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Our mission is to empower undergraduate and graduate students of anthropology in Utrecht to feel that their work matters. As such, we work to create a collaborative and independent intellectual space for all students.

Our goals

We strive to *facilitate knowledge exchange* by creating an accessible space equipped for learning new insights and skills. In addition, it is our goal to *foster student engagement*. Students are part of every step of our publication process. SCAJ thus reflects the efforts of Utrecht-based anthropology students through and through.

Our values

We operate in the pursuit of *inclusivity* as a means to further develop as a platform. Anthropology students of all backgrounds are included in our publication process. SCAJ belongs to all students of anthropology, and thus all students of anthropology may appeal to this platform. For this to be true, we value *transparency* in all of our teams, selections and processes. As such, we strive to ensure that there is no mystery as to how we operate.

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Introduction

Writing can be a tasking process. Choosing the words that represent exactly what you wish to express; shaping them into inspiring stories; acknowledging the power of those words and approaching them with the dignity they deserve. It is a process that, for me at least, often involves little actual typing. Rather, I find myself staring blankly at my half-empty (or half-full?) Word document, or gazing out of my window in search of the perfect words. Writing, scrapping, rewriting, editing. It is a process both emotionally draining and gratifying. For we get to present our end product with pride, knowing how much time went into constructing it. In my own growth as a writer and an anthropologist, I am often reminded of a phrase uttered to me by Dr. Gerdien Steenbeek: "Anthropologists are actually just frustrated novelists." It is a sentiment I find myself identifying with more and more.

Lonely as writing can be, we find solace in the company of our peers. As academic dialogue is being moved to physical spaces again, we regain and strengthen that sense of community that many of us have been missing these past years. At SCAJ, we have been elated to see this development first-hand. Our review meetings are moving to the offline space again and we notice the eagerness of students to join in on academic conversation, whether through written or spoken word. These conversations have shaped the issue you are about to immerse yourself in.

This edition of the Students of Cultural Anthropology Journal houses five academic texts written by anthropology students in the second semester of the previous academic year. Through these texts, you can delve into the methodologies of Bronislaw Malinowski and his impact on the discipline we know today, in an extensive analysis of his expedition to the Trobriand Islands. Or see how anthropological theory is used to scrutinize the lack of racial diversity in teachings of key historical figures. Read about the racial prejudice of Grindr's user base, or about the risks female anthropologists face when they conduct research.

In addition, this issue offers a premiere for SCAJ. One of the papers you are about to read is based on a research internship at a tech company. The author conducted six months of

fieldwork to research the concepts of inclusivity and diversity within this culture. We are delighted to be able to showcase this not often highlighted part of anthropology curriculums.

Before allowing our authors to take the floor, I wish to extend my deepest gratitude to everyone who made this issue of SCAJ possible. All those who submitted their work; the ones who carefully evaluated them; and our amazing core team, with whom this platform has grown to a size we could not have imagined at its founding. And last but not least, a big thank you to you: our readers who continue to engage with us. Your support cannot be understated. And for this, we thank you. Now, without further ado, I encourage you to flip the page and revel in the words of our fellow anthropology students.

Tamar Oderwald
Editor-in-chief

Before reading

Before you start reading the papers that have been selected for this edition of SCAJ, we feel it is important to share a few noteworthy comments.

First, the core team of SCAJ would like to emphasize that both the content of the papers as well as the added motivation for producing the work (as quoted beneath the author's name), are completely written by the authors. Each work was checked for possible errors regarding spelling, grammar, and referencing. Any corrections were relayed back to the respective authors, who were then given the opportunity to revise their work accordingly. SCAJ's reviewers and editorial board have thus not made any alterations to the works you are about to read.

The papers in this edition of SCAJ have been selected by our selection committee from a broader range of submissions. This edition's committee consisted of 12 students of Cultural Anthropology from different years of study, as well as three members of our core team. During the process of selection, the committee was divided into three groups, each led by one of our core reviewers. Each group used the same set of reading questions as a guideline for the selection process. These reading questions focused on readability, creativity, originality, and structure. However, every reviewer was given the freedom to deviate from these reading questions. We believe that the ability to discuss freely allows for dynamic analyses, providing more valuable insights than rigidly conforming to any guideline. Every group read a number of fully anonymized papers, of which they made a selection fit for publication. Afterwards, the three members of the core team discussed the results and considerations of their respective selection groups to make this final selection.

Second, we would like you to be aware of the fact that referring to the content of this journal in your own academic work might not be encouraged by professors. The works published in SCAJ are written by Cultural Anthropology students who often focus on theories of other scholars and are not (yet) considered credible sources themselves. If you are in doubt whether to refer to a certain paper published here, we advise you to consult your professor.

Third, the order in which the papers are published in this journal is not based on our judgment of their respective qualities. Rather, we have tried to organize it in a way that is pleasant to read. This means we have tried to avoid placing papers with similar topics next to each other. Other than that, the arrangement of papers is completely random.

Finally, the papers published in SCAJ do not serve as example papers for the courses offered by Utrecht University or University College Utrecht, nor should they be taken as being fully representative of the university's curriculum. SCAJ is an independent platform that relies entirely on the work of students. We are not tied to the university. The papers may not be copied in any format whatsoever without explicit consent from the author.

The revolutionary method of Malinowski

Grasping the native's point of view

Tessa Hilderink

I remember writing this paper and being amazed by how easy it was to write down my answer to the essay question. Not because I am a perfect student, but because I loved the subject and got so interested that I perfectly knew what I wanted to answer. I love playing with words and citations, so the introduction and ending of this paper is something that I love to do! Start with something odd, something that puts people off track and only by reading the full article, the citation gets clear. Right now, this essay is just sitting here on my laptop, put away in an old file doomed to never be read again. How awesome would it be to share this essay that I enjoyed making so much, that got me proud, to share it with other people and let them (hopefully) enjoy it too.

"... I shall invite my readers to step outside the closed study of the theorist, into the open air of the anthropological field..." (Malinowski 1926, 99).

Bronislaw Malinowski is often seen as the founding father of modern fieldwork methods of anthropological research. During his expeditions to the Trobriand Islands, he developed his revolutionary methods that would break with the common laws of research and temporary ideas about the far-away land (Eriksen and Nielsen 2013). Little did he know that this research would be later seen as an important breakthrough in the methodology of anthropological research. In this essay I will discuss his approach and why it was so revolutionary at the time. In this period of time, armchair anthropology was the main way to study far-away land. Based on literature and existing research, new theories were formed and published, mainly

focusing on historical data (Henig 2021). However, during Malinowski's expedition, he did not, to any significant extent, position the Trobriand Islanders within a wider historical and regional context (Malinowski 1922, 53). He collected accurate and detailed data on many different aspects of present life, and showed clearly that a 'primitive', 'simple' society, near the bottom of the evolutionist ladder, could be a highly complex and multifaceted universe itself (Malinowski 1922, 53). He created a picture of the natives as neither spectacular, exotic nor 'radically different' from Westerners, but simply as distinctive (Malinowski 1922, 54). This theory broke with the temporary beliefs of cultural evolutionism, the idea that every human being and every culture evolves through the same stages of social life, and thus became revolutionary.

Malinowski's 'participant observation' set a new standard for ethnographic research and was part of his larger revolutionary method (Malinowski 1922, 52). He stated that to understand the natives, you should live among the natives. For him this meant becoming inconspicuous, so that the natives would carry on their natural course, rather than the

ethnographer empathizing with them (Baker 1987, 8).

The goal, of which an ethnographer should never lose sight of according to Malinowski, is to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life and to realise his vision of his world. (Malinowski 1922, 18-19). The first step in grasping the native's point of view was the method of statistical documentation by concrete evidence, the method through which the organisation of the tribe and the anatomy of its culture became clear. To collect concrete evidence meant nothing more than collecting factual data and actualities (Henig 2021). With the help of such study, the outline of the framework of the native's culture was set. Within this frame, Malinowski stated that the imponderabilia of actual life and the type of behaviour, would fill in the frame. This second step consisted collecting detailed observations, made possible by close contact with the natives and their way of life (Malinowski 1926, 19). "Within the skeletal outline, the 'flesh and blood' has to be added: the minute details of everyday life" (Baker 1987, 20). To complete this frame, a collection of ethnographic statements, characteristic narratives, typical utterances, items of folk-lore and magical formulae

has to be given. This was a corpus inscriptionum, also known as a documentation of the native mentality and the last step in the process (Malinowski 1922, 19).

In total, these three steps focused on what people say they do, but also study what people actually do and think they are doing. This method embodied the native's point of view. The firm outline, or the skeleton, based on concrete evidence. The data of daily life and ordinary behaviour which are, so to speak, its flesh and blood. And finally, the spirit of the body, or the natives' views, opinions and utterances (Malinowski 1926, 17).

This method was revolutionary at the time, because it broke with the common laws of fieldwork and cultural evolutionism. As said before, armchair anthropology and later expeditionary anthropology became the centre of anthropological research (Henig 2021). Malinowski was one of the anthropologists who started studying social organisations through their present and existing social institutions, by actually participating with and living close to the native's. He focused on what was in front of his eyes by going out on expedition and study the natives in their natural habitat.

To finish the introduction quote, Malinowski said: "*...there, paddling on the lagoon, watching the natives under the blazing sun at their garden work, following them through the patches of jungle and on the winding beaches and reefs, we shall learn about their life*" (Malinowski 1926, 99).

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Een representatiever onderwijs

Meer aandacht nodig voor historische sleutelfiguren van kleur

Mimi Jurling

I think this is a great way as a young student to have a chance to share my work with others. As a firstyear, writing papers was quite new, but I'm still proud of what I've been able to learn in one year. In this way I hope that other people can also get inspiration and motivation for their own work.

Altijd al is de Europese blik op de 'andere' gekenmerkt door een eenzijdig perspectief en narratief (Couttenier, Standaert, en Nieuwenhuyse 2018, 77). Hiermee zou je kunnen stellen dat er in Nederland steevast vanuit een eurocentrisch oogpunt naar de geschiedenis is gekeken. Dit zie je dan ook erg duidelijk terug in de hedendaagse lesstof binnen het middelbare onderwijs. "Hoe kan het dat we zo weinig leren over zwarte personen in de geschiedenis van Nederland, Europa en de wereld?" (Heilbron, Esajas, en Abreu 2017). Met deze vraag openden de journalisten Heilbron, Esajas, en Abreu in De Correspondent hun kritische artikel over hoe de hedendaagse geschiedenisboeken enkel witte hoofdpersonen bevat.

Aandacht aan belangrijke zwarte historische sleutelfiguren wordt er bijna niet besteed binnen de lesstof van het middelbare onderwijs. In dit essay zal ik beargumenteren waarom meer representatie van historische sleutelfiguren van kleur nodig is binnen de lesstof van het middelbare onderwijs. Dit zal ik doen aan de hand van de boeken *White Innocence* van Wekker (2016) en *Chanting Down the New Jerusalem* van Guadeloupe (2009) die mij hebben weten te inspireren om over belangrijke kwesties zoals deze te schrijven. Door een analyse van de vergelijking tussen de twee werken te geven zal er duidelijk worden waarom ik vooral Wekker als uitgangspunt gebruik bij het ondersteunen van mijn argumenten.

Laat ik beginnen met stellen dat er binnen de algehele Nederlandse samenleving te weinig bewustzijn is onder de witte Nederlander over wat voor effect het slavernijverleden tot op de dag van vandaag nog heeft. Wekker (2016, 2) omschrijft in het begin van haar boek hoe witheid niet erkend wordt als een raciale/etnische positionering en juist wordt gezien als gewoon en normaal. Sociologen Pyke en Dang (2003, 151) leggen uit hoe geïnternaliseerd racisme ongemak veroorzaakt en hoe het daarom een taboe blijft. Mensen willen niet toegeven dat

geïnternaliseerd racisme een groot probleem is, omdat het suggereert dat de effecten van racisme dieper en breder zijn dan velen zouden willen toegeven. Wekker (2016, 2) legt hierbij uit dat het niet-erkennen van witheid, kennis en affect gebaseerd is op vierhonderd jaar Nederlandse keizerlijke heerschappij en een duidelijke rol speelt bij het proces van betekenisgeven aan de Nederlandse samenleving. Met het betekenisgeven aan de Nederlandse samenleving valt ook het invullen van de lesstof binnen het middelbare onderwijs. Uit de hedendaagse lesstof blijkt welke geschiedenis en welke informatie als belangrijk wordt gezien om als basiskennis door te geven. Wekker legt uit hoe leerlingen ideeën kregen over “de superioriteit van Europa en Nederland, als de hoogst gerangschikte raciale groep, en [hoe het] een onaantastbare machtspositie in de wereld werd aangeboden” (2016, 93). Hieruit blijkt haar mening dat het onderwijs in Nederland vanuit een eurocentrisch beeld wordt ingevuld en hoe dat voor ongelijkheid kan zorgen.

Door de eurocentrische invulling van de lesstof binnen het onderwijs wordt er een beeld geschetst alsof er slechts West-Europese witte historische sleutelfiguren

essentieel zijn geweest binnen de wereldgeschiedenis. Deze invulling overschaduwde alle andere belangrijke sleutelfiguren van kleur die een cruciale en betekenisvolle invloed hebben gehad op de wereld. Denk bijvoorbeeld aan Audre Lorde, een van de grondleggers van het zwarte feminisme. Lorde was betrokken bij het begin van het baanbrekende begrip intersectionaliteit (Heilbron, Esajas en Abreu 2017). Binnen het middelbare onderwijs wordt weinig tot niet de belangrijke naam Lorde genoemd en blijft het binnen de educatie over feminisme vaak bij de naam Aletta Jacobs. Wekker omschrijft Lorde als "een invloedrijk figuur die in deze context moet worden genoemd, vanwege de pure kracht en invloed van haar intersectionele en transnationale denken" (2016, 70-71). Hiermee legt Wekker uit wat de relevantie van het benoemen van een belangrijk figuur als Lorde is. Door het onderwijs aan te vullen met namen zoals Audre Lorde wordt de basiskennis van de wereldgeschiedenis een stuk inclusiever en representatiever geleerd en doorgegeven.

Tot slot zal ik uitleggen hoe Wekker haar opvattingen over racisme verschillen van die van Guadeloupe en waarom ik voornamelijk Wekker gebruikt heb als

ondersteuning van mijn argumenten. Wekker (2016, 68) legt uit hoe witheid niet herkend of erkend wordt als een raciale/etnische positionering en dus ook niet als een waardig studieobject. Hiermee wil ze benadrukken hoe er binnen een samenleving meer aandacht moet komen voor de verschillen tussen mensen om op deze manier meer bewust te worden van jezelf als individu en anderen. Antropoloog Guadeloupe trekt deze visie van Wekker in twijfel. In zijn etnografie *Chanting Down the New Jerusalem* (2009) schrijft Guadeloupe over zijn veldwerk op Sint Maarten dat vooral gefocust is op 'politics of belonging' (3). Hij vertelt hoe de toeristen net als immigranten van groot belang zijn voor het in stand houden van de toeristenindustrie (Guadeloupe 2009, 7). Het streven is om het eiland af te schilderen als een van de prachtigste plekken op de aardbol waar iedereen tevreden is. Guadeloupe (2009, 7) omschrijft dit streven als hetgeen wat de inwoners van SXM¹ aan elkaar verbindt, ondanks alle verschillen die er zijn. Guadeloupe kwam er hierdoor achter hoe de verschillen werden ontkend en genegeerd. Met dit gedachtegoed trekt Guadeloupe een lijn naar het feit dat je door de focus op overeenkomsten een waardevolle

multiculturele samenleving kan vormen. Dit verschilt van Wekkers mening waarin volgens Guadeloupe te veel een raciale verdeling wordt gemaakt waardoor het onmogelijk zal worden om een gevoel van eenheid te vormen zonder racisme. Ik heb voornamelijk Wekkers opvatting als ondersteuning van mijn argumenten gebruikt, omdat zij, door middel van haar onderbouwing van het ontkennen van de raciale/etnische positionering van witheid, benadrukt hoe er meer aandacht moet komen voor het feit dat er te weinig representatie is van mensen van kleur binnen het onderwijs.

Ik begon dit essay met de vraag die Heilbron, Esajas, en Abreu stelden over waarom er zo weinig zwarte personen in de geschiedenis van Nederland, Europa en de wereld wordt besproken. Ik heb betoogd waardoor dit komt en waarom er daarom meer representatie van historische sleutelfiguren van kleur nodig is binnen de lesstof van het middelbare onderwijs. Hierbij heb ik *White Innocence* van Gloria Wekker (2016) als leidraad gebruikt bij de ondersteuning van mijn argumenten. Als eerste heb ik gesteld dat door een laag bewustzijn van Nederlanders van hun eigen witheid en het ontkennen van het hedendaagse effect van het slavernijverleden

er slechts een eurocentrische betekenisgeving is aan de huidige lesstof van het middelbare onderwijs. Door deze eurocentrische betekenisgeving binnen de samenleving wordt er een beeld geschetst waaruit het zou lijken alsof er enkel belangrijke witte historische sleutelfiguren relevant zijn om als lesstof mee te geven op het middelbare onderwijs. Door invloedrijke personen van kleur te noemen zoals Audre Lorde zal de geleerde wereldgeschiedenis inclusiever, representatiever en meer alomvattend worden. Door een groter bewustzijn van verschillen tussen mensen te creëren binnen een samenleving kan je volgens Wekker, in tegenstelling tot Guadeloupe, een gevoel van eenheid vormen. Dit creëren van een bewustzijn moet beginnen op het middelbare onderwijs met een representatief ingedeelde basis lesstof.

Eindnoten:

1. SMX is de luchthavencode van Sint Maarten, Saint-Martin en St. Martin.

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It is a White Man's World

Value of Diversity & Inclusion within Tech

Maud Verploegen

Diversity & Inclusion is an extremely important and relevant topic in the work field and anthropological research. A lot of different people are entering the world of tech. Which is a wonderful thing. However, the tech world needs to deal with and work with this diverse group of people. Therefore the findings are valuable for tech companies and other anthropologists as well who want to do research in the field of tech and/or Diversity & Inclusion. Besides that, it was also my first project after my thesis. It gives me a nervous, exciting, and proud feeling about this paper & research.

The power of diversity is being able to see that there are more things happening outside your bubble. That is extremely valuable. You learn to see things from different perspectives and at the same time you wipe out the blind spots. If this does not happen it could even be harmful.¹ - Eva

Diversity & Inclusion are big topics within the Netherlands today. Therefore, the Tech world cannot stay behind. But what are the experiences around Diversity & Inclusion of employers and employees within tech in the Netherlands? To answer this question, I did qualitative research which consisted of three months of fieldwork within different tech companies. Due to COVID-19 measurements it mainly consisted of 12 interviews of which 6 employees and 4 employers. On top of that I also interviewed two people who worked in tech before, working within the field of Diversity & Inclusion or both. I also

complemented my data with online fieldwork and meetings of application procedures.

First of all, it is important to define Diversity & Inclusion. Diversity & Inclusion are both separate concepts yet, they are inseparable. Diversity is approached in its broadest sense: every aspect of what makes someone unique and who he/she/they is, is part of diversity. In addition, within the tech companies it means that their employees are not a homogenous group in every sense (Krase and Uherek 2017, 3). So this could be gender, sexuality, nationality, ethnicity, religious beliefs, personalities, skills, and more. Priya captures this perfectly. She is a Dutch woman of colour and CEO from a tech company. Before she worked as an HR manager in many big international companies.

A lot of people think that diversity has to do with ethnicity, culture, Black Lives Matter. But those are just parts of what makes a person unique. The whole profile of an individual is about who you are as a human being? That is diversity. Which parts make you unique? Do you have different perspectives? Do you have special talents? Do you even have talents?²

-Priya

Inclusion consists of everything that has to do with safety and acceptance in the workplace, such as relationships between colleagues, complaints procedure, being able who you are/want to be, personal adjustments of employees in the workplace, and more. It also has to do with that everyone is engaged and able to participate, and part of decision-making processes while being themselves (Connaughton and Ptacek 2020, 45). To be clear, this does not entail assimilation because that means someone cannot be themselves. Rather, she/he/they needs to adjust to the dominant group.

Inseparable and Comprehensive

As mentioned previously, Diversity & Inclusion are inseparable: one cannot exist without the other. This was also visible within the data. As Eva captures this perfectly.

What you see now is that companies work hard on creating more diversity within their staff, but they leave inclusion behind. Yet, inclusion makes sure everyone feels at home. So if a company only focuses on diversity the advancement of staff is really big. You attract the right people and then they realise after one month they do not

*feel at home. So they go away.
Without taking into account that
different types of people have different
types of needs. Then you do not
achieve true diversity, at least not in a
sustainable way.*³ - Eva

She is a Dutch woman of colour and CEO of a company that works within HR, tech, and Diversity & Inclusion. Eva and one of her friends missed the representation of themselves and others in a lot of different sectors. This is one of the reasons they founded their company, to make (social) impact.

Not only Eva told me this, but many other participants as well. They also made clear that diversity is so much more than gender or cultural diversity. It is a comprehensive concept and therefore complicated and simple at the same time. It is simple to describe and conceptualise. However in practice it is hard to see, get, and keep (Doerfel and Gibbs 2020). This is due to the fact that it is an ongoing process and not a state of being. As Diversity & Inclusion changes over time (Buzzanell 2020, 232).

Diversity & Inclusion: a topic in the workplace

Many employers struggle with Diversity & Inclusion. It is a delicate topic therefore they do not always know how to deal with this sensitivity. Besides, they also find it difficult to see every aspect of diversity (Doerfel and Gibbs 2020). Juliette is a white Dutch woman and online manager; she works for a big company and leads a team that is responsible for multiple websites. The company management finds Diversity & Inclusion very important. Therefore, they hold Diversity & Inclusion evenings where employees of all levels could learn more about diversity and how to put this into practice. Juliette was very fond of this evening but emphasises the complexity of the subject.

*Discussions were held about subjects
like quotas. Those things are
extremely difficult so it was interesting
to talk about it.*⁴ - Juliette

Juliette was not the only one who addressed the delicacy of this topic. Every participant specifically told me that this topic is delicate and sensitive. It often happens that people get emotional talking about issues connected to Diversity & Inclusion.

This brings me to the next insight, because of the sensitive nature of Diversity & Inclusion, evidence-based knowledge is necessary. Nonetheless, diversity & Inclusion are so personal that everyone has to deal with it themselves. Therefore, it could feel like these concepts are not based on research but on opinions. Multiple participants mentioned that when dealing with Diversity & Inclusion you need an expert for guidance.⁵

Active and passive Diversity & Inclusion

Juliette also talked about how this evening created awareness of 'active Diversity & Inclusion'. This entails that managers, CEOs and/or companies promote Diversity & Inclusion in an active way. This can be done in multiple ways such as adding it to your values on the website or creating a Diversity & Inclusion policy. An example Juliette gave was about application forms and if those texts were inclusive for different types of people. She analysed how she could make this more inclusive. In addition, she emphasises that she would not have known this without the diversity evening. As it is a different way of thinking which she very much likes, but not always comes naturally to her.

There is also 'passive Diversity & Inclusion', this means that the manager, CEO

and/or company find Diversity & Inclusion important but do not show it actively. The main argument for this is that they say "everyone is welcome here". Which is not untrue but also not totally true. Especially if you look at diversity in the workspace of that company. Asha is from Dutch-Javanese-Surinamese culture and a woman of colour who worked in companies with mainly white colleagues.⁶ She is currently switching from sales to IT and she has been through multiple application processes. During these application processes she notices a difference in approaching Diversity & Inclusion from companies. There were companies who promoted active Diversity & Inclusion but also many who promoted passive Diversity & Inclusion.

They say everyone is welcome. But yes everyone is welcome, but I think we have been saying that for the last 50 years and nothing has changed. And the company I am going to work for truly has Diversity as one of their values.⁷ - Asha

Asha explained that companies who did not believe in Diversity & Inclusion or only in the passive version held her responsible for

“fitting in”. This is something they already made clear during the application process. Asha has the privilege to choose due to the high demand of female tech workers. She was not the only one who noticed this. Some women also used this to their advantage in order to choose for a company that suits them the best. This was mainly based on the specific work environment they seek. Therefore also on active or passive Diversity & Inclusion.

Funny thing, diversity was always a topic during my job interviews. During one interview I needed to bring it up by myself and with the other one they did. So if you talk about being aware of having a colour, I get confronted with it a lot. During one job interview with a company with a white staff they asked me if I would fit in. That is just funny, because I know how I look. And on work level I fit in but no I do not have the same skin colour.⁸

- Asha

On the contrary, it does not mean when a CEO, manager and/or company has a form of passive Diversity & Inclusion they always hold their employees responsible for fitting in. Ellen, who is a white Dutch woman with

Jewish heritage and CEO from a tech company, takes an in-between approach. She has the opinion that the employees are responsible if they need something extra or adjustment to the norm such as medical chairs, diet, free days on specific dates. But they are responsible for notifying her or one of her managers about this. She feels responsible to fulfil their wishes, so they feel the best they can and therefore also work in the best possible way.

Cultural Sensitivity

Overall the perspectives of employees and employers were the same, however there were some differences in how to approach Diversity & Inclusion within a company and the workplace as mentioned above. This was mainly the case with active and passive Diversity & Inclusion. Another difference is that some of the employees missed the skill of ‘cultural sensitivity’ from their employer. This entails that someone is aware of differences between cultures mainly within this context; the differences between the needs of employees, which are connected to culture and/or ethnicity. There are also other forms of sensitivity such as gender sensitivity. However, this was something that did not come up during the interviews.

It's a Man's world

Furthermore, during the interviews there was a clear difference between men and women.⁹ A lot of the men to who I spoke to found Diversity & Inclusion important but not a priority. It does not mean they do not experience prejudices about other aspects of their identity such as ethnicity. As Li Jie explained to me. He is a Dutch-Chinese man, with Chinese parents. During past work experiences in other sectors he had to deal more with racist comments from clients. Within tech he only experienced "positive" stereotyping, which works to his advantage.

A lot of times people just assume I work hard and that I am trustworthy, just because I am Chinese. But at the same time it could have been different. Personally I think it is something positive so it is something I can benefit from to be honest.¹⁰

- Li Jie

Men were less involved within Diversity & Inclusion compared to women. Also outside of their job, women were more involved in secondary activities focused on creating more (awareness about) Diversity & Inclusion.

The tech world is a dominant place for men. This is something women had to "deal" with. In ways like explaining themselves or proving they have the same knowledge as their male colleagues. These events can be categorized as microaggressions. Microaggressions are small aggressions that are connected to ethnicity, gender or any other (fixed) category a person can belong to. Therefore it is closely connected to racism, sexism, and discrimination. Microaggressions are subtle, mostly automatic, and non-verbal communications, which we call 'put downs' (Pierce et al. 1978, 66). These 'put downs' are mostly aimed at minorities or marginalized groups, they can be seen as everyday insults. It is important to know that these 'put downs' happen unknowingly and automatically (Solórzano et al. 2000).

Due to the invisible nature of these 'put downs', the surroundings do not notice them and are dismissed as innocent (Sue 2010). On top of that, the one with power also defines the micro-aggression, thus the minorities/marginalized groups are constantly trying to ascertain the actual meaning of communication (Sue et al. 2007). The predators do not realize that they have a share in establishing and preserving inequality and creating psychological

dilemmas for minorities/marginalized colleagues (Sue et al. 2007).

This is something that probably happened to white women and women of colour because tech is a (white) men dominated world.¹¹ Sophie gave an example of gender-based microaggression: she experienced a lot within one company. A lot of her male colleagues explicitly explained everything to her even though she did not ask for it. They only did this with her and not with her male colleagues. Sophie is a white Dutch Christian woman who works within multiple positions in tech.

I had the feeling they thought that they were being helpful, but it annoyed me. It gave me the feeling that they assumed I did not understand anything at all. It made me feel like they thought I was stupid. Because that is the starting point, like o, I need to explain everything? Instead of just listening to what I asked.¹² - Sophie

Although Sophie was annoyed by this many times, this was not the reason she left that company. Another influence was the age gap between her and her colleagues, which

resulted in less resemblances and also less to talk about. Therefore she felt she did not have a connection with her colleagues which she could have in other companies.

Not only microaggressions based on gender were visible. Sasha also experienced race/ethnicity-based microaggressions from asking if someone could touch her hair to provoking questions about Black Pete.¹³ Sasha is a black Dutch woman who worked in many different sectors. She now works on projects for the digital government and has gained a lot of experience within this field.

Microaggressions are not the only form of sexism women had to endure. Meryem is a Turkish woman who moved to the Netherlands for work and love. She recently changed her career pathway towards tech. She currently works within a company with a lot of national and ethnicity diversity. She told me about her salary, that she is getting paid less than one of her male colleagues who has the same position. When she stepped up about this, the management did not take it into consideration to change or even recognize the problem. They told her that after six months they will talk about it again. She told me if this does not change in six months, it is going to be a dealbreaker as she wants to be treated equally.

So yeah for me, it is important now I have a new task and I just continue working and gain experiences. But like the six months this thing is for me decisive if I want to continue or switch jobs.¹⁴ - Meryem

Gender, ethnicity, nationality and more are all aspects of the identity of an individual. Therefore these situations described above are not single affairs, they do not happen in a vacuum (Abu-Lughod 2013; Lutz 2015; Mohanty 1988; Stoler 1997). This is something that the participants, men or women, made clear as well. Every aspect of their being influenced the way they are accepted or fit within a company. Thus, intersectionality cannot be ignored within the topic of Diversity & Inclusion.

To be said, the women did not mind working with only men and they definitely do not prefer working with only women. They pointed out that the mix of both genders is the best because it was the best dynamic.¹⁵ The male participants also mentioned this due to the specific dynamics connected to these homogeneous groups. With only men there is a macho culture where they compete to see who is the best instead of learning from each other's qualities. However, with

only women, it created an environment full of gossip and backstabbing. These dynamics balance each other out when there is a mix of genders in the workplace. To note, these dynamics are not static concepts that always occur with only men or women, however it is something that happens often in the workplace when there is only one gender represented.

Benefits of Diversity & Inclusion

When asked if they saw value in diversity & Inclusion, my respondents universally said yes. They find Diversity & Inclusion valuable because of multiple reasons, such as better IT products, better work environment, employees staying longer, and higher productivity.

The biggest reason for better IT products is the 'bias' argument. With more diversity there is less of a bias. This has to do with the fact that every person sees the world differently. This is influenced by multiple factors in their personality and life experiences. By being different, you see differently. If you have a diverse group, different perspectives highlight also different problems and/or solutions. This is something that Peter also highlighted. He is the CEO of

a tech company that is active within the educational sector.

First of all software and tech are more and more part of products. And the moment you work with a lot of diverse people to create these products, more diverse people can also use the products. In the end, it just makes it a better product.¹⁶ - Peter

When inclusion is also taken into account and present, employees feel safer and therefore work better. When someone feels safe and he/she/they is happy with his/her/their workplace they are better at their job. They have more time and space to develop and grow. This results in better IT products, that employees stay longer, and also higher productivity and eventually more innovation and better financial income (Hunt, Layton, and Prince 2015; Winning 2018).

Conclusion

All in all, Diversity & Inclusion are difficult subjects but extremely important. Diversity & Inclusion are inseparable and both equally important. It is a delicate topic and it is important to approach this with evidence-based knowledge.

There were two ways on how companies, CEOs and/or managers approached Diversity & Inclusion. In an active and passive way. Examples of active Diversity & Inclusion are adding Diversity & Inclusion to your values on the website, creating a Diversity & Inclusion policy, and much more. Passive Diversity & Inclusion can entail that a company, CEO and/or manager wants everyone to feel welcome and do not mind adjusting the workplace for that. However, they do not promote this in an active way.

This brings me to the next concept, cultural sensitivity. Many participants indicated that they missed cultural sensitivity from their managers. Managers and/or CEOs did not always realise the differences of needs from employees that are connected to culture and/or ethnicity.

Mainly white men work within tech. Therefore, women experienced different types of sexism. Most of this consisted of microaggressions based on gender or ethnicity. However, there was also one participant who did not get equally paid compared to her male colleagues. Overall men were less concerned about Diversity & Inclusion compared to women. This was not only visible in their experiences in the workplace but also in their extra activities

besides work. However, this does not mean that men did not find Diversity & Inclusion important or did not experience any prejudices.

In conclusion, there are a lot of benefits of Diversity & Inclusion such as better IT products, better work environment, employees staying longer, and higher productivity. So, Diversity & Inclusion policies are an essential aspect of companies of the future.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my gratitude to those that made this project possible. I would extend this gratitude first and foremost to my participants. Without them, this project would not have been possible. Thank you for your time, perspectives, and thank you for sharing your personal stories.

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To all my friends who have supported me during this project: thank you for your feedback and ideas. It has helped me in many ways.

Endnotes:

1. Eva semi-structured interview, 12/04/2021, translated by me.
2. Priya semi-structured interview, 12/05/2021, translated by me.
3. Eva semi-structured interview, 12/04/2021, translated by me.
4. Juliette semi-structured interview, 27/05/2021, translated by me.
5. Expert in the sense of someone who knows a lot about this topic. It can be an academic expert but also an experienced person.
6. To clarify, she grew up with a Dutch, Javanese, and Surinamese culture. Therefore she identifies with all of them together. One culture does not rule out the other.
7. Asha semi-structured interview, 28/04/2021, translated by me.
8. Asha semi-structured interview, 28/04/2021, translated by me.
9. I only spoke to cismen and ciswomen.
10. Li Jie semi-structured interview, 26/04/2021, translated by me.
11. There were no cases of microaggressions towards men in the data however the percentage black men or men of colour was not very high so there is a high change this increases with more black men/men of colour as participants.
12. Sophie semi-structured interview, 23/04/2021, translated by me.
13. Black Pete is a traditional Dutch figure that appears during a holiday in December. It is a white person who performs 'black face'. There is a lot of discussion in the Netherlands about this figure due to its racial stereotypical nature.
14. Meryem semi-structured interview, 19/04/2021, translated by me.
15. To nuance, it does not mean they excluded other genders, however they never worked with people who are non-binary.
16. Peter semi-structured interview, 17/06/2021, translated by me.

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Grindr: een racistisch platform?

Hoe de witte homo-norm zich uit op Grindr

Flo Stam

Etniciteit en Nationalisme was een super inspirerend vak voor mij. Tijdens het volgen van de cursus ben ik erachter gekomen dat mijn stem op een activistische manier gebruiken iets is waar ik heel veel energie uit haal. Dit paper sluit aan op een onderwerp dat ik in de toekomst graag verder wil onderzoeken; racisme en discriminatie binnen de LGBTQI+ gemeenschap. Hoewel het proces van schrijven voor een paper me eigenlijk altijd zwaar afgaat, zoals de meeste wel zullen herkennen, ben ik na het inleveren toch vaak erg trots en voldaan. Als ik vervolgens mijn cijfer ontvang en de studiepunten binnen zijn kijk ik echter nooit meer naar papers zoals deze om. Dat vind ik jammer, want het is super zonde om een stuk wat mij zo erg heeft geholpen weg te stoppen terwijl ik er misschien ook andere mensen mee kan prikkelen en inspireren.

In de zomer van 2018, net na het behalen van onze eindexamens, waren mijn beste vriend en ik klaar voor een wilde zomer en besloten we een Grindr profiel voor hem aan te maken. Na het kiezen van een profielfoto en na wat informatie te hebben opgegeven belandde we op de homepage van de app en wisten we niet wat ons overkwam. Waar waren we nu weer beland? Het viel ons al vrij snel op dat het maar om één ding draaide en dat de gebruikers niet verlegen waren over het uiten van bepaalde voorkeuren. Naast frases zoals Bear, Twink, en Masc4Masc - die ik toentertijd nog niet begreep - stond ik het meest versteld van voorkeuren, of beter gezegd afkeuren, zoals "no Blacks" en "no Asians." Mijn beste vriend en ik waren relatief "nieuw" in de LGBTQ+ gemeenschap en waren er blind vanuit gegaan dat zaken zoals racisme, seksisme en discriminatie geen plek hadden in de community. Niks was minder waar. Dat blijkt ook uit het feit dat bij de Nederlandse

verkiezingen van 2010 een grote groep stemmers van de Partij voor de Vrijheid, met islamofobe lijsttrekker Geert Wilders, witte homomannen waren (Wekker 2020, 157). Het behoren tot een minderheidsgroep en de ervaring van discriminatie is dus niet automatisch garantie voor antiracisme en het begrijpen van alledaags racisme (Wekker 2020, 74).

Het doel van dit paper is om de witte cis-homoman te deconstrueren die door de maatschappij vaak geschetst wordt als de "juiste" soort queer. Ik beargumenteer dat het racisme vanuit witte cis-homomannen op Grindr voortkomt uit een wereldbeeld waarin wit zijn de norm is. Dit uit zich in (media)representatie, overheids campagnes, onschuld en humor. De stelling zal aan de hand van Wekker (2020) en Guadeloupe (2019) onderbouwd worden door eerst te illustreren hoe deze witte normativiteit zich in praktijk uit en vervolgens het racisme op de app te analyseren.

Om het racisme binnen de LGBTQ+ community te begrijpen is het van belang om de positie van de witte cis-homoman in de gemeenschap te kunnen plaatsen. Waar komt de superieure positie van de witte homoman vandaan? Hoe wordt deze in stand gehouden? Op wat voor manieren uit

deze superioriteit zich? Om deze vragen te beantwoorden zal er een focus liggen op de representatie van homoseksuelen en op een beleidsdocument dat de overheid in 2007 opstelde waaruit duidelijk werd dat de zogenaamde homo-emancipatie enkel een strijd is voor de witte homoman.

Toen ik voor de eerste keer op de Gay Pride in Amsterdam stond werd mijn aandacht getrokken naar het feit dat bijna alle boten vol stonden met witte mensen. De Gay Pride bevindt zichzelf in een staat van commercialiteit en zelfverheerlijking van enkel een bekrompen deel van de gehele homogemeenschap (Wekker 2020, 168). Bovendien is de representatie van de LGBTQ+ gemeenschap in de media en entertainmentindustrie allesbehalve divers (Wekker 2020, 168). Gordon, Gerard Joling, Paul de Leeuw, Albert Verlinde; de meest bekende Nederlandse homoseksuelen zijn witte cis-mannen. Hieruit kan geconcludeerd worden dat gelijkheid boven diversiteit wordt geplaatst. Wekker baart haar zorgen over het verheffen van gelijkheid boven diversiteit (Wekker 2016, 124). Guadeloupe beweert daarentegen dat de relatie die een bevolking heeft met het wereldwijde kapitalistische systeem erin resulteert dat het erkennen van gemeenschappelijkheid meer waard is dan

het herkennen van verschil (Guadeloupe 2009, 214-215). Waar Wekker (2020) pleit voor het erkennen van verschillen, stelt Guadeloupe juist de vraag over waar we hetzelfde zijn: "There are no pure identities and thus no pure Self or Other ... the Other is both within and human like oneself." (Guadeloupe 2009, 224). Het onderscheid tussen het zelf en de ander zou dus volgens Guadeloupe opgeheven moeten worden, terwijl Wekker beargumenteert dat dit onderscheid juist belangrijk is. Maar waar gelijkheid op SXM misschien gelijk staat aan diversiteit, staat dat het in Nederland niet. Daarom is het van groot belang om een diverse en dus correcte representatie van de LGBTQ+ gemeenschap te presenteren.

In november 2007 publiceerde de overheid een beleidsdocument genaamd "Gewoon homo zijn" met als doel de sociale aanvaarding van homoseksualiteit onder de Nederlandse bevolking te verhogen (Wekker 2020, 171-172). Het beleid somt vijf operationele doelen op, waarvan de eerste het bevorderen van het gesprek over homoseksualiteit in verschillende bevolkingsgroepen is (Ministerie van OC&W in Wekker 2020, 172). Alhoewel niet expliciet aangegeven, blijkt uit het beleidsdocument dat Marokkaanse en Turkse

(moslim)gemeenschappen de voornaamste doelgroep is waar homoseksualiteit meer "bespreekbaar" moet worden gemaakt. Er wordt dus gesproken over een dialoog tussen homo's en moslims (Wekker 2020, 178) wat bevestigt dat de homoseksuele man inherent wit is, en de raciale ander heteroseksueel en homofob. Dit beleidsdocument is een perfect voorbeeld van de manier waarop wit zijn beschouwd wordt als de normatieve norm en niet als een etniciteit, waardoor witte mensen een superioriteit claimen. Deze superioriteit resulteert niet alleen in discriminatie tegen moslims, maar ook in racisme gericht op al het andere dat niet wit is.

Naast racisme, zijn bodyshaming, toxic masculinity, hyperseksualiteit en leeftijd grote problemen die zorgen voor discriminatie op Grindr. Deze sectie wordt louter gewijd aan het racisme dat plaatsvindt op de app. Echter, verder onderzoek naar andere manieren van uitsluiting op Grindr erg waardevol.

Op 2 juni 2020, een paar dagen na de moord op George Floyd, kwam Grindr met een verklaring naar buiten waarin ze aankondigde dat het filter voor etniciteit verwijderd zal worden. Het feit dat dit toen pas gebeurde, is schandalig. Het filter

moedigt mensen namelijk aan om uit te sluiten en te discrimineren zonder dat daar consequenties aan zitten. De ervaring van deze homoseksuele zwarte man zegt genoeg:

"Users can just select me out of the equation. When I look at my White friends' Grindr accounts they have messages in the hundreds. I can barely even get a single message. I feel sometimes as if I don't exist. In the bars, at least, people have to talk to me if I approach them, online they can just hit the block button. What is worse is I often find myself comparing myself to the guys online. Yeah, I have a six-pack and all that, but I just feel like I don't measure up, and I think it has to do with the fact that I'm not White." (Conner 2019, 403)

In hetzelfde onderzoek werd aangetoond dat 180 van de 300 geobserveerde profielen anderen instrueerden om geen contact op te nemen als ze niet wit waren en als ze tot een specifieke etnische groep behoorden (Conner 2019, 407). Wederom wordt er hier vanuit gegaan dat wit zijn geen etniciteit is. Dit sluit aan op Wekkers (2020, 101)

constatering dat etniciteit uitsluitend naar de ander verwijst, naar etnische minderheden, en dat wit zijn niet wordt beschouwd als een ras/etniciteit. Ook na het verdwijnen van het filter blijkt dat 57% van de Nederlandse Grindr-gebruikers nog altijd racisme tegenkomt op de app (@racismeopgrindr, 23 april 2021).

Wanneer gebruikers gevraagd werd waarom ze bepaalde uitspraken zouden doen, antwoordden ze vaak door racisme te ontkennen en te beweren dat het gewoon een uiting van een onschuldige voorkeur is (Conner 2019, 407). Onschuld dus. Deze onschuld zit diep geworteld in ons culturele archief en geeft witte mensen de vrijheid om racistische uitspraken te doen om vervolgens te kunnen zeggen dat het niet zo bedoeld was en dat het maar een grap was (Wekker 2020, 30). Volgens Wekker (2020, 49) zit dit culturele archief tussen onze oren en bevat het opvattingen, gevoelens en praktijken ten opzichte van ras. Deze opslagplaats van ideeën geeft de witte macht dus het idee dat ze racistisch kunnen zijn, omdat ze beweren niet racistisch te zijn. De uiting van racisme gaat vaak gepaard met het gebruik van humor en ironie (Wekker 2020, 43). Humor zou namelijk iets onschuldigs zijn. Echter, humor en "throwing shade" wordt vaak

gebruikt als een manier om het racisme op Grindr te ondermijnen: "I block more Asian[s] than the Great Wall of China." (Conner 2019, 407). Deze humor en seksuele voorkeuren die geuit wordt op de app is allesbehalve onschuldig en is een weerspiegeling van sociale en historische hiërarchieën. Grindr reproduceert een door wit gedomineerd wereldbeeld en creëert hiermee een hiërarchie gebaseerd op ras.

Bij het zoeken naar een oplossing voor dit probleem geeft Guadeloupe zijn benadering ons weinig om mee te "spelen". Volgens Guadeloupe (2009, 224) vinden we identificatie in het gedeeld mens zijn. Hoe mooi ik deze humanistische benadering ook vind, is Wekkers benadering waardevoller voor de aanpak van dit probleem. Wekker (2020, 39) ziet ras als een sociaal gevormde categorie die dicht verbonden is met machtsrelaties en worstelingen, een wiens betekenis verandert met de tijd.

De scheve representatie van de Nederlandse LGBTQ+ gemeenschap heeft ons laten zien hoe witheid de norm is onze samenleving. Dat geldt ook voor het beleidsdocument "Gewoon homo zijn" waaruit we bovendien kunnen concluderen dat gelijkheid prioriteit is en diversiteit niet. Het etniciteit-filter op Grindr dat aanzet tot

discriminatie laat uit ervaringen van gebruikers óók zien dat wit de superieure norm is. Daarnaast slaat het gebruik van humor om racisme te uiten op de app terug op het idee van onschuld dat diep verzonken zit in het witte Nederlandse culturele archief. Racisme vanuit witte cis-homomannen op Grindr komt dus voort uit een wereldbeeld waar wit de norm is die wordt gevoed door representatie, de overheid, het culturele archief en de daaruit volgende onschuld en humor. Maar wit is ook een kleur en om in een gelijke én diverse samenleving te leven moeten we onze verschillen omarmen.

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Racisme op Grindr (@racismeopgrindr). 2021. "Dat de overgrote meerderheid het gevoel heeft dat er sprake is van (seksueel) racisme op Grindr, betekent dat ook dat mensen dit zelf hebben meegekregen of gezien?" Instagram foto, 23 april 2021.
<https://www.instagram.com/p/COA2NIBgyrR/>

The gendered risks of fieldwork

Celeste Obispa

This book review was based on the course AVDS (editor's note: Antropologie van de Staat) and also some knowledge I gained from the course Gender studies. This is special to me since it is a journey through some critical questions that I had from the beginning of this bachelor. In the second year I had sufficient food for thought to put this in my book review and take a risk with the assignment. It luckily paid off and I definitely want to further elaborate on the subject in future courses or my professional career.

Ghassem-Fachandi, Parvis. *Violence: Ethnographic Encounters*. Oxford: Berg, 2009. 164 pp. ISBN 9781847884169.

Violence is a complex phenomenon that we cannot reduce into mere categorizations and conceptualizations. The ways in which it is visible or invisible, the implications of it and the ways that it is reproduced into the discourse of not only society but the academic fields are not assessed sufficiently. Anthropology is unique in its research method; we rely on intimate fieldwork experiences as our primary source. This gives anthropologists the opportunity to experience complex phenomena as well as understand it and produce knowledge about it.

However, these productions of knowledge through the ethnographic encounters are not limitless. Within the body and mind of the anthropologists we encounter these limits. In order to better account for complex phenomena we must also include

the (mental implications it could have on the researcher itself and, in turn, on their findings. In the book *Violence: Ethnographic Encounters* by Ghassem-Fachandi (2009), the editor collects nine articles about the violence encountered while conducting fieldwork. These articles describe various forms of violence and the authors describe the ways the violence they encountered impacted their research as well as their own life. Ghassem-Fachandi did not want to only emphasize violence from a theoretical perspective, through expository writing he wants to offer insight into these forms of violence that ethnographers encounter in their fieldwork. Insight is of importance since he also concludes the book with further readings on encounters with violence and how it is deducted into general theories. This book does not focus on general theories and the systematization of phenomena such as violence. Through these nine stories however, he wants to assess and acknowledge the limits of fieldwork when we want to grasp the causes, implications and forms of violence. This gives the reader room for their own interpretation of the writing which displays the true heuristic value of the intimate encounter with violence in fieldwork within a limited time.

In this book review it is my objective to analyze the following three chapters: "Written on my Body" by Billie Jean Isbell, "Sleeping with One Eye Open" by Kristen Drybread and "Unwelcomed and Unwelcoming Encounters" by Annarose Pandey. The motives for picking these chapters are based on my desire to comprehend gender inequality within the research method of ethnography. Ghassem-Fachandi (2009, 8) mentioned this as well in his introduction by highlighting how vulnerability is structured by gender inequality and the remains of the patriarchy within the academic fields. The ways that ethnography as a research method is immersed in this patriarchal design is further related to violence as well, which I will clarify in the conclusion.

Firstly, I will give an overview of the two forms of violence that was covered in this course and relate to my topic. Within anthropology violence is distinguished in the primary three forms which are structural violence, symbolic violence and everyday violence. In this book review I will mostly assess structural and symbolic violence.

Structural violence is not directly visible and a result of social and often economic structures. According to Farmer

(2001), this form of violence is utilized systematically and indirectly by everyone who belongs to a certain social order. He argues that inequality is structured and legitimized over time. Therefore, he highlights the importance of history and local context of a certain phenomenon in order to trace its structure that is visible today (Farmer 2001, 309).

Symbolic violence is the damage one experiences due to the unequal power dynamics and degrading social conditions they are subjugated to. This form of violence is internalized and creates the doxa which favors the existing dominating organizations (Bourdieu 1977, 169). The doxa assists with reproducing and maintaining the existing balance of power which is not contested easily since the members of this social order internalize it and perceive it as normal (Bourdieu 1977, 166; Ghassem-Fachandi 2009, 151). This internalized humiliation and legitimation of inequality and hierarchies is expressed from sexism to racism and lead to, among other things, objectification and gender-based violence (Bourgois 2004, 426).

The book does not include much of these theoretical findings in the chapters since it is up to the reader to create their own understanding from the violent experiences.

It highlights how these theoretical findings on violence come to life in the field, which is not only exercised upon the research subject but also on the researcher. In the first chapter of the book, "Written on my Body", Isbell (2009) describes her experience with fieldwork in Peru. Due to the inability to publish her interview tapes, Isbell was not able to heal from her trauma which started to express itself physically. The violence she witnessed and experienced were engrained and inscribed on her body.

The violence she witnessed was often symbolic since she mentions the spatial separation by class and race which was not contested by the Quechua-speaking community. The exploitation of the community was reproduced since the educated bureaucrats kept their records of birth, deaths and marriages and managed the town budget. When the Quechua-speaking community saves Isbell from sexual violence, the bureaucrats destroyed Isbell's compadres' birth and marriage documents. This is a form of structural violence since the members of the Quechua community are vulnerable to the abuse of power by the mayor. The consequences of the erasure of these documents have serious implications such as suspicion of terrorism which, in turn,

legitimizes other acts of violence against them.

The abuse of power by the mayor also translates into gender-based violence. He was guilty of raping a fifteen-year-old indigenous girl without any consequences enforced by the state. Furthermore, when Isbell is being sexually assaulted by the Prefect and señor P.I.P, they speak of her as an object: "The gringa is mine tonight" (Isbell 2009, 24). When the Quechua-speaking members come to her rescue, they are punished by the mayor. Later, her hand is forced on a P.I.P. officers' crotch and she feels his hard-on. All of these examples of gender-based violence are symbolic violence. Isbell and the indigenous minor are damaged because of the unequal power dynamics within this society. The mayor favored the prefect and señor P.I.P. and it gives them the freedom to sexually assault however they want. The mayor himself is guilty of the rape of an indigenous minor which nobody frowns upon. His act of stealing funds was seen as problematic, not his act of rape. When Quechua members protect Isbell from sexual assault they are even punished, reproducing the notion that sexual violence legitimized if performed by state bureaucrats. There is no space for the Quechua members to contest

this violence against their community members and Isbell, when they do, they are punished and forced to internalize this violence.

In "Sleeping with One Eye Open", by Drybread (2009), the researcher runs into multiple impasses while doing fieldwork. The C.R.M institution does not allow direct contact with the inmates easily and she is faced with threats that are based on gendered violence. The staff of the C.R.M. institution deliberately use rape as a means to scare off the researcher. The C.R.M. hinders her research after nine months due to 'concerns' about her safety and the increasing threat of rape towards the researcher. Drybread was able to continue her research under certain conditions which required a search of all the cavities on her body. The severity of this measurement was due to the attempt to intimidate her into quitting her research. The enforced intimate search on her in exchange for the furthering of her research was an act of sexual violence.

According to multiple researches on body searches, it is a means to force women into a subjugated position (Aretxaga 2001). The staff of the C.R.M. wanted control over her body in order to attempt to reconfigure her subjectivity from the rebellious to the

subordinate woman. From my perspective, this is a form of symbolic violence. She might not believe that this is appropriate, but in order for her to finish her research she is forced to accept these body searches. She even reasoned that this was the price she had to pay for penetrating too deeply into the inner life of the C.R.M. In my opinion, this sounds like internalizing the violence that is used against her. The staff of the C.R.M. warned her of the inmates that could rape her, even though rape could result in death for the inmates. My objective is that they used legitimized rape against her. The legal definitions of rape and the experience of sexual violation did not differ in this case, but the staff were not eligible for punishment by death. These legalities and technicalities surrounding gender-based violence erase these experiences under 'institutional rule' whilst perpetuating sexual violence against women such as Drybread (Aretxaga 2001).

"Unwelcomed and Unwelcoming Encounters" by Annarose Pandey (2009) is an example of the gendered risks of doing fieldwork. She was sexually intimidated and molested when she returned to Sidi Ifni without her husband. This indicated sexual availability for the towns' men and led to her Arab tutor sexually assaulting her. In her

fieldwork she experienced violence and aggression directed specifically at her as a person, not as an anthropologist. By taking preventative measures such as a modest wardrobe and avoiding eye-contact, she did what she could to decrease the gendered risks in the field. The symbolic violence in this particular field occurred because of the unequal gendered power dynamics she was exposed to which in turn degraded her and subjugated her into sexual violence.

These three chapters display the gendered risks that female anthropologists take when they conduct research. Ghassem-Fachandi stresses this as well. He argues that female bodies are more susceptible to violent exchanges in their field. These stories display how sexual subjugation is the preferred mode of humiliation across cultures and institutions (Ghassem-Fachandi 2009, 8). Women are also expected to distance themselves from the subject in their research. However, women are more susceptible to becoming the subject of violent encounters which Ghassem-Fachandi also assesses with this book. It is no coincidence that most of these chapters are written by women and mention gender-based violence. These chapters made me emotional since these gendered risks were not mentioned in the

courses I take as an anthropologist. But, from a theoretical perspective, it made me think that ethnography was created with the male as the archetype in mind. From these stories it is clear to me that women take a much bigger risk conducting fieldwork and the impasses they encounter are often based on their gender. Men who conduct fieldwork will not encounter the same risk and, sure, perhaps we can argue that they are also vulnerable to increased violence in different forms. However, it is refreshing to me to finally read a book that includes gender-based violent encounters within fieldwork.

Ghassem-Fachandi did a great job leaving this book up to the readers' interpretation and I interpreted the stories as valuable to the entire discipline. The book provides the room for critique on ethnography. Within anthropology we try to obtain objectivity in order to produce reliable and valid research. However, bias decreases the reliability, validity and replicability of a research. On the one hand it is valuable to collect these stories and recognize the limits of ethnography in the mind and body of the ethnographer. On the other hand, it paves the way towards critique on the research method in the first place. If we were to replicate the research of female

anthropologists that encountered gender-based violence during fieldwork, would the outcome be different if a male would conduct it? This is the main question that arose from reading this book and I find these discussions of importance to my own growth in the anthropological field.

Thus, the gendered risks that the researchers from the chapters took for their research and the violence they encountered is valuable for the discipline today. These encounters embody structures that we can trace back to theoretical findings, indicating that they are just as valuable as the objective articles and books we are mostly confronted with in the discipline. It leaves room for interpretation, critique and of course improvement for ethnography.

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