, the Whites want to help by getting involved in racial justice work, called the hand phase. From there on, the cycle starts again at the head phase. Because this model seems to be a strict cycle, I also include a non-linear model.

Meaning-Making Model

The academic world has not done enough research about White racial identity development models to have provided a model that does not encounter a lot of critiques. That is why I have searched for models about meaning-making and identity, not specified on White racial identity development. Although the model of Park and Folkman (1997) is also conducted in the US context, it seems to be a suitable alternative for analysing White racial identity development as it is a non-linear model of how people make sense of the world. The model is about people's views on the meaning of the world on which they formulate their beliefs and goals. This is called the *global meaning* and is differentiated into three categories: beliefs about the world, beliefs about oneself, and the relation of the self in the world. This

model could help analyse White identity formation as Dutch Whites tend to start with the belief of White innocence in which people first think that White is neutral and are unaware of the history and its consequences in the present day. That is their global meaning of the world and how they relate themselves to the world is not in a White-conscious manner. Encountering other information and perspectives makes them re-evaluate their meaning of the world and how they will relate to that newly formed belief. The encounter of additional information and views could also be called the *situational meaning*. According to Park and Folkman (1997), situational meaning is an event in which a person evaluates that event to their global meaning. If that event does not fit into their beliefs of the world, that person will experience distress. In this distress, the person will try to cope and process the distress. This is part of the meaning-making process. After this process, the next step is the 'meanings made' process. The individual will be formulating a new meaning to the situation, their global meaning, or both. When the global meaning is being the one that is re-formulated, there will also be a need for new beliefs and goals. This model is not linear and can constantly be activated when a new significant situational meaning occurs to update their global meaning.

In this research, how White people perceive the world and relate themselves to it is essential. The nonlinearity of this model makes it a dynamic and recurring development which does not have an end. Therefore, instead of the existing linear or cyclist model of White racial identity development, and after collecting and coding the data, it appears to be this model with the most analytical power.

Methods

The data and methods of this research are part of a larger research program of Bonnie French. The Erasmus School of Social and Behavioural Sciences (ESSB) ethics committee had already granted this program's permission. The larger project of Bonnie French lasts

three years. This sub-research, however, lasted six months. Because this research is part of that program, the methods are the same.

Grounded Theory and In-Depth Interviews

As stated before, the leading method is grounded theory. This method is qualitative and inductive (Bryman, 2016). Due to constantly reflecting on data throughout the research, concepts advanced by new insights. These insights were essential for the process and led to a better understanding of the researched issue. The in-depth interviews were a part in which these insights were gained. The interviews were either in person or online via Microsoft Teams and lasted about 75 to 140 minutes. All the interviews were recorded. The in-depth interviews were open-ended with narrative elements, which allowed the respondents to shape the interview. However, due to the use of an interview guide, the conversation was still semi-structured. This interview guide consisted of two parts. The first part was about the respondents' demographics and current involvement in antiracist work. The second part was the narrative part. This part allowed the participant to talk about elements of their life history that were important to their racial development, such as their family composition, specific turning points when they started to realise and understand their racial identity and racism, and the learning resources they have used. The interview guide is included in the appendix. This subject concerning White racial identity could have been perceived as sensitive. White people often fear racial topics, even more so when talking to people of colour (Tatum, 2017). Being a White researcher interviewing other White people could therefore lead to a more truthful and open interview. This phenomenon of Whites feeling more at ease speaking their minds to other Whites is called *White racial bonding* (Tatum, 2017).

Sample

This research project is about the White racial identity. The targeted audience for the interviews on this subject were self-identified White Dutch people of eighteen years and

older who self-identify as an antiracist. On top of that, the respondents should have been raised by parents or guardians who were conservative in a political or religious sense, as is written about conservatism in the theoretical framework.

We encountered some sampling issues. We knew beforehand that there are not that many White antiracists in our specific subgroups. We have reached out to many antiracist organisations and left-wing political parties. The organisations were either unable to help us, or the White antiracists involved in their organisation were too busy. We even got a colourblind response from an antiracist organisation saying that they were horror-struck and do not differentiate their employees based on skin colour. In addition, we have got no reactions to our social media posts.

However, in the end, we still managed to have ten people interviewed for my specific subgroup, who have been sampled by snowball, purposive, and convenience sampling in antiracist organisations, social media and personal networks. To maintain the privacy and anonymity of the respondents, I will not get into more specifics about where we recruited them.

Table 1: Respondents and relevant information

R	Age[*]	Gender	Parental voting[**]
1	65+	Non-binary	VVD
2	20-30	Female	VVD

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[*] Anonymised into age categories for privacy protection. The categories are created with sensitivity to life stages, such as being a young adult or a retiree.
[**] I have only included parental voting, as the voting also implicitly shows the former pillars, and class, apolitical stance, and religiousness.

3	65+	Female	/[***]
4	45-60	Male	VVD/PvdA
5	20-30	Male	/
6	20-30	Female	VVD/PVV
7	20-30	Female	PVV
8	45-60	Female	CDA
9	45-60	Male	CDA
10	65+	Female	KVP[****]

Coding

After the first interviews were conducted, the transcribing process started. A verbatim transcribing software helped during this process, after which I have read carefully through the transcribed files. This process allowed me to add reading marks and correct errors. Already during transcription, I started with a memo of possible themes. When this part was completed, the coding procedure began. A researcher cannot be objective; however, as a White researcher with a conservative upbringing myself, I knew that my own experiences would influence my coding and themes. It was, therefore, helpful that our research team started with open coding together as a group, where we identified reoccurring themes for all the interviewees. After, we coded individually using Atlas.ti. I made memos and coded the transcripts more specifically on the codes we had formulated as a group. After coding for the first time, I went back to look through the transcripts several times to allow insights to emerge through the codes, which is part of the grounded theory method. We aimed for data saturation. However, we acknowledge that ten interviews made it hard to obtain that.

[***] R3 is from a religious community in which there was no such thing as politics.
[****] KVP is the party that is called the CDA nowadays.

Ethics

Ethics are crucial in research. Due to ethical concerns, we ensured that the White antiracist participants fully understood what kind of research they participated in, which rights they have, and how their data is secured. Their rights are in line with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), which means that if they want their data to be deleted, we will do so. After they understood the given information, they signed a consent form before the interview. This consent form was already written in English by Bonnie French and has been translated into Dutch. The form is included in appendix 2.

Their data is treated carefully. Their demographic data and the recording of the interviews are saved in a secure place to which only the research team has access. This place is the password-protected cloud storage of the Erasmus University Rotterdam (EUR). The data is anonymised so that the participant cannot be traced back through the data.

Results and Analysis

A few central themes came out of the interviews. At first, some commonalities of White antiracists emerged from the data. First, the respondents had emotional intelligence in common, which will be described below. Second, they need one or several seminal experiences to create awareness that something is very off about this society. Thirdly, they need to gather (in-depth) information about this problem to understand this complex and multi-layered matter of whiteness.

Before we go any further, I want to note that every respondent was in a very different phase in their white identity development and knowledge about race and racism. These results show a red line throughout the interviews that helped most of the respondents become more aware of whiteness and races, despite wherever they are in their development. In some cases, I will also use an example of the absence of one of the themes, which is often only

from the respondents with a less developed White racial identity. Every quote is translated from Dutch into English.

Emotional Intelligence

Out of the interviews appeared that all the respondents are socially engaged, which has led to being politically left-wing. However, being emotional intelligent seemed to be the most important and repetitive in favour of becoming left-wing in the first place and developing a White racial identity. Emotional intelligence is differentiated into empathy, open-mindedness, reflexivity, and the ability to feel uncomfortable. Empathy refers to being emotionally open and open-mindedness to being cognitively open to different voices. Reflexivity is necessary to make sense after being confronted with new emotional and cognitive perspectives. Lastly, the ability to feel uncomfortable is essential to understand that being an antiracist White in a predominantly White society comes along with continuously making mistakes. The emotional intelligence was shown through the stories the respondents told and the way they said them, and, on top of that, some respondents mentioned them in a direct sense when they named their characteristics.

Open-Mindedness

To have an open mind is to be curious and inquisitive. Almost all respondents showed curiosity combined with inquisitiveness, which is translated to open-mindedness. An open mind refers to people being cognitively open to other information and perspectives, as is shown by R1 (non-binary, 65+). They came out of a higher-class family and was, for the first time, confronted with lower classes at the age of 16:

> Hey, why do those kids have to drop out of school? I've thought about it, but those kinds of
> events, so that curiosity, that helps a lot, of course. That I always wanted to know everything,
> but then you also get information about things that are very different.

By asking questions and being curious about other perspectives makes R1 more likely to encounter different people or stories than your own, as R1 illustrates. They had a natural urge to ask questions as they also had examples of curiousness in primary school. Other respondents showed open-mindedness by standing cognitively open when a situation occurred spontaneously or by intentionally seeking different perspectives.

Open-mindedness is not explicitly named in the existing literature; however, in the research of Linder (2015), the respondents were talking about having to stay open to new experiences. In addition, by being open to the new information about other classes, R1 was open to the situational meaning to form her. The situational meaning did not correspond with their global meaning, which was due to their high class: everyone goes to school. Instead, they consumed the new perspective and questioned why that other situation also exists. As a result, they was introduced to the socio-economic inequality and incorporated it into their newly constructed global meaning: due to class differences is not everyone able to go to school, so apparently, not everyone has the same opportunities. As they was confronted with a fact that did not correspond with their reality, they also became more aware of their own privileges. This crystallised more when a friend told them that her mother had said: "you should hang out with that girl a lot because she is of good origin.". R1 was perplexed to have gotten such a 'recommendation' by doing absolutely nothing. From that moment on, the next step towards understanding which parts of people were less privileged was more easily made by just staying open and questioning the situational meaning.

Empathy

Being empathetic is also synonymous for being open, but in this case, emotionally, by taking the perspective of others (Rogers, 1959). The respondents showed empathy when they told stories about others and tried to comprehend how this White society must feel for people

of colour, as did R2 (female, 20-30). She imagines that being the only person of colour in the room must be terrible and even terrifying if you are also a woman:

> I find it so sad that non-white people immediately and actively look at that when they walk into a room: is there someone like me? That really bothers me because I don't have to think about it. I'm always like: yeah, there's everyone, okay. However, I may have that with women. I may have. That I look, like: oh, there is only one. But the fact that with black woman you have that two double. That just seems like... it sucks to feel so... threatened all the time, I guess. But of course, I don't want to fill that in. It may be how I see it.

In this example, she shows the understanding of White dominance and how that dominance can influence the feelings of people of colour when they enter the room. In addition, she understands the difference in perspectives with intersectional entities. According to Feagin and Vera (2000), being able to take the perspective of people of colour and identify with the emotions that come along with being in their place shows empathy and could be helpful in antiracism practices. Warren (2010) also highlighted the importance of empathy in his theory of head, heart, hand, in which empathy is necessary for the heart stage.

Reflexivity

In the case of developing a White racial identity, being solely open-minded and empathetic does not mean much. Reflecting on your memories, beliefs, norms, and habits is essential for meaning-making and re-evaluating the global meaning (Park & Folkman, 1997). By doing so, the Whites can create a deep(er) understanding of whiteness (Feagin & Vera, 2000). The respondents told stories of reflection on their own implicit biases in the past and the moment. Two young female respondents gave the example of their implicit bias toward a group of non-White boys compared to a group of White boys. When they notice it in the moment, they try to correct themselves as R7 (female, 20-30) did:

Also, always try to pay attention to how I feel… um… on the street when… a group of white boys would walk by; I just kind of feel like: Yes, okay. But when a group of black boys pass by like that, I feel something like: Ooh, watch out. And I find that very unfortunate because then I think: it should not be like this. That's kind of a feeling, what from the past... has crept in somewhere? That you should watch out for that? While I don't think that makes any sense. And then I immediately want, when I feel that, that I think: but I don't want to show that at all, so I do my best to kind of just smile at them, you know. Because I just think it's a shame that it kind of crept in.

In this example, the respondent shows that a situation occurs and that she reacts to that by reflecting on how she feels, why she feels that way, and how she must behave after noticing those processes. This kind of reflection in the situation itself shows *reflection-in-action.* This phenomenon stands for reflecting on past situations and trying to improve that when encountering that same sort of situation (Schön, 1987). Although Schon's theory is mainly developed for practitioners, it is easy to state that practising reflection-in-action in antiracism work and forming a White identity should only be encouraged. Being reflexive and reflecting whilst acting in a racist society could help minimise incorporated racist beliefs with which the Whites grew up. However, a tricky aspect of this trait is that people can only reflect on their actions when they have the correct information about racism.

Another notable aspect of this example is that women, not men, explicitly give these examples. In that way, there is a difference in the White racial identity formation for women compared to men. These women seem to be raised with the idea that men of colour are dangerous, whereas the White men do not seem to be raised with that explicit notion. This makes sense as women are traditionally raised to be more careful. In this specific case of reflexivity, it means that women must reflect on internalised thoughts and behaviours more

often that have been transmitted from their upbringing in the conservative household due to their gender.

Being reflexive also influences how respondents retroactively see their own family and upbringing. As R5 (male, 20-30), who was brought up in a higher-class family, said: "I always thought I was a member of an apolitical family, until the moment I was left-wing myself, then I saw: oh wait, this is really just the politics of privilege going on here." As R5 says, he needed to be left-wing before reflecting on his upbringing. To be able to reflect on the correct aspects of life, the White antiracists need informational resources. The informational resources will be discussed further in the last subchapter of the findings and analysis.

In contrast to examples of reflexivity, I will give an example which shows unawareness of racism to illustrate what happens if someone does not reflect (specifically on parenting, in this case). The respondent, R8 (female, 45-60), lives in a predominantly White village and has two adult daughters with a Black man. When I asked if she felt that she had a role in the upbringing of her children in combination with racism, she answered:

> … You can be discriminated against because of your skin colour, but also because you are a girl … We are not very concerned with the fact that you can always be discriminated against. Or no, no, just. Yes, everyone gets bullied or discriminated against, I think. But it could be for very different reasons. Specifically on skin colour, not so. No no. More so as a woman.

There are several points to highlight. First, she differentiated two inequalities instead of seeing them as intersectionality. She thinks you are either 'discriminated' based on skin colour or as a girl, and she thinks being a girl is worse. Secondly, she did not believe talking about racism to her children was valuable. Thirdly, she does not mention the word racism but only discusses discrimination. She does not show reflexivity during her children's youth, and

there is also no sign of retroactive reflection. Also, saying "everyone gets bullied or discriminated against" does not show empathy but sympathy. Sympathy refers to mainly being sorry for people but not get the perspectives that are being talked about (Feagin & Vera, 2000). Possibly, R8 did not have the correct information to be able to reflect on her parenting, as she still shows the absence of (right) information about racism and her own White stance in this society, or she has not been cognitively open enough to gather information outside her own perspective.

The ability to Feel Uncomfortable

Importantly, but probably the hardest, is the ability to feel uncomfortable. A lot of respondents showed empathy, open-mindedness, and reflexivity. However, being comfortable with being uncomfortable and allowing yourself to make mistakes is another level. That seems to be the last push to develop the most awareness of their White racial identity. It shows constant reflection and being open to getting feedback.

> You should always remember: you're doing antiracism work because it's just. Not because you feel comfortable with it. That is not true. It's very uncomfortable, it's an uncomfortable experience, it must be, and it should be because you come from a racist society. If you do, you must be prepared for that, and be mindful that you go into that discomfort, […].

<div align="right">R5, male, 20-30</div>

R5 mentions the discomfort of being a White person in a racist society and 'warns' that the discomfort is what you sign up for if you want to do this work. As Linder (2015) points out, being uncomfortable is a reason for Whites to stay out of doing antiracism work. It requires the ability to endure guilt, shame, and anger when making mistakes in unawareness of your own racism.

To conclude, I have discussed empathy, open-mindedness, reflexivity, and the ability to feel comfortable in detail. However, the overarching phenomenon is emotional intelligence. I loosely translated the four aspects into emotional intelligence. Emotional intelligence is the ability to understand your own emotion, and that of others, act on those emotions, and reflect (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). However, there were no results when trying to find academic literature on emotional intelligence and White antiracism. In most academic literature, only one or two aspects of the four have been named in combination with developing a White racial identity (Linder, 2015; Spanierman & Cabrera, 2014; Warren, 2010).

Seminal Experiences

The White identity of the respondents was not developed by just having the traits mentioned above - unfortunately. There is also a spark, an experience, needed to grab their attention towards racial inequality. This spark will be called a seminal experience and refers to one memorable moment. These moments are being made sense of due to their emotional intelligence. Along the way, respondents have encountered different types of seminal experiences. Some respondents first had to have experiences that did not involve racial inequalities, but in the end, almost all mentioned a memorable experience regarding races.

Leaving their Previous Environment

Leaving their previous environment by moving or studying has shown to be necessary. Since the respondents have had a conservative upbringing, that seems like a logical necessity. For some, that experience was by moving when they were a teen, and others experienced it in the interest of their higher education. Moving to or studying in the Randstad was valuable for interviewees who grew up outside of the Randstad. This is because there are more chances to live among and meet non-Whites and antiracist Whites.

Respondent R2 (female, 20-30) said she was already interested in socio-economic inequality due to history classes in high school where she had lessons about Karl Marx. When she moved from her White village to the Randstad, she noticed, for the first time, that there is a link between poor neighbourhoods and being a person of colour. Living in the Randstad made her aware of intersectionality. Being aware of intersectionality means understanding that oppressed identities and their social inequalities are not mutually exclusive (Collins, 2015). In the case of R2, it was helpful that she was already interested in socio-economic inequalities to make that step towards seeing racism. The same also helped R1 (non-binary, 65+), as discussed in the first section of open-mindedness.

All the respondents talked about their time at college as an important experience for their personal development. They had either a memorable experience during their time in college or about forced to become critical, or about information about an inequality or specifically racial inequality.

Moving to a different place or switching schools where there were more White critics or people of colour was, for the respondents, seen as a radical shift and therefore is a seminal experience. At once, the respondents had to be open to all the new impressions - situational meanings – what, in their case, were impressions that helped them in their personal growth. They met people that challenged their beliefs about themselves and the world. Warren (2010) reported a same result but precisely the other way around; respondents with an antiracist upbringing, and with a lot of people of colour as friends, had the change of environment as a seminal experience. The White environments they ended up in were shocking to them. This is in contrast to this result of people growing up in a conservative and White environment and having the seminal experience of moving and meeting other people to pop their bubble. Being in contact with other people has also been a source of information for the respondents and shall be discussed in 'learning sources', together with the contents of education.

Experiences of Being Othered

All the respondents had some experiences in being othered by having either non-normative identities or having experiences of being bullied when they did have normative identities as White hetero cis-gender men. They have experienced one or more class, gender, ability, or sexuality inequality. R1 (non-binary, 65+), having intersectional oppressed entities in gender and ability, mentioned that the difference between experiencing ableism or racism is that everyone could, for example, get hit by a car and experience what it's like to be disabled. That makes the inequality of physical ableism more understandable for people. Racism, however, is harder to understand, as there is no chance you will wake up to be Black one day. However, according to Feagin and Vera (2000), feeling othered yourself makes it easier for people to understand what it is like being othered in a way that is not your own experience. Being able to take the perspective of the othering that others experience also relates to the ability of being empathetic (Spanierman & Carbrera, 2014).

Due to leaving his previous environment and going to college, R9 (male, 57) noticed that he was part of the lower class due to the example his teacher gave:

> I remember very well that my mentor was a psychology teacher, and in one of the first classes, she told a story about cultures and differences in cultures and then she told the story that not everyone eats with a knife and fork, while everyone in the Netherlands did. And then I thought: *what the fuck*? I don't eat with a knife and fork at all; I didn't grow up eating with a knife and fork; people in my environment didn't.

R9, male, 45-60

R9 was being othered by being a member of a family of a lower socio-economic class. His teacher made him aware of that by placing him in the 'other' group than the in-group. Being the other and not belonging to the in-group could result in being discriminated (Staszak,

2009). This situational meaning led to R9 needing to reshape the global meaning of his identity by understanding he was not part of the normative socio-economic group. That made him more self-aware and affected his way of relating his self to the world. The global meaning of the world was affected by understanding that there were class differences and related behaviours to which higher classes look down to.

R3 (female, 65+) identified sexism in her past after leaving her religious community due to her ability to reflect. She signalled first another inequality, that of sexism, before racism. That indirect way of signalling racism has been a theme for almost all respondents. The inequalities of class, gender, and ability came before race. Due to their experiences of being othered, they have first noticed these forms of inequality. For some others, education also helped by becoming aware of other inequalities than that of racism. However, these steps made the step toward seeing racism more easily. Being othered makes it easier to take the perspective of other oppressed entities (Feagin & Vera, 2000), and their global meaning of the world was already reshaped into the belief that society is not equal. From that belief, it could make sense for Whites that more forms of social inequalities are present in society. However, explicitly signalling racism in an indirect way through another inequality has not been found in academic literature.

Awareness of Own Racism

In line with experiences of being othered is noticing that others are being othered either by yourself or by Whites. Many respondents shared the moment they became aware of their own internalised racism or that of others. Some had themselves a moment of clarity, but others needed people on social media to point out that they did not have the correct information, as R4 (male, 45-60) illustrates:

I went looking like: okay, why so angry? Why on earth is this such a big problem? What's

behind it? And in social media contacts, I actually got on the line with radical people who

showed me my place, you know: Educate yourself. Then I would ask questions, and then I

would get a blunt response and then I thought: what is going on, wow. And then it actually

started, because such a comment 'educate yourself'; a lot of white people react fragile to that,

but for me, it was a trigger to really dive in, read and talk to people. And then that whole

consciousness actually came into being.

R4 was being called out as racist and in need of educating himself. According to Spanierman

and Cabrera (2014), Whites fear appearing to be racist and noticing their own racist beliefs.

However, R4 tried to be open and reflective and comprehend what was going on. Therefore, a

situation occurred that potentially influenced his beliefs because he was open to being put in

his place. He understood that his global meaning was not in line with that of others and that

he was the one that needed to reframe his beliefs about the world. He formulated a new

meaning by getting feedback and receiving information about racism.

In addition, although some respondents said during the interviews that they did not

see the relevance of demonstrating, the movements have contributed significantly to the

respondents' awareness. The attention to the BLM movement and the anti-Black Pete

movement in the mainstream media, social media, and public debate forced some respondents

to think about the significance of the discussions. Many respondents named either of both

movements. The activists of BLM movement explicitly voiced themselves on social media,

also called social media activism (Nummi et al., 2019). This strategy seemed to have worked.

Either the Black perspective had made the respondents empathetic and understood that they

have contributed to a racist tradition all this time, and some of the respondents mentioned that

they find it unbelievable that White people can react so angry and racist to these movements.

The influence of social media and the antiracism movements on becoming a White antiracist is not found in the academic literature.

Learning Resources

After having the sparks of the seminal experiences and high emotional intelligence, identity formation should be fuelled. As is stated before, the correct information about racism is needed to, for example, reflect on the right aspects. This part also called the fuel of the White identity formation. Gathering information, and comprehend the complexity of racial inequality and what their responsibility is in this matter is crucial; otherwise, it could be harmful to be trying to be an ally to people of colour. Unfortunately, not every respondent has grasped all the implications of being White and the different forms of racism.

Education

The most obvious way of being educated is by education itself. The younger respondents of the category 20 to 30 years old mentioned that they first learned about an inequality in history class in high school. This inequality was either about classism or directly about racism through the enslavement period. Some respondents of the older generation also mentioned being taught history, but that did not take place in high school. One respondent (R1, non-binary, 65+), for example, was being educated in their youth in the *Wereldwinkel* [Worldshop]. In their time, this was a shop with information about inequalities in the world, such as the Apartheid in South Africa and the racial inequalities in Amerika. Although learning about history has been mentioned by many respondents, being taught about inequalities through history seemed to be more important for the higher-class respondents.

Many respondents mentioned that their higher education has been important for their information gathering. Either the information was provided through the program's courses or by their fellow students. Important to note is that no one studied exact sciences. For some, the

education program itself provided them with information about inequalities in general or specific racial inequality. For example, one (R6, female, 20-30) followed several courses in post-Colonialism. One other (R2, female, 20-30) had a class in which she had to read one book by an African author, which made her notice the whiteness of her curriculum. That made her want to read more African authors herself.

According to Warren (2010), Americans have great faith in education in favour of social change. The head phase is therefore so important in his theory. All the respondents in this research have mentioned education in several forms, and education has contributed to both the seminal experience and as a learning resource. Therefore, Warren's American result about education is also fitting in the Dutch context. This makes sense, as the Dutch society is on the bases of education quite the same as the American society, as both are meritocratic.

Contact with Others

For every respondent, being in contact with others helped them. This could either be with people of colour or critical or antiracist whites. These other people helped them gain insights into other perspectives and learn more about different aspects of racial inequality involving whiteness. According to Choney and Rowe (1994), gathering more insight through others is necessary to go to the next stage of developing the White racial identity. In addition, R4 (male, 45-60) said that having another White antiracist as a mentor could be very valuable for Whites to have a safe space where you can reflect on your thoughts and ideas.

Gathering information about the perspectives of non-Whites has been a theme for almost any respondent, of which some respondents said to let people of colour educate you. Of course, gaining the perspective of people of colour is essential to understand racial inequality and its consequences. However, I want to note that people of colour should not have to carry the burden of educating White people. Instead, R7 (female, 20-30) lives in an

all-White village and has almost no non-White friends. She used a strategy to read books by non-White authors to gain a non-White perspective. She has read, for example, the non-academic and easy-to-read book of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. Another example is that of R6 (female, 20-30; she listens to the music by Nina Simone such as Strange Fruit or Mississippi Goddam. Next to art is social media also a helpful platform to gain a non-White perspective without actively asking people of colour to educate you. Social media has proven valuable for the respondents to connect with others. Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and social media as a whole have been mentioned to get in touch with people of colour. By 'following' these people online, the respondents gather more information in the empathetic sphere.

> If you searched by name, you could see what people had tweeted. And so, I started following a lot of people, Black people, for their reactions. And then it actually became clear to me what they had to go through, actually. And how they view it.

R3, female, 65+

R3 actively sought to connect with Black people online. In that way, she provided herself in her need to gain the perspectives of Black people, so she could understand what they were going through and be empathetic about that. She also said that her need for other's perspectives was more important than reading academic articles. Later, when she understood all different perspectives, she started reading academic literature, especially about colonialism. According to Warren's (2010) theory, White antiracists first have to go through the head stage, where they gain information, before they go to the heart stage. That appears to be different for R3.

<center>**Conclusions and Limitations**</center>

Conclusion

      This research has been conducted to answer the question of what social factors lead White people with a conservative upbringing to commit to racial justice work. Multiple factors have been necessary for the respondent's development. The results are threefold: the emotional intelligence, which is the baseline, a spark of a seminal experience (or more), and the fuel of information about the historical and contemporary context of racism and the Whites' responsibility in it.

      First of all, White people should have high emotional intelligence. This means having empathy, open-mindedness, reflexivity, and the ability to feel uncomfortable. As Spanierman and Cabrera (2014) state, merely being empathetic is not enough to commit to racial justice work. Whites should be able to reflect on their responsibilities in this society and have empathy (Spanierman & Cabrera, 2000). The continuous occurrence of a situational meaning has led to more awareness of either racism, their White racial identity or both. Every occurrence made them a bit more aware. However, that was only possible due to the interplay between emotional intelligence and their learning resources, with sometimes a seminal experience in between. That is in contrast to the cyclic or linear model of Warren (2010) and Helms. Though, both models emphasized education. Without the learning resources, the respondents were unable to understand the situation. The Whites should be able to make sense of the situation or perspective by seeking an explanation through information, which could be found in education and in contact with relevant others. These others were either antiracist Whites or people of colour, whom the respondents found in art or via social media.

      The seminal experiences were also meaningful. These experiences are about one exact moment that the respondents remembered and were valuable for the racial awareness, such as moving to another environment to step out of their bubble, having experiences of being

<center>33</center>

othered, and (a moment of) awareness of racism. Stepping out of the bubble for the need of antiracist Whites or people of colour is typical of the targeted group, the Whites with a conservative upbringing. Warren (2010) had the same result but the other way around: for Whites with an antiracist upbringing.

According to Feagin and Vera (2000), does the experience of being othered yourself make it easier to take the perspective of people with different oppressed identities. That also includes when the respondent was the person doing the othering. Becoming aware of their own racism is only possible if people can reflect on the situations and emphasise with those others and by having the ability to feel uncomfortable. According to Linder (2015), Whites prefer to avoid that uncomfortable feeling which ultimately leads to no commitment to antiracism work.

Limitations and Further Research

A lot of the findings have been marginally researched or not at all. Also, some of the results were different from the existing literature. The Dutch context and this specific subgroup in a field that has not been researched enough made it more difficult to relate the findings. Therefore, there are quite some suggestions to think of for further research. However, I will have to keep it limited.

First, all the respondents have had degrees in higher education. We were unable to recruit respondents without a higher education degree, but it would be valuable to analyse people outside the academic bubble.

Secondly, in the Dutch context, Muslims are an important marginalised group. By researching whiteness, it is probably straightforward for the respondents to focus on the contrast: blackness. This phenomenon could be explained by the American influence on the Netherlands in which the Black/White binary is the strongest, the Black Pete discussions and

the prominence of Sylvana Simons of the political party of BIJ1. After reflecting on our questions and answers, we noticed that we should have been more attentive and remembered to ask about the Muslim groups in the Netherlands more explicitly. Therefore, the following research should either focus specifically on that group or remember to ask about that group.

Thirdly, the results show that emotional intelligence is important to develop the White racial identity and become a White antiracist. I could not find literature that had studied the relationship between emotional intelligence and White antiracism or the influence on becoming a White antiracist. I think it is valuable to focus on that relationship by doing systemic research.

Fourthly, due to the earlier discussed sampling issues, we have had to interview some Whites who were not really committed to White antiracism. This has also led to interviews with Whites in an earlier phase of the White racial identity development. These people would, therefore, probably be harmful in the fight against racism. On that last note, it would be better if there would have been made a clear distinction on how well their White racial identity is developed. It would make it easier to analyse that last part between being someone who thinks gets it but does not fully grasp the essence of the matter to being someone that gets the complexity of racial inequality and the consequences of being White.

Fifthly and last, is also a limitation in the sampling. The targeted audience was White antiracists with a conservative upbringing. As we had sampling issues, I could not be more specific. However, 'conservative' has been too broadly defined. I included parental voters of the middle- and right-wing of the political spectrum and apolitical households with religious beliefs. It would have been better to focus on one specific conservative group or, in the case of mainly focussing on value transmission, on xenophobic parents.

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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: Understanding Whiteness: Narrative interviews

Name, email of student: Demi Zimmerman, 615093dz@eur.nl

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

Start date and duration: April 19, 2022. Three 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 - <mark>NO</mark>

      If 'YES': skip to part IV.

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

      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 - <mark>NO</mark>

      10.   Are there any other possible ethical issues with regard to this study?
                                                                              YES - <mark>NO</mark>

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

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

_____

_____

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

_____
_____==voluntary==_____
_____
_____
_____

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

_____
_____==no==_____
_____
_____
_____

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

Continue to part IV.
PART IV: SAMPLE

Where will you collect or obtain your data?

_____
_____
___
Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

_____
_____
___
Note: indicate for separate data sources.

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

==impossible to measure, but easily thousands==
_____
_____
Note: indicate for separate data sources.

Continue to part V.

Part V: Data storage and backup

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

____password protected cloud EUR – shared folder for the research team
_____
_____

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

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

_____Bonnie French
_____
_____

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

_____weekly_____
_____
_____

In case of collecting personal data how will you anonymize the data?
1. Bonnie will keep metadata of participant names and contact information so that we can be in touch with participants about the results.
2. No real names will be in transcriptions
3. no identifying characteristics in the coding
4. pseudonyms in the written analysis.

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

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

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

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

Name student: Demi Zimmerman   Name (EUR) supervisor: Bonnie French

Date: March 20, 2022   Date: March 20, 2022

APPENDIX 2: Informed consent

Informatieblad

Name van Principal Investigator:	Bonnie French, Bart Oude Kempers, Lieve Graaf en Demi Zimmerman
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 Demi Zimmerman, 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 Demi Zimmerman, 615093dz@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:**