

Is this who I really am? The impact of DNA Analyses in an ethnically diverse world



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Preface

I wrote this thesis for my Master's degree, which I obtained from the Programme of Intercultural Communication at Utrecht University in the Netherlands. I was engaged in researching and writing this thesis from February to April 2019. During this master's degree, I became interested in how people give meaning to concepts such as ethnicity, race, nationality, and culture, and wanted to explore this further. Often these concepts are used to express and define who, what and how we are. These definitions can differ in their connotations and their salience through our eyes or the eyes of others. In addition, as commercial DNA companies reveal ethnicity estimates to their consumers, I was wondering how this information can influence how we look at these concepts and how we look at ourselves.

During the writing process, I enjoyed gaining a deeper understanding of the theory and learning about so many new things. I also thought conducting the interviews was a very pleasant activity, as this enabled me to learn more about people's experiences, opinions, and beliefs. At the same time, I encountered some hurdles during this thesis period. Ethnicity and identity are very broad subjects and I found it difficult to narrow down my findings. It was just that there were so many interesting findings in my interview data! The thesis had to keep to a certain length, therefore, a great amount of time was dedicated to gathering information, and selecting and rewriting sections. Numerous times I had thought I would not make the deadline. Fortunately, due to hard work and sleepless nights, I managed to hand the current thesis in at a reasonable time (at 3 am on a Saturday rather than before midnight on the day before).

I would like to thank everyone who has helped me with my thesis. I thank my supervisor and peers who took the time to read my drafts and give tips and feedback. I would like to thank my participants who were willing to participate and talked to me openly about their experiences and thoughts. I enjoyed listening and reading their stories and hope the

participants have enjoyed our conversations/ messaging just as much. Furthermore, I want to thank my family and boyfriend for their support and for being able to endure my angry fits due to stress. Of course, I also want to apologise for this. I especially want to thank and apologise to my brother, Ivan, who I left at the airport in Madrid. We missed our connection flight and I took the opportunity to catch the next flight back to Amsterdam so that I could continue writing my thesis. We are luckily still on good terms.

I hope you enjoy your reading!

Maria Renema

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to analyse the impact of DNA analysis on participants' ethnic identity. Since 2000, DNA tests (purportedly) provide consumers with information about their ethnicity. So far, little research has been conducted on the psychological effects of DNA tests in relation to ethnicity in the genes and ethnicity in social terms. Existing literature describes that ethnicity and identity are established based on how actors express themselves, such as through sameness and differences. In addition, the interaction between how actors view themselves and how they are viewed by others should be considered in ethnic identity formation. The data was collected through nine interviews conducted over video chat or through online messaging. Subsequently, these were analysed through latent content analysis. In the results, participants indicated to be connected to a single ethnicity or to plural ethnicities before the DNA test. Three of nine participants with high estimates of newly discovered ethnicities indicated the results had not impacted them due to how they defined themselves internally and culturally. Three participants indicated change based on internal, emotional and meaningful drives. Further research should be undertaken to gain a deeper understanding of the effects of a DNA test on participants who consider their ethnic identity to be salient.

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1 Introduction

Due to colonisation and migration, nations have become more ethnically and culturally diverse. This diversity has led to people being of mixed descent, which blurs the distinction between what are considered ‘peoples’ (Eriksen, 2010; Lee, Nelson & Wailoo, 2012). At the same time, there is an urge to focus on similarities and differences between people and subjects such as origin, race and ethnicity are often embedded in this type of discourse (Eriksen, 2010). Ethnicity as a concept has been widely researched in many domains, such as anthropology and sociology. Amongst scholars, ethnicity is viewed as a social construct, which belongs to the same social category as gender, race and class (Wade, 2010; Eriksen, 2010). However, through genetic testing, ethnicity has been given a biological meaning (Lee et al., 2012). In the field of genetics, DNA research has proven to be important for ethnic membership claims and provide rights, if these are granted, to an ethnic minority group (Verkuyten, 2018). Since the year 2000, DNA testing companies made DNA analyses available to the public (Lee et al., 2012). Since then there have been numerous stories from various consumers in newspaper articles and on social media, such as YouTube, who discover through a DNA test that their family history is different from what they have been told or thought (Kirkpatrick & Rashkin, 2017). Regardless of the fact that these analyses do not have a 100% accuracy rate (Lee, Măndoiu & Nelson, 2011), consumers sometimes have unpleasant or fascinating discoveries which can provide them with a new understanding of their own ethnic identity.

This study aims to provide new insights into the concept of identity and to shed a light on the interplay of socially constructed ethnic identities and the idea of biological ethnicities. One aspect of ethnic identity is that actors underline sameness and differences with others

(Benjamin, 2002), it is therefore interesting to examine how participants express their ethnic identity after a DNA test. Simultaneously, results of DNA tests can also show people have more in common than they think; thus, enables actors to move away from this focus on differences. This study will therefore also show whether these tests affect people's way of thinking about the world and about categorising and classifying other ethnicities.

This research paper will examine the ethnic identity of participants who have completed a DNA test. In the next chapter, the theory that is important for the understanding of the terms and the interpretation of the data will be discussed. Subsequently, the third chapter will describe the research process of how the data was collected through interviews and analysed through latent content analysis. In addition, the most salient findings will be presented in the fourth chapter. In the fifth chapter, these results will be discussed and compared to the theory in order to draw conclusions, which will be reported in the sixth chapter. Lastly, the limitations and recommendations for future research will be discussed in the seventh chapter.

2 Theoretical Framework

This chapter entails the theoretical underpinning of the study. As the focus of this thesis is on ethnicity and ethnic identity, these terms and related concepts will be explained in this part of the thesis. The chapter starts with describing ethnicity and its relation to the concept race in section 2.1. Thereafter, in section 2.2, the concepts identity and social identity will be explained to provide the theoretical background to ethnic identity and to gain more understanding of this type of identity. Subsequently, different aspects of ethnic identity will be discussed. This framework concludes with previous research on participants' discoveries of their Jewish ethnicity and theory about DNA analysis in sections 2.3 and 2.4. This will be followed by the research questions in section 2.5.

2.1 Ethnicity

2.1.1 What is ethnicity?

Ethnicity as a social concept has many definitions and is often used in vague terms (Wade, 2010). Originally, the word ‘ethnic’ is derived from the Greek word, *ethnos*, which means ‘people’ or ‘nation’ (Eriksen, 2010). Therefore, the general definition of an ethnic group is ‘a people’ (Eriksen, 2010). This, however, still does not specify how ‘a people’ can be identified. Moerman (1965) conducted research on the Lue people. ‘A people’ who live in Thailand and who did not seem to differ in their cultural practices from their neighbours. Based on this research, Eriksen (2010) concludes that an ethnic group is created through having had at least little contact with another ethnic group and these groups reflecting on themselves as being culturally different from one another. Thus, ethnicity, according to Eriksen (2010), only exists when a relationship based on difference is present, rather than the idea that ethnicity is owned by a particular group.

There are two groups with different views on ethnicity. One is “ethnicity in the head” and the other is “ethnicity in the heart” (Banks, 1996, p.185), i.e. whether ethnicity is instrumental or primordial (Wade, 2010). The focus of this study will be on the primordial perspective as this views ethnic groups as being driven together by the emotional and meaningful disposition of ethnicity (Verkuyten, 2018). This is different from the instrumentalist perspective, which views ethnic groups as interest groups that have been strategically established, based on political or economic motives (Cohen, 1969). Therefore, Verkuyten (2018) argues that a limitation of the instrumentalist approach is that it does not take into account how actors construct and reconstruct their ethnic identities. As this is the focus of the study, primordialism appeared to be more suitable. However, the primordialism approach also has its limitations (Verkuyten, 2018) and this should be noted. It ignores the mechanisms of power and categorisations that are used to emphasise ethnicity. In addition, it does not show the “changeable, situational and deliberative character of ethnicity” (p. 66).

2.1.2 The distinction between ethnicity and race

Both the words ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’ were used and are used up to this day to indicate differences between people (Wade, 2010). Regarding the prior, originally, race meant lineage to a common ancestor, which was first used to group people together on the basis of shared qualities, rather than physical characteristics (Banton, 1987). This changed during the time of exploration and colonialization in which Europeans came in contact with the ‘other’, and race started to be used to describe physical differences identifying the ‘other’ (Wade, 2010).

In history, the usage of the words race and ethnicity have been intertwined and there is still an ongoing debate whether race and ethnicity should be distinguished from each other in research; for example, some scholars believe the concepts should not be differentiated between (Eriksen, 2010) whereas other scholars believe a distinction is necessary (Siebers, 2017). According to Eriksen (2010), it is difficult to separate race and ethnicity as there are racial groups which are ethnified, such as African-Americans.

Wade (2010) argues that identifications with race and ethnicity partly overlap in the social world. Both derive meaning from the origin and are transferred from generation to generation. In race, this origin is invoked by physical characteristics and in ethnicity, this is by location, which Wade (2010) calls “cultural geography” (p. 20). According to Erikson (2010), it depends on the individual, group or institution whether race plays a part in their own ethnic ideology. Thus, in research concerning ethnic identities, conceptual differentiation should be considered to understand whether these concepts are both part of the identity or whether one concept, rather than the other, is more prominent to the participants.

2.2 Ethnic Identity

2.2.1 Identity

Identity, similar to ethnicity, either has various definitions or is not explicitly defined in the literature. According to Verkuyten (2018), identity is about the relation between the individual and society and “refers to important realities” (p. 74). These realities, as Benjamin (2002) suggests, are constructed on the basis of sameness and differences. Individuals and groups, “classify and categorise themselves in relation to others” (p. 11) and identity is used as a label to distinguish between certain groups and individuals.

The concepts sameness and difference are also mentioned by Bucholtz and Hall (2004) who discuss the relationship between language and identity. According to these scholars, language provides linguistic evidence for researching “the formation of cultural subjectivities” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, p. 369). In expressing sameness and differences in identity, hierarchy is embedded in language in the form of markedness and power. Markedness refers to a hierarchical structure between groups in which one group is viewed as the norm, the unmarked group, and other groups, which differ from this norm, are considered to be marked. Thus, this creates social inequality as unmarked groups are regarded as having a higher status, and with that, have more power than marked groups.

In addition to this hierarchy and power, there are four semiotic processes that play a role in identification and how identities are created. This thesis focuses on three as these have been identified in the data. These semiotic processes are interrelated and can overlap. One of these processes is ‘practice’, which is a repetition of social activities embedded in actions (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). These actions can be expressed through the repetition of language. Together with other social practices, Bourdieu (as cited in Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, 378) calls this ‘habitus’ as this “shapes the social actor’s way of being in the world” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 377). ‘Ideology’ is a third process, which “organizes and enables all cultural beliefs and practices as well as the power relations that result from these” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, p. 379). Ideology can be represented in the process of

erasure. According to Irvine and Gal (2000), erasure of marked language occurs when there is a conflict with an ideological stance. The last process is 'performance', which is how identity is deliberately enacted and which can be evaluated by others (Bauman 1977). Performance is therefore marked as it is different from regular interaction. A performance can be deemed as more or less accomplished, or as more or less suitable, but it does not only apply to the social world but also creates the social world. Therefore, ideology is vital for performance as it shows whether an identity is perceptible and valid.

As these processes are part of how identities are expressed in language, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) also discuss why these processes are used in identity. They call these tactics of intersubjectivity. The pair adequation and distinction will be focused on in this thesis as they are connected to the previously described sameness and difference. Through adequation, actors focus on characteristics they have in common with certain others, which based on the situation, is then perceived more salient than the differences with these others. These differences are therefore ignored in order to emphasise sameness. However, creating sameness with one group, simultaneously can lead to drawing a distinction between the one group, the in-group, and another group, the out-group. In this case, differences between the groups are emphasised. This shows that "social differences are made, not found" (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, p. 384).

These semiotics processes and tactics of intersubjectivity show that identity is not naturally present in people, but it is embedded in their actions (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). Therefore, identity is not fixed and static, but it is situational and changeable. Furthermore, there are various different identities. The following section will focus on a type of identity that is constructed in the social world.

2.2.2 Social Identity

Verkuyten (2018) argues “Social identities are intersubjective realities that are formed and defined in the social world” (p. 87). These identities are based on social categorisations, such as gender, class, ethnicity, race, nationality and religion (Wade 2010; Verkuyten, 2018). Through the usage of these categories when describing what people are, actors are not viewed as individuals but linked to a group to which they belong, and what they have in common with members of these groups (Burke & Stets, 2009). As these are various categories, actors have multiple social identities; for example, an actor can be female, upper class and Gambian. By focusing on a singular social identity, only a small part of someone’s identity can be viewed (Verkuyten, 2018).

As a social identity is shared with others, it connects actors with each other and gives them and their in-group a societal position in the world (Burke & Stets, 2009). In-group members view their own group more positively than the out-group, as this gives them a good feeling about themselves and affirms their position in the world (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In addition, social identity considers *what* someone is, which is derived from group membership; however, *how* someone is relates to the actor’s inner world and partly consists of self-awareness, self-knowledge and self-feelings, which can be referred to as the ‘self’ (Rosenberg, 1979; Verkuyten, 2018). ‘Identity’ and ‘self’ are often used interchangeably, but Verkuyten (2018) argues that the meanings of these concepts differ. The ‘self’ is how actors perceive who they are internally, and their social identity is based on how they are treated socially. In addition, the concept ‘sense of identity’ refers to how actors make their social identity psychologically relevant to themselves. Furthermore, a certain social identity can be more relevant than others, depending on the context (Verkuyten, 2018). Deaux (1993) claims it is important to know the place of one identity compared to others for an actor who indicates identity to be salient, as this “may be an important predictor of an affective state, behavioral choice and response to interventions” (p. 8). Verkuyten (2018)

therefore suggests, social identities can be ordered based on importance to understand what the position of this identity is. In the current study, this identity will be ethnic identity. In the following section, this will be further explained.

2.2.3 Ethnic identity

2.2.3.1 *Boundary Markers*

Most scholars view ethnic identity as a type of social identity and therefore ethnicity is analysed along the same lines as other social identities (Verkuyten, 2018). Ethnic identity can have a social relationship in regard to kinship, residency, sustenance or religion (Benjamin, 2002). In relation to kinship, the extended family is often considered as having the same ethnicity.

Ethnic identities refer to membership of (a) particular ethnic group(s). The terms ‘ethnic group’ and ‘ethnicity’ underline a division based on differences between ethnic groups, and emphasises intragroup sameness (Benjamin, 2002). These differences are also called ‘boundary markers’, and the term ‘ethnic boundaries’ is used for this division between the groups (Barth, 1969). Boundary markers can be established on noticeable cultural differences between ethnic groups (Moerman, 1965; Verkuyten, 2018), but also on other aspects, such as origin and descent (Barth, 1969).

2.2.3.2 *Ethnic Identity Motives*

There are three ethnic identity motives, which are based on basic needs and morals, and are potentially primordial (Verkuten, 2018). These are meaningful existence, continuity and affective ties and belonging (Baumeister, 2005; Williams, 2001; Vignoles, 2011). Geertz (1973) suggests ethnicity is often viewed as primordial by ethnic group members, as it can be of psychological and emotional significance what the ethnic group is to an actor. The first motive, meaningful existence, refers to the possible primordial reason that ethnicity provides symbolic and cultural meaning (Baumeister, 2005; Verkuyten, 2018). It is

concerned with the meaning of the world and the actor's position in this world (Baumeister, 2005). It has been argued that ethnicity gives answers to life questions such as "origin, destiny and meaning of life" (Cohen, as quoted in Eriksen, 1993, p. 45). From ethnic group membership arise cultural world-views and beliefs systems and these "form a shared understanding of reality that imposes value and purpose on the world" (Verkuyten, 2018, p. 115).

Continuity is another ethnic identity motive, which is that a member's need for self-continuity is answered through ethnicity (Vignoles, 2011). An ethnic group is based on its ancestral lineage that is passed on from generation to generation. Therefore, how people define themselves ethnically is not only through the perception of others but also defined by "a(n) (imagined) origin and history of the group itself" (brackets as in original, Verkuyten, 2018, p. 58). A historical background provides an actor with continuity. This is from where the ethnic group of the actor is descended and also entails what the ethnic group's position is in the world in present time. This is viewed as an important part of the actor's self-definition (DeVos, 1995).

A third motive is affective ties and belonging. Actors want to belong and feel included by and connected to an ethnic group (Vignoles, 2011). Feelings of belonging can be evoked by, for example, rituals, traditions and the landscape of an area. A potential primordial reason is that children develop ethnic group belonging when they are raised. When growing up, children receive cultural meanings to which they become connected through interaction with their parents and other close ethnic group members they come in contact with. According to Weinreich, Bacova & Rougier (2003), this contact with ethnic group members at an early age produces an affective relationship with the ethnic group. This can be based on norms, beliefs and non-verbal behaviours that are established through

a process called enculturation (Shimahara, 1970). In enculturation, cultural meanings related to, for example, language, history and values are linked to an ethnicity.

These three motives show why identities such as ethnic identity can be considered as salient for people (Verkuyten, 2018). Sometimes an identity is salient because of various motives. If the ethnic identity is important, this influences how actors perceive and evaluate the social world (Xiao, Coppin & van Bavel, 2016). However, not all people consider their ethnic identity to be an essential part of their identity, and, thus, it depends on actors if they utilise these motives and if their view of the social world is influenced through this identity.

2.2.3.3 Self-categorisations, Identification and ethnic classification

In self-categorisations, certain labels are used to determine what an actor is (Stryker, 1980). In ethnic terms, an example of this would be that someone is Pakistani or Venezuelan. These self-categorisations can be used to define oneself as a member of an ethnic group but does not have to mean actors identify with that ethnic group (Verkuyten, 2018). Identification is a psychological process in which actors identify with a group intentionally or unintentionally, which is based on preferences, needs, experiences, circumstances and personal characteristics (Verkuyten, 2018). Thus, actors do not necessarily feel emotionally attached to the ethnic group when they use these self-categorisations.

An aspect social identity enables in ethnic identity is an ethnic classification through labelling (Bonnett & Carrington, 2000). It creates a division based on how someone looks and who someone is. Someone can look German based on visual appearance, and, thus, visually be classified as ethnically German. However, if his parents are Dutch, he will be classified as Dutch based on this knowledge. Verkuyten (2018) suggests that by using adjectives, for example, someone looks 'Chinese', characteristics actors attribute to

themselves describe someone's appearance. Contrastively, the usage of nouns expresses what actors are, such as 'being Dutch', and this also makes them a member of that group.

2.2.3.4 Awareness

Various research analysed when people were most aware of their ethnic background (Downie, Mageau, Koestner & Liodden, 2006; Leach & Smith, 2006; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). It was found that white Americans were to a lesser extent aware than ethnic and racial minorities of their ethnicity. In addition, awareness of ethnicity was strongest when participants were viewed by others to as different from them or participants emphasising differences and thereby distancing themselves from others. In some cases, participants were aware of their ethnicity when in contact with other in-group members. In general, participants are not always aware of their ethnicity (Verkuyten, 2018).

2.2.3.5 The importance of context

In interpreting ethnic identity, the context can influence how participants express their ethnic identity (Verkuyten, 2018). In addition, Wade (2010) claims people can have multiple ethnic identities, which in these different contexts can be expressed in various ways. A context described by Verkuyten (2018) is the conversational and rhetorical context. In this context, there are two perspectives with regards to ethnic self-definitions. These are what someone 'is' and what someone 'feels'. Being a member of a group can be different from feeling to be part of a group. In the analysed discourse of Chinese Dutch participants (Verkuyten, 2018), it showed that being an ethnicity, such as Chinese, was referred to in biological and visible terms. This was viewed as a fixed and static definition, not as a personal decision. By contrast, 'feeling' was used to refer to a sense of ethnicity and could indicate the participant looked ethnically different on the outside from how the participant felt on the inside. In the same research project, 'feeling' was viewed more salient than 'being' Chinese, as the inner self was the "true self" (Verkuyten, 2018, p. 243).

2.3 Impact of Discovering Unknown Roots

In her book 'Suddenly Jewish: Jews Raised as Gentiles Discovering Their Jewish Roots', Kessel (2000) described the stories of people who discovered they had Jewish roots. Her aim was to research what happens to the participants' sense of self after such a discovery. She observed that when the knowledge about where participants came from appeared to be different, the participants started to have doubts about their sense of self. Being of Jewish descent meant that participants had to make certain decisions; they had to decide which cultural and religious practices they would adopt, whether they should start feeling Jewish, whether or not they would be accepted by other Jews, and some felt responsible and identified with the pain Jews have had in history. Kessel's (2000) book demonstrated that discoveries about unknown descent can lead to various responses; from participants not changing elements in their lives to others becoming fully Jewish, embracing Jewish culture and religion. In some cases, participants had difficulties processing this new information as they had anti-Semitic feelings, or they were raised Christian and did not know how to integrate Jewishness into their lives. For many, this discovery had a considerable impact and led to a different sense of self.

2.4 DNA Testing for Ethnicity

Since more than a decade, DNA testing companies offer customers to test for ethnicity (Lee et al., 2012). These developments in DNA analysis have changed the general outlook on ethnicity as being socially constructed and generated a more "blurred distinction" between "social phenomena and biological facts" (Lee et al., 2012, p. 3). However, a specific ethnicity cannot be detected in the genes, but testing companies show ethnicity estimates based on genetic variations (Kirkpatrick & Rashkin, 2017). These variations are compared to reference populations, which are sample groups of different ethnic groups in the world (McCabe & McCabe, 2008). As these reference populations vary for companies

and samples sizes continuously grow, ethnicity estimates can differ per company and change over time (McCabe & McCabe, 2008). In addition, consumers might not have inherited variations from their ancestors such as from one of their grandparents, as this can crossover (Kirkpatrick and Rashkin, 2017). Thus, results can differ from what consumers expect. Regardless of the accuracy of these tests, the results may have a negative effect on consumers when they are far from expected. According to Kirkpatrick and Rashkin (2017), psychological issues can arise in the event of a change in ethnic identity due to a DNA test. How these issues emerge is not discussed. However, they recommend that genetic counselling is provided to consumers who experience these issues after the test (Kirkpatrick and Rashkin, 2017). It should, therefore, be researched how consumers are impacted by the results of DNA analyses.

A search of the literature revealed that a few studies focused on identity and DNA tests. Existent literature has been limited to group identity of specific cultural and national groups, such as indigenous peoples (Lee et al., 2012) or discussed a sense of self as described in section 2.3. In addition, the current section revealed the notion of psychological issues when consumers experience a change in their ethnic identity. However, as this is not further explained, and as the theoretical framework shows that ethnic identity is a complex concept, it can be argued that it should be identified first what these ethnic identity changes are. Subsequently, the psychological effects of these tests can be further researched and provide information on how genetic counsellors can support customers. Therefore, this study will focus on the impact on ethnic identity first, as this has not yet been researched.

2.5 Main Research Question and Sub-questions

In this chapter, the literature relating to ethnic identity was described. Derived from the literature and the aforementioned relevance, the following research questions have been formulated:

What is the impact of a DNA test on the participants' sense of their ethnic identity?

- How do the participants describe their ethnic identity before the DNA test?
- In which ways do the participants indicate changes in their sense of ethnic identity after the DNA test?
- Which reasons do participants give for their sense of ethnic identity remaining the same after the DNA test?

How these questions will be answered through data collection and analysis will be explained in the following chapter.

3. Methodology

In order to answer the main question and sub-questions, interviews with participants who have completed a DNA test were conducted. According to Dörnyei (2007), interviewing is a research method that operates well because the structure of interviews in eliciting information is often shared cultural knowledge. It is a qualitative method that obtains “descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena” (Kvale, 1996, pp. 5-6). The interviews were semi-structured. This means that some questions were prepared beforehand, but there was also room for the participants to elaborate on his or her answers and for the interviewer to ask more follow-up questions (Baarda, van der Hulst & Goede, 2012).

There are some limitations in regard to using a method such as interviews, and these were taken into account during the collection of the data. A limitation is, for example, that interviews take more time than quantitative methods such as questionnaires, as time is needed for the interviews to be recorded and transcribed (Dörnyei, 2007). In addition, an interviewee can have difficulty in opening up during an interview which can lead to insufficient data (Dörnyei, 2007).

After the interviews were conducted, they were transcribed in Spext, an online transcription programme, and analysed through content analysis. How this was done will be further explained in the subsection ‘data analysis’ later in this chapter. First, the participants, material and procedure will be discussed.

3.1 Participants

3.1.1 Sample Group

An appeal was posted on various DNA forums and social media platforms, such as Facebook and LinkedIn, to find participants. In addition, some members of the forums were contacted by the researcher herself as they expressed to be surprised about their results on the forum before. In an effort to have homogenous sampling (Dörnyei, 2007), the appeals initially asked for participants with surprising results. However, as there were not enough responses, the researcher chose criterion sampling (Dörnyei, 2007). In this way, all participants who had done a DNA test were considered and this gave more response. Interestingly, more than half of the participants who were eventually interviewed reported having surprising results.

The aim was to interview between six and ten participants as Dörnyei (2007) suggests this will produce rich enough data that allows the researcher to interpret meanings in detail. The sample collection consisted of nine participants of whom a few were found on the DNA forums of Eupedia.com and RootsChat.com, and most of them were found through the appeal on Facebook. Table 1 below, shows the description of the participants who were interviewed for this study.

Participants	Natio- nality	Age	Gender	Educational Background	Occupation	From appeal on
Participant A	Dutch	26	F	University and an MA	Registration employee	Facebook
Participant B	Dutch	38	M	University of Applied Sciences	In ICT	Facebook

Participant C	British	64	M	College	Retired/ Genetic Genealogist	RootsChat
Participant D	Dutch	34	F	University of Applied Sciences	Policy Officer	Facebook
Participant E	USA	46	M	High School	Deliveries/ news papers	Facebook
Participant F	Dutch	24	F	College	Registration employee	Facebook
Participant G	Turkish	31	M	University (Engineering)	-	Eupedia
Participant H	Welsh/ Greek	43	F	BA hons in Welsh and a postgraduate diploma in social work	Independent Reviewing Officer	RootsChat
Participant I	Australian	62	F	Tertiary - Diploma in Fine Art	-	RootsChat

Table 1. Description of the Participants

3.2 Apparatus and Materials

For the semi-structured interviews, Skype, Facebook Messenger, Talky, and the personal message pages of the forums were used. In addition, the interviews were recorded with a mobile phone. Furthermore, a topic list according to Baarda et al. (2012) was established and Dörnyei's (2007) guidelines for an interview guide was also considered in order to fully prepare the interview and cover all the important steps. The topic list and interview scheme can be found in the appendix on page 47. The interview questions were established based on the theoretical framework.

3.3 Procedure

All interviews were conducted in the week of the 18th of February 2019. Seven of the interviews were held over video chat and three were held on the personal message pages of the forums. At the beginning of the interviews, participants were asked for their consent to the interview being recorded. The oral interviews took from 20 minutes up to an hour per participant and followed the structure as proposed in Baarda et al. (2012) and Dörnyei

(2007). A limitation of written interviews opposed to conducting them orally was that the researcher could not immediately ask further questions based on what participants said. Moreover, it was more difficult to clarify certain questions or answers and could much more easily lead to insufficient data.

3.3.1 Data analysis

3.3.1.1 Transcription

The interviews were first transcribed by the online computer-assisted transcription programme Spext on Spext.com. As the programme does not transcribe with 100% accuracy, the researcher checked the transcribed text and adjusted where necessary. In addition, the interviews which were in Dutch were transcribed in English. Direct translations were not always clear in English; thus, the researcher had to translate in some cases more freely but tried to stay as close as possible to the original meaning. Regardless of this, the limitation still remained that in some cases it may differ slightly in meaning from the utterance in Dutch. In addition, to facilitate understanding, some minor linguistic mistakes in the written interviews were slightly adjusted (Dörnyei, 2007). Regarding transcript conventions, utterances of speakers which could not be heard were indicated with (()). In addition, three dots: ...; indicate that the participant made a repair in the middle of an utterance. Participants' names and that of others they mentioned have been changed.

3.1.3.2 Latent Content Analysis

The interviews were analysed through content analysis. For this thesis, the latent content analysis was adopted, which consists of two levels (Dörnyei, 2007). The first level focuses on discovering categories and themes in the data. This is called an inductive approach as it enables the researcher to find categories that arise from the data rather than using predetermined categories, which could limit the findings (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). These results will be presented in chapter 4. The second level concerns the interpretation of

the underlying meaning of the data. In order to interpret the results, the theoretical underpinning of this study will be linked to the results. This will be discussed in chapter 5. There are some limitations to content analysis. Content analysis can be time-consuming and by focusing on all emerging categories, key categories can be missed (Hsieh & Shannon). In addition, researcher bias is through this approach more common as analysis relies on the researcher's text selection and interpretation (McNamara, 2006).

The computer programme that was used to code the data was NVivo 12 Pro. The entire coding process was as follows: At the first stage, the data was separated in chunks of words, sentences, phrases and paragraphs, and labelled by codes that gave a clear description of the content. This is called 'open coding' (Mayring, 2004) and is part of the initial coding process (Dörnyei, 2007). Then, for the second coding process, the codes were all listed and the ones that were similar or redundant were all grouped together under a new code (Dörnyei, 2007). Codes were reviewed and adjusted based on the iteration process, which entailed that new codes were compared with the original interview data to examine whether they still aligned with the data or if they needed to be recoded. This is called a 'constant comparison' (Mayring, 2004). A code is viewed as valid if it still connects to the content of the data (Dörnyei, 2007). Subsequently, the codes were categorised based on overarching themes. This was done through 'close coding' which is the coding of the existent codes by a smaller number of sub-codes and these clusters of sub-codes were labelled, which became themes (Mayring, 2004). Six themes were established as Bailey (2007) suggests five to seven themes to be an adequate number and should mirror the aim of the research. During the coding process, memos and interview profiles were Dörnyei (2007) proposes to use analytical memos and interview profiles as these already enable the analysis process, these have been recorded throughout the coding of the data. Memos are ideas written down which emerge from the data. Interview profiles consist of quotes from the participants and comments of the

researcher, underlining vital points and themes (Seidman, 1998). These two analytic steps can examine the interrelationships between themes (Dörnyei, 2007). These steps were taken for all nine transcripts.

For the final step, main themes and final codes were selected “based on the salience of the particular concept/process and its relationship with other important categories in the domain” (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 257). At the same time, the researcher also focused on drawing conclusions, which show both a clear storyline and the multiple meanings that are within the data (Richardson, 2005; Dörnyei, 2007). Below in table 2 are the themes, sub-codes and categories that were established. Not all themes and categories could be included in this study due to time and space constraints. This chapter discussed how data was collected through interviews and how data was analysed through latent content analysis. During the content analysis, certain categories arose from the data. The next chapter will explain which of these categories were selected for the description of the results.

Themes	Sub-codes and categories					
Meaningfulness of Ethnicity	Ethnicity for Participants	Meaning of own ethnicity	Social categories order		What is Ethnicity	
View on Ethnic Background before the Test	Ethnic Description	Expectations before the Test	Identify as	Knowledge before the Test		
Ethnic boundaries	Aware of ethnicity	Cultural Differences	Differences and Sameness	Other Differences	Sameness	
Unclear Ethnic Boundaries	Change of appearance	Ethnic background vs Ethnic Upbringing	Ethnicity based appearance by others	Mix of Ethnicities	Other Appearance than the Rest	Sameness with Other Cultures
Impact on Sense of Ethnic Identity	Motivation to Continue Research	Description of Results	No Impact: No Identification; No Impact on Identity; No Bond with Ethnicities; Own Person		Yes Impact: Change in Ethnic Identity After test; Impact on Knowledge about Self; Positive Attitude towards Ethnicities in the Test	
Worldview	Ethnicities of Interest	General Worldview		Worldview Affected by Test		

Table 2. Themes, sub-codes and categories of interview data, coded by NVivo Pro 12.

4 Results

The results of the interview will be presented in this chapter. After transcription of the interviews and translation of the Dutch texts, the data was coded in NVivo 12 Pro. Not all data could be processed in this thesis. Therefore, the categories and themes that seemed to yield the most important information were selected. The results are divided by three sub-headings, these relate to results about the importance of the participant's ethnicity, ethnic identity before and after the DNA test. For the first sub-heading, the results will be presented as a whole. For the other two subheadings, the results will be discussed per participant or small groups of participants.

4.1 Importance of Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity

From the theme 'Meaningfulness of ethnicity', the categories 'Ethnicity for Participants' and 'social categories order' (Table 2, p. 23) were selected and results are presented in this section. The participants were asked about how important their ethnicity is for them. In addition, participants were asked to put several social identity categories in order of importance to examine how meaningful the participants' ethnic identity is compared to other social identities. The focus was on the importance as this indicates how participants view their ethnicity and can be used to find possible correlations with the impact of the results.

The results showed ethnicity is not considered important in the lives of five of the participants; for example, participant F, indicated ethnicity is less important because of where she was born: "[...] I was born in Purmerend [...]" (p. 173) and this relates to what she is: "I am officially Dutch" (p. 173). Thus, she focused on nationality rather than on ethnicity. There were four other participants who indicated to consider their ethnicity important, of whom there were two who had ethnicity and race in first and second place when placing the social categories in order of importance. These were participant C and participant E. Therefore, it

can be concluded that compared to all these other social identities, the ethnic identity is most salient to these participants. Participant C gave as a reason that it was his “[...] current interest” and which he is “[...] very passionate about” (p. 106). Participant E also seemed to be driven by a current interest, as he quickly revealed his discovery of his African descent. In his explanation of the order of the social categories, he stated that ethnicity for him means “[...] who are your descendants?” (p. 145) and for race he stated: “I was more like Hispanic [...]. And now it's a little bit confusing because of Nigerian” (p. 145). Both participants, therefore, indicated their ethnic identity is salient at this particular moment due to what they had discovered through DNA testing.

4.2 Ethnic identity before the DNA test

For this section, the following sub-codes and categories were selected: ‘Knowledge before the Test’, ‘Ethnic Description’, ‘identify as’ (theme: View on Ethnic Background before the Test); ‘Aware of Ethnicity’, ‘Sameness’ and ‘Cultural Differences’ (theme: Ethnic Boundaries); ‘Meaning of Own Ethnicity’ (theme: Meaningfulness of Ethnicity); and ‘Sameness with Other Cultures’ (theme: ‘Unclear Ethnic Boundaries’). Different examples of these categories were chosen to achieve a variation in the results and are all believed to describe different parts of the participant’s ethnic identity. The overall results were that most of the knowledge participants had before the test was based on family stories and researching their family history.

Participant A

Participant A described herself to be ethnically Dutch based on what she knew about her family. She indicated she did not expect there to be anything more Dutch than her family. In addition, she said as she had lived in England, she had become more aware of the differences between the two countries and focused on what is particular Dutch: “[...] I would

not shout from the rooftops, 'look how amazing I am'. And what I have achieved. In the Netherlands, it's a bit like, don't act like you're better than others" (p. 72).

Participant B

Participant B described having the Dutch ethnicity as he had never heard about a different ethnicity than Dutch in his family. In regard to culture, participant B indicated to participate in cultural activities of both Dutch and Indonesian culture. About the Indonesian culture, he stated: "I mean food, but I also mean, you know how... Well, they are big families. Often. And they are together a lot and they take care of each other. I think I adopted that" (p. 98). Moreover, he stated about the Indonesian culture: "And I feel just as much at home there as in the Dutch..." (p. 98).

Participant C

Participant C had an English father and a German mother. Although participant C said to identify as Anglo-German, he indicated that there was a stronger identification link with his British side: "I spent most of my life in England. I pass as British. I identify as British (p. 108). He related this to his childhood as he then became aware of his German ethnicity having a different position than his English ethnicity. He was told by his German mother not to speak German: "we don't speak German," and therefore, he concluded: "so my ethnicity went with my language. So, I wasn't allowed to speak my German, so I had to speak my English. So, I became an English boy that fitted in" (p. 109). Not being allowed to speak German has had an impact on participant C. He said he had tried to learn the language through evening classes at a later age, but he struggled as he was still confronted with the idea that he should not speak German.

Participant D

Participant D indicated to have different types of ethnicities within her, each she described through different terms. In relation to her possible Jewish roots, she thought this

was in the family and she recognised in her appearance, she indicated to focus on this the most in her ethnic description: “Based on background, I would say mainly my Jewish roots because this is the most visible” (p. 136). However, she described herself as ethnically Dutch first by linking this to her nationality and also indicated to: “[...] feel Dutch in terms of biology [...]” (p. 137). In addition, she described her ethnicity through what she called her cultural side: “[...] I feel more Spanish or Latin American but that comes from how I was raised” (p. 137). In describing when her ethnicity is meaningful, she relates this to race as she gives an example of when others label her skin colour as positive and say this to her husband: “[...] you got yourself a white woman [...]” (p. 138).

Participant E

During the interview participant E refers to his ethnicity through different labels. He uses ‘Caribbean’, ‘Caribbean black’ and ‘Hispanic’. He explained that Hispanic also refers to being Caribbean. Participant E indicated to “[...] feel as Hispanic [...]” (p. 154) when he visits Dominican, Puerto Rican and Colombian parades in the US. He said this makes him proud of his ethnicity.

Participant F

Participant F indicates that she was thinking that she “[...] was very Dutch [...]” (p. 167) because the only knowledge she had was of her grandparents being from different places in the Netherlands. She said to be aware of her ethnicity when she is with her family and gave an example of being at a Dutch birthday, where people sit in a circle and there is “[...] cheese, sausage and cake” (p. 176). She indicated being with her family is meaningful as well as important to her.

Participant G

Participant G said he believed himself to have a mixed ethnic background as, according to him, this applies to most Turkish people. Based on family stories and on his own

appearance he described himself as “Native Anatolian with mix Turkic” (p. 183) and explained: “I don’t have a special appearance than an average Turk. There is no reason to think differently” (p. 183).

Participant H

Similar to participant E, Participant H also defined her ethnicity through different labels: “I would say that I was Greek Cypriot, or Greek and welsh, or British” (p. 188). At the same time, she indicated to identify as Welsh Greek. These different labels show that she does not always refer to both her ethnicities.

Participant I

Participant I did not describe herself ethnically but wrote that she knew about her family that they “[...] were English, Irish, Russian, and Polish” (p. 193). Furthermore, participant I wrote to have never been given a label or was never particularly aware of her ethnicity through others or thought about it herself. This might indicate that in her appearance she did not differ to a large extent compared to others.

4.3 Ethnic identity after the DNA test

The theme that was selected for this sub-heading was ‘Impact on Sense of Ethnic Identity’. This consisted of the categories ‘Yes, Impact’, ‘No Impact’, ‘Description of the Results’ and ‘Motivation to Continue Research’. The main focus was on the reasons participants gave that did or did not result in changes to their ethnic identity. Thus, the first two categories. The other two categories were referred to for contextual information. The data of participants who indicated some changes to their ethnic identity will be presented first, followed by the participants who indicated no changes to their ethnic identity.

4.3.1 Impact on Ethnic Identity

Participant C

Participant C discovered he had a different father as he researched a high estimate of South Asian ethnicity in his DNA. When participant C described the moment when he saw a picture of his biological father, he stated: “And so all of a sudden, I'm Indian” (p. 113). Furthermore, participant C indicated that he now identifies as Anglo-Indian instead of Anglo-German. He explained that for him this label refers to his English, German and Indian ethnicities which he identifies as. He indicated to have gained a larger family with whom he is in contact and whom he plans to visit. In addition, he also indicated to feel more connected to the cultural side of his South Asian ethnicity as he recalled sending a picture of him drinking Mumbai Chai to his cousin in Pakistan and said: “I was getting in touch with my... with my cultural side” (p. 116).

Participant E

The one result that participant E was most interested in was his Nigerian ethnicity. Participant E says that it changes slightly how he talks about himself ethnically. He expressed that with this result, his origin is not only in the Caribbean and in the US, but also in Africa. He stated: “Now I have an origin where I can actually say, okay, my ancestors came from Nigeria to my grandmother’s side or from the West African side” (p. 159).

Participant H

The 42% Italian ethnicity in her results, did not change how participant H thinks about herself: “It’s not changed how I refer to myself, or how I perceive myself. I was raised a Greek Cypriot, and I still am” (p. 190). However, at the same time, participant H indicated that on the basis of feelings there was a change: “I still feel Greek Cypriot and welsh, but I also feel like I belong in italy now [...]” (p. 190).

4.3.2 No impact on Ethnic Identity

Participant A

Participant A did not refer to herself ethnically different despite the results showing a lower percentage of the area around the Netherlands than her Scandinavian ethnicity. The latter was almost half of her ethnicity. She stated that the genetic link that she has with the Scandinavian, East European and Finnish ethnicities “[...] loses its value [...]” (P. 75) as she believes it must have been a long time ago as it does not show in her family tree. Furthermore, she believed it would be different if she had close family there. Regarding the Russian and Finnish percentages in her DNA, she called the results “[...] abstract [...]” (p. 78) as she had never been there and therefore, did not know the countries. In addition, Participant A said the results did not change how she identifies with and feels connected to Dutch culture as she stated: “It is just more of an interest than that I feel less Dutch now, that is not how it feels” (p. 78). She showed to focus on the present as she said: “I now live here in the Netherlands, where I was born. What my ancestors have meant for the Netherlands, I have nothing to do with that” (p. 76).

Participant B

Participant B received a result of 98% the Netherlands, Belgium, Northern France and Germany and indicated this area did not come as a surprise. Participant B said that the information was not very special as he stated: “I wasn't looking for anything and I didn't miss anything” (p. 100). Furthermore, participant B believed that this information would not change who he is as a person: “I am who I am. And I live where I live. I got what my parents gave me”.

Participant D

Participant D had unexpected results, such as 16% Scandinavian and some percentages of Central Asian and Middle Eastern. She indicated she does not identify with the Scandinavian ethnicity as she stated: “I've never been there before and it's far away from what

I know” (p. 140). In addition, she refers to her Central Asian ethnicity result and stated: “They don’t feel like my people [...]” (p. 142).

Furthermore, the Jewish roots she expected to find were not present in her DNA, but she indicated it did not affect who she is as she is still the same person. As the results confirmed the Jewish ethnicity with her uncle, she viewed this ethnicity to be still a part of her: “Yes, it is my history. It's just not in my DNA” (p. 139).

Participant F, G and I

Participant F 26% percent of English ethnicity in her DNA but says that this does not change how she will refer to herself ethnically as she will “keep the same norms and values” (p. 178). For Participant G, the results were for the majority similar to his family history and in accordance with where he lives. He indicated, therefore, he would not describe himself different ethnically. As participant I did not take the test to discover her ethnicity and as she also expressed that it was in accordance with her family history, she indicated that nothing had changed for her.

In this chapter, the results from the interviews were presented. The results included the importance of the participants’ ethnicity, how participants discussed their ethnic identity and whether the results had an impacted on them and the reasons why it did or did not change outlined by the participants. These results will be further discussed in the following chapter in relation to the research questions of this thesis.

5 Discussion

In this chapter, the results described in the previous chapter will be discussed and interpreted. The Discussion chapter is divided into three parts of which each part will discuss one of the three sub-questions. The theoretical underpinning of this study will be compared to the data and diverging findings will be elaborated on to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomena.

5.1 Ethnic identity before the DNA test

For the first sub-question, participants were asked about their ethnic identity before the test by identifying what they know about their ethnic background and how they describe their own ethnicity. Regarding the knowledge of their own ethnic background, participants discussed what they knew about their families; for example, three participants knew only about Dutch family relations and seemed to define themselves as Dutch based on this knowledge. Four participants indicated to have more than one ethnic background through, for instance, two parents of a different ethnicity. Subsequently, they defined themselves based on these two ethnicities; for example, Anglo-German. One participant, participant I, indicated to have knowledge of her family's diverse ethnic backgrounds. In addition, regarding her own ethnicity, Participant D described the multifaceted nature of this as she indicated to be Jewish based on background and appearance, Dutch based on nationality and biology, and Spanish and Latin American based on culture. Membership of an ethnic group can, therefore, be based on different aspects and this corresponds with Wade (2010) who indicates actors can have more ethnic identities than one. In addition, this contradicts the notion of clear ethnic boundaries between ethnicities as discussed in the theoretical framework (Barth, 1969; Verkuyten, 2018). Furthermore, the use of the word 'feel' in relation to participant D's Dutch, and Spanish and Latin American ethnicity reveals a sense of ethnicity according to Verkuyten (2018). This indicates that it is part of the participant's inner self.

To further research the participants' ethnic identity, how the participants described themselves in relation to others was also considered as this was suggested by the literature (Benjamin, 2000). Moerman (1965) and Eriksen (2010) indicate the ethnicity of actors is established on how they define themselves culturally different from other groups. This difference can also be made apparent when actors emphasise characteristics of their own ethnic group. Some of the participants expressed this through what they themselves had in

common with their ethnic in-group; for example, participant A illustrated this when she expressed similarity to other Dutch people by saying: “[...] I would not shout from the rooftops, ‘look how amazing I am’. And what I have achieved. In the Netherlands, it’s a bit like, don’t act like you’re better than others” (p. 72). Hereby, participant A seems to suggest that she and other people in the Netherlands do not boast. Bucholtz and Hall (2004) define this as adequation, as participant A shows to focus on what she has in common with the Dutch. Possible differences with the Dutch are de-emphasised. Simultaneously, as she was discussing the differences between England and the Netherlands, the distinction between her and English people is accentuated and seemed to imply that in England it is common to boast. In addition, Participant E expressed adequation with all Hispanics as he said to go to parades in the US and that is when he feels Hispanic.

Furthermore, traditions can also be viewed as part of ethnicity as it relates to the primordial reason of belonging (Vignoles, 2011). Dutch family birthdays, as described by participant F, are an example of this. She defined it as Dutch based on the characteristics of sitting in a circle and certain types of food. She also indicates to be aware of her Dutch ethnicity when she is at these birthdays and when she is with family. This finding is, therefore, consistent with that of Downie et al. (2006), Leach and Smith (2006), and Yip and Fuligni (2002), who noted in their research that some participants were aware of their ethnicity through their in-group. Moreover, as she expressed the bond with her family to be meaningful and important, this shows her ethnic identity to be connected to kinship (Benjamin, 2002) and refers to ‘affective ties and belonging’ (Vignoles, 2011). In the literature, the latter is an identity motive which relates to the salience of an ethnic identity. However, as participant F indicated not viewing her ethnicity as salient, it can be concluded that these motives can still be applicable in the participants’ definition of their own ethnic identity when prompted.

Participant B also expressed ‘affective ties and belonging’. He defined himself as Dutch but also indicated to have adopted traits of Indonesian culture where he said he feels “[...] at home [...]” (p. 98). This indicates, similar to participant D, that there are no clear boundary markers in the participant’s ethnic identity. Therefore, it can be argued that participant B’s ethnic identity includes the Indonesian ethnicity for a part as well, similarly to participant D.

In addition to cultural practices, appearance also plays a role in the participants’ ethnic identity. How participants view themselves in relation to others and how participants are viewed by others, influences how they look at themselves ethnically. This is illustrated by participant G who described himself as Native Anatolian and Turkic. He wrote he does not doubt this as he believes that all Turks are a mix and indicated he does not diverge from the average Turk in his appearance. Therefore, according to participant G, he looks and he is Native Anatolian and Turkic. This shows there is no division between looking and being as suggested by Bonnett and Carrington, (2000). Thus, there is no ethnic classification.

Participant I described to have never been labelled or made aware of her ethnicity. This could indicate that in relation to markedness, her ethnicity is unmarked as previous research (Leach & Smith, 2006) showed that ethnic and racial minorities have a higher awareness than majority groups. The latter could be viewed as the norm as discussed by Bucholtz and Hall (2004). In addition, as previous research (Downie, et al., 2006) identified participants are made aware of their ethnicity when they are viewed to be different by others, this could refer to markedness again. However, it cannot be concluded as Verkuyten (2018) indicates that actors are not at all times aware of their ethnicity. Another participant who mentioned appearance in relation to her ethnicity is participant D. In her case, ethnicity is combined with race as she described how others positively view her ethnicity: “[...] you got yourself a white

woman [...]” (p. 138). This shows, therefore, that race is included in participant D’s ethnic ideology (Erikson, 2010).

According to the literature (Stryker, 1980; Verkuyten, 2018), the usage of labels in relation to self-categorisations indicates actors’ ethnic group membership. Both participant E and Participant H used various labels. As Wade indicates actors can have more ethnicities, this can be viewed through different contexts, such as the ideological context, ethnic self-stereotyping and group context, and conversational and rhetorical context (Verkuyten, 2018). In describing what she identifies as, participant H uses the labels: “[...] Greek Cypriot, Greek and Welsh or British” (p. 188). It is unclear in which contexts the participant H uses certain labels. However, what can be viewed is that the label ‘Greek and Welsh’ is the only one which includes both ethnicities and could be used when both are salient at the moment of utterance. As it is ‘Greek’ and not ‘Greek Cypriot’, participant H expresses sameness with all Greeks as it does not specify a region. This is in contrast with the label ‘Welsh’, as this shows a difference between Wales and the rest of Britain, whereas the label ‘British’, shows sameness with all of Britain. For the label ‘Greek Cypriot’, participant H emphasises a specific ethnicity based on region. With regard to Participant E, he used the labels ‘Caribbean’, ‘Caribbean black’ and ‘Hispanic’ during his interview. Hispanic refers to coming from any of the Latin-American countries, including from the Caribbean, whereas, Caribbean refers to coming from any country tied to that region. This also includes Spanish-speaking countries. In any of these cases, it is connected to cultural geography (Wade, 2010) to where the participant ethnically comes from. In referring to himself as Caribbean black, participant E showed that race is in his ethnic ideology (Erikson, 2010) in some contexts as well.

One of the participants’ ethnic identity showed markedness between his two ethnicities. In his childhood Participant C had to subdue his German side through which he

lost his German language. This indicated the ideological process of erasure as described by Irvine and Gal (2000). Not being allowed to speak German by his mother had created the ideology (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) “[...] we don’t speak German” (p. 109). This had marked the German language for participant C and through adoption and practice (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) has resulted in him experiencing difficulties in speaking German at a later age as speaking German conflicted with the previously mentioned ideology (Irvine & Gal, 2000). As participant C indicated that by having to speak English, he “became an English boy that fitted in” (p. 109), this indicates that his English ethnicity is unmarked, whereas his German ethnicity is marked. This section revealed that participants described their ethnic identity on the basis of what they knew about their family’s ethnic background and how they view themselves in relation to in-group and outgroup, through cultural practices, labelling and markedness.

5.2 Impact on Sense of Ethnic Identity

For examining the impact of the DNA analysis on the participants’ ethnic identity, participants were asked in relation to the discovery they had made if they described themselves differently in ethnic terms and whether there were any changes to what they identify as. Three out of nine participants indicated changes, from considerable to minor significance. The participant who expressed the most changes was participant C. His discovery did not only relate to his ethnicity but also to his family as he learnt that his father was not his biological father. He indicated he viewed his ethnicity important due to this discovery. When participant C indicated to know about his South Asian percentage and seeing his father, he subsequently stated: “I’m Indian” (p. 113). Stryker (1980) and Verkuyten (2018) claim that when actors use nouns, such as ‘Indian’, they express membership of an ethnic group. This is emphasised by participant C as he also indicated to include his South Asian ethnicity regarding to what he identifies himself as, which is Anglo-Indian. This replaced the

previous stated Anglo-German. However, for participant C, Anglo-Indian still referred to his German and English ethnicity. Furthermore, participant C seems to identify with his South Asian ethnicity also in cultural practice as he sent a picture of him drinking a Mumbai Chai tea to his cousin in Pakistan. This illustrates performance as outlined by Bucholtz and Hall (2004), in which participant C performs this side of his Indian ethnicity and can be evaluated by his cousin. In addition, the identity motive ‘affective ties and belonging’ (Vignoles, 2011) were expressed. Wanting to belong and feel included is embedded in the performance of participant C. The affective ties were indicated through the contact with family members and plans to visit them.

The other two participants indicated smaller changes. For participant E there was a change in how he described himself ethnically due to his discovered Nigerian ethnicity. As participant E revealed his ethnicity to be the most important of all social categories and explained that for him it means “who are your descendants?”. This shows the ethnic identity motive ‘meaningful existence’ as this is based on origin (Baumeister, 2005; Cohen as cited in Eriksen, 1993). In this way, it gives participant E meaning regarding his position in the social world. Furthermore, participant E indicated to know more through the test about his ancestors and this knowledge gives him a longer period back in time, before the US and before Latin America. Therefore, participant E also expressed the motive ‘continuity’ (Verkuyten, 2018; Vignoles, 2011) as this illustrates a historical background, from the participants’ family’s origin to where participant E is in the present.

Participant H initially indicated no changes as she stated: “I was raised a Greek Cypriot, and I still am” (p. 190). However, in another utterance, participant H indicated a slight change as she expressed: “I still feel Greek Cypriot and welsh, but I also feel like I belong in italy now [...]” (p. 190). This change can be explained and linked to ethnic identity through what is discussed in the theoretical underpinning of this study. As Verkuyten (2018)

suggests the word 'feel' to be an expression of the sense of self, participant H use of 'feel' therefore, shows an emotional attachment to Italy and part of her true self. However, as she used the word 'belong', this indicates the ethnic identity motive 'affective ties and belonging' at the same time. Thus, it could be argued that self and identity overlap in this case and can be viewed as a change in ethnic identity. In previous research by Kessel (2000), change in a sense of self was found. In this thesis, this change can only be confirmed in relation to a sense of belonging indicated here by participant H. In this section, changes to ethnic identity were indicated by three participants who expressed differences in membership, identification, a sense of belonging and ethnic identity motives such as meaningful existence, continuity, and affective ties and belonging.

5.3 No Impact on Sense of Ethnic Identity

The six other participants indicated no changes in how they view themselves and none of them viewed ethnicity very important in their self-definition. For three of the participants, the results were not or slightly different with what they originally thought and therefore, did not have an impact; for instance, for participant I and participant G the results were mainly in line with their family history. Participant B, his results also did not lead to any discoveries of unknown ethnicities. He said he did not feel anything else as he was not searching for answers or did the test because there was something lacking in his life. This, therefore, seems to be indicated by participant B there would be an impact if this was the case. In addition, he indicated if the results had been different, they would not have an influence on him as a person, which he explained is about who he is, where he lives and what he had received from his parents. This implies a sense of self as 'who' describes how he is internally (Verkuyten, 2018). He also indicated culture as a factor that plays a role in who he is as a person as he relates this to his residency and upbringing. Culture is also described by participant F. She

showed to focus on cultural norms and values which the high results of the English ethnicity she indicated did not have an influence on. Therefore, she stays the same person as well.

This sense of self is also expressed by Participants A and participant D. Contrary to participant B but similarly to participant F, they received high unexpected estimates. They also indicated that this had no impact on them as it did not change who they are or changed how they identified with the ethnicity before the test. Participant A used the word 'feel' when she indicated she does not feel less Dutch. What is surprising is that participant A expressed the opposite of the continuity motive in relation to her Dutch ethnicity when she indicated no connection between her present self and her Dutch ancestors. This, therefore, opposes DeVos (1995) idea of self-definition being established by continuity. Participant A's self-definition seems to be created on the basis of where she was born and grew up. Thus, her self-definition is based on culture. Participant D indicated not having Jewish ethnicity in her DNA does not change her as a person. At the same time, participant D still considered the Jewish background part of herself through her family history as this background was confirmed with her uncle. This shows that her family history provides self-continuity and, in this case, confirms DeVos (1995) claim about self-definition.

In addition, both participants A and D indicated a lack of affective ties and feeling of belonging with the other ethnicities shown in the results. Participant A said there was no link to family as a connection had disappeared over time. Furthermore, she did not know the countries as she had never been there before. This also applies to participant D who said she had never been to Scandinavia. Regarding her Central Asian ethnicity, participant D indicated that the Uzbekistanis felt not as her people. Again, 'feel' relates to the self and emphasises that there is no emotional bond with Uzbekistanis. This section showed that participants who did not experience any changes, indicated that they received expected results, did not miss

anything in their lives, their sense of self and culture remained the same and they had no affective ties and belonging with the other ethnicities in the results.

In this chapter, various ways of how the participants discuss their ethnic identity has been discussed. In addition, this chapter showed that participants who were impacted by the DNA results integrated new information about their discovery into their sense of ethnic identity. Two of these participants indicated to view their ethnicity as salient. Participants who indicated no impact had either results confirmed or focused on a sense of self and culture. In the next two chapters, the research questions will be fully answered, and limitations and further research will be discussed.

6 Conclusion

The aim of the present research was to identify the impact of a DNA test on the sense of ethnic identity of the participants. The main finding of this study was that the test did not have any impact on six out of nine participants. For three of these six participants, the ethnic identity stayed the same regardless of whether their DNA results showed they had a very high percentage of a different ethnicity than they were aware of before the test. One major reason participants indicated there was no change in their sense of ethnic identity was due to their sense of self or through their culture. In addition, some participants indicated to have no belonging or affective ties with a country as they have never visited or had known family there. For the other three participants who indicated no impact on their identity, the results showed to mainly align with what they knew about their family history and what they expected.

The changes to their sense of ethnic identity that were indicated by the other three participants were related to ethnic identity motives, which were identified to be used by the participants towards the discovered ethnicities. The identity motives ‘meaningful existence’ and ‘continuity’ were answered through the results of the test, which when ethnicity is

important showed to cause a change in ethnic description. The identity motive ‘affective ties and belonging’ showed to become connected to a participant’s ethnic identity when there are family ties present. This motive can be expressed through identity performance and change in ethnic self-labelling. In addition, the sense of self of the participants indicated a change in ethnic identity when this was related to belonging of the ethnic identity motive ‘affective ties and ‘belonging’.

Further findings entailed how participants discussed their ethnic identity. Participants expressed their ethnic identity by focusing on ethnic boundaries through adequation and distinction. However, unclear ethnic boundaries could also be identified due to ethnic markers such as cultural practices which differed from other ethnic markers, such as origin. This difference could be caused through the motive “affective ties and belonging”, through which participants showed to have this with one or more ethnicities. In relation to kinship and traditions, this became most apparent. Furthermore, participants with mixed ethnicities had various labels to refer to themselves at their disposal. These indicate what they want to express in which contexts. This could be based on location or it could express the singularity or duality of their ethnicity. Dual ethnicity was also described by participants in relation to markedness. One ethnicity can be considered as marked and the other as unmarked. The marked ethnicity can become difficult to embrace due to practice and ideology. Participants also described their ethnic identity on the basis of their appearance. Appearance indicated to show what participants look as and what they are. In addition, for some participants, their definition of their ethnicity was interlinked with race. When participants indicated no awareness, this could imply an unmarked ethnicity.

This present study indicated that the impact of DNA analyses on the participants’ sense of ethnic identity was the case for only a few participants. The impact showed to be of

greatest significance when the discovery entailed a change in family relations. A sense of self and culture were mainly identified as reasons why participants did not experience any impact.

7 Implications, limitations and future research

This thesis has provided a deeper insight into ethnic identity and especially contributes to the understanding of this identity through the relationship of the biological and social aspects of ethnicity. This, therefore, builds on the literature which is mainly concerned with ethnic identity as a social concept. Furthermore, it shed a light on which factors can lead to a change in ethnic identity and which factors are involved in ethnic identity staying the same.

The generalisability of these results is subject to certain limitations; for instance, as this thesis had to pertain a certain length, some of the coded categories could not be incorporated in this research project. In this way, not all aspects concerning ethnic identity could be examined. Thus, this thesis only shows a part of the participants ethnic identity and does not show the identity in all its complexity. In addition, ethnic identity is not salient for all participants and therefore, surprising DNA results can differ in their impact on an actor's ethnic identity. Thus, in gaining more understanding of the effects on ethnic identity, it is recommended to focus on participants who consider their ethnic identity salient in a further study. Furthermore, as participants were asked about their ethnic identity after they had already received their test results, the data could be different from participants who are not yet aware of their results. This could have affected the results of the data to a certain extent. For future research, it is therefore suggested to conduct interviews with participants who have not yet completed a DNA test but who are planning one or participants who are waiting for their test results. In this way, how participants describe their sense of ethnic identity before the test would be highest in its validity. Furthermore, the validity can also have been affected by the English translations of the Dutch interviews. This should therefore be considered in the

outcomes of this study. Notwithstanding these limitations, the present study lays the groundwork for future research into ethnic identity and DNA analysis.

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Appendix A: Interview Scheme and Topic List

How will the interviews be conducted?

In these interviews, various participants will be asked about their sense of their ethnic identity, how they identify themselves in relation to their ethnic identity and how the DNA analyses have impacted this sense of ethnic identity and self-identification.

It will be a semi-structured interview of approximately 20 to 60 minutes with the help of a pre-prepared topic list in an open-ended format that will give the interviewee the chance to elaborate (Dörnyei, 2007).

Interview scheme

The introduction

In the introduction, the participants will be briefly informed about the aim of the study. According to Baarda et al. (2012) is this crucial for the interview as this will help guide the interviewees in thinking and providing answers related to the aim. Other important information the will be informed of is the level of confidentiality, duration and what will

happen with the results. Subsequently, the interviewee will be asked whether he or she has any questions before the start of the interview. In providing the participants with this information at the beginning of the interview, the interviewees will know what to expect and it will help them to feel more comfortable (Baarda et al., 2012). After requesting consent to record the interview, factual questions will be asked to build rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee (Dörnyei, 2007).

The interview

Factual questions

After requesting consent to record the interview, factual questions will be asked to build rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee (Dörnyei, 2007). In addition, this will also give information needed to describe the sample for the method section.

Factual Questions:

What is your gender? (if not evident)

What is your age?

What is your nationality?

What is your educational background?

What is your occupation?

The beginning question

To move on to content of the interview, the participants will be asked about what ethnicity means to them. As proposed by the literature the concept ethnicity is often used as a vague term (Wade, 2010; Verkuyten, 2018). Hence, the definition can differ per participant.

Therefore, the definition needs to be pre-established in order to ask adequate questions and to be able to analyse the data from the participants point of view. Macdonald (In Vermeulen & Govers, 1997, p. 24) suggests that in relation to identity, the researcher should explore the ways in which identities are defined and experienced by various people themselves. This can also be applied to the concept of ethnicity as participants can define and ethnicity as well.

Therefore, the opening question is as follows:

What is ethnicity according to you?

Optional follow-up question: Do the two concepts ‘ethnicity’ and ‘culture’ differ to you?

As ethnicity and culture are interrelated but can be viewed as two concepts which differ in meaning (Verkuyten, 2018) to the participant, it is therefore important to establish how the two concepts are perceived (if not already emerged from the opening question).

All topics are first introduced. This is to explain what that specific part of the interview will be about.

Topic list

<p>General sense of ethnicity</p>	<p>How important is your ethnicity and/or ethnic background to you?</p> <p>Could you please place these categories in order of importance according to you? The first one is what you find most important, the last one is the least important (if it helps, they can write it down).</p> <p>Gender, Race, Ethnicity, Religion, Class, Nationality</p> <p>What made you decide to do a DNA test?</p>
<p>Before the test: Sense of ethnic identity</p>	<p>What did you know/think about your ethnic background prior to the DNA test(s)?</p> <p>How did you know/ why did you think this? (e.g. family history, based on appearance)</p> <p>In describing yourself, how did you prior to the DNA test(s) say who you are ethnically?</p> <p>Have others labelled you ethnically different from this?</p>

<p>Before the test: Self-identification</p>	<p>Are there any ethnicities you most identify yourself as? Why? How?</p> <p>When are you aware of your ethnicity/ies? → e.g. -With family members?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">- Others making comments?</p> <p>When is your ethnicity meaningful to you? → e.g. Are there moments you feel proud?</p> <p>Do you feel you act a certain way which relates to your ethnicity? (if yes to optional question at the beginning)</p> <p>Optional: Is this different from how you see yourself culturally?</p>
<p>After the test: Sense of ethnic identity</p>	<p>Were there any new discoveries in the DNA test results in relation to your ethnic background?</p> <hr/> <p>Yes:</p> <p>Has this new information changed how you would describe who you ethnically are?</p>

	<p>No:</p> <p>If ideas were confirmed: What does this information mean to you?</p> <p>If results are deemed inaccurate/false/disappointing: Why? Will you continue your search to find out the truth/ more?</p>
<p>After the test: Self- Identification</p>	<p>Are there any ethnicities you identify yourself as but which does not appear or meagrely appears in your DNA test results?</p> <p>Have the results impacted how you feel about the ethnicity/ies you most identify as?</p>
<p>After test: View on ethnicity</p>	<p>Before the DNA test, had you had any positive/negative feelings toward the ethnicities shown in the test?</p> <p>Have these feelings changed? (perhaps increased or decreased)</p> <p>How did it make you feel seeing these ethnicities?</p>

General follow-up questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you tell me more about this? • What do you mean with this? • Can you give an example? • Why/How/When?

Ending the interview

At the end of the interview, the participants will be informed that the interview is at its end. It could be that the participant still would like to add some more information to what he or she has said. Therefore, the interviewer will ask if he or she has anything else to add or whether a question has not been asked that according to the participant should have been asked (Dörnyei, 2007). After this, the recording will be stopped and the interviewee will be thanked. If the participant says anything after the recording has stopped and it is useful for the research project, the participant will be asked if this can be added to the paper (Baarda et al, 2012). The interviewee will also be asked if they would like to have the paper after finalisation. In case of a yes, this will be written down and followed-up in April.

Appendix B Interview transcripts

Interview 1: Participant A (Dutch)

Interviewer Dan is de opname nu gestart. Nou eerst ga ik je even vragen stellen over jezelf. Dat ik een beetje een idee heb wie jij bent. Dat is, hoe oud ben je?

Participant A 26.

Interviewer 26, oké. En wat is je nationaliteit?

Participant A Nederlands.

Interviewer En wat is je educatie achtergrond?

Participant A Wetenschappelijk onderwijs en ik heb een master (()).

Interviewer Oké helemaal goed. En wat is je baan op dit moment?

Participant A Ik werk op dit moment in de jeugdzorg, op de afdeling cliëntenregistratie. Ik denk dat ik uiteindelijk (()).

Interviewer Helemaal goed, dankjewel. Oké, eerst voordat we helemaal verder op het interview ingaan, wil ik eerst weten: wat is voor jou etniciteit?

Participant A Het begrip etniciteit?

Interviewer Ja.

Participant A Voor mij, even kijken, meer waar... Het is volgens mij in definitie niet te vergelijken aan cultuur, maar meer waar jij, ja, biologisch, ik weet niet of dat hoort, je *roots* hebt liggen, waar je voorouders vandaan komen en als het in jou te vinden is, in jou zeg maar, dat kan in gelaatstrekken, ja in DNA zitten. Als we heel lang teruggaan dan zullen we allemaal wel van dezelfde plek komen, maar dat is voor mij meer, nou ja, etniciteit, van waar komen jouw voorouders vandaan? Wat op zich dichtbij genoeg is om dat te vinden uiteraard.

Interviewer Oké, dankjewel en heb je ook het gevoel dat etniciteit ook iets met cultuur te maken heeft?

Participant A Dat kan wel. Nou ja kijk, voor mij bijvoorbeeld, ik heb een tijdje in Engeland gewoond, maar goed, verder, op twee jaar na, heb ik altijd hier in Nederland gewoond. Als ja, mijn etniciteit zeg maar, dat natuurlijk kwam dat ook uit de DNA test, maar is dat niet per definitie gebonden met cultuur, want ik heb nooit echt ergens anders gewoond dan in Nederland, dus, al had de DNA test gezegd, nou je komt uit China, dan had ik me niet ineens geïdentificeerd met de Chinese cultuur. Maar ik denk dat het wel wat doet met hoe verbonden je voelt. Omdat je toch enigszins wel met cultuur dat als je uit Nederland komt en je denkt dat je uit Nederland komt en je komt erachter dat je qua etniciteit echt helemaal niet zo uit Nederland komt. Ja, dat je toch wel wat meer na gaat denken over een andere cultuur, maar ik denk niet dat het per definitie zo is dat je etniciteit gelijk staat aan je cultuur. Hangt ook heel erg af van waar je opgegroeid bent.

Interviewer Oké, ja. Dus ook echt het etniciteit dat in je zit, zeg maar? Wat je al eerder zei, met de voorouders?

Participant A Ja, het heeft voor, nou ja, dat je ouders die niet uit Nederland komen, komen dan niet uit Nederland. Dat dan de etniciteit die zij met zich meenemen ook verbonden is met de cultuur waar zij vandaan komen en dat dan misschien een beetje te vergelijken is met die van mij, mijn ouders zijn ook opgegroeid in Nederland, mijn grootouders, mijn overgrootouders. Ik heb niet een cultuur vanuit ergens anders meegekregen, zeg maar. Snap je?

Interviewer Ja. Oké, helemaal goed, dankje. Dan gaan we nu naar het echte deel van het interview, zeg maar. En dan gaat het over hoe je verder naar etniciteit kijkt. Hoe belangrijk is etniciteit voor jou? Je etnische achtergrond?

Participant A Voor mij is het niet heel erg belangrijk. Nou ja wel iets, dan om, zeg maar, te weten, voor mij om te weten waar liggen mijn *roots*? Waar ligt dat (()) door de geschiedenis heen? Maar het is niet iets wat voor mij echt belangrijk is. Ik ben mijn eigen persoon, in de familie ook. Het maakt voor mij niet uit waar iemand zijn *roots* dan ligt. Ik vind het meer interessant om het verhaal erachter te weten dan dat het voor mij echt een bepaald (()).

Interviewer Oké, ja. Ik heb een lijstje. Misschien heb je een pen en papier bij je, misschien is dat wel handig. Want ik heb een aantal verschillende soorten categorieën en ik vraag me af je die in volgorde kan zetten van wat je het meest belangrijk vindt en het minst belangrijk. Dat is wel even handig om op te schrijven. Ik kan het zeggen, maar dan wordt het een beetje moeilijk.

Participant A Ik zal wel even kijken. Ja.

Interviewer Oké. Dus dat zijn ‘gender’, ‘ras’, ‘eticiteit’, ‘religie’, en dan (sociale) ‘klasse’ en dan ‘nationaliteit’.

Participant A En dan gaat het erom, wat ik het meest belangrijk vindt?

Interviewer Ja, dus wat je belangrijk vindt als eerst, en dan op het laatst, wat je het minst belangrijk vindt. Over jezelf dan.

Participant A Ja. Is dat dan in contact met anderen?

Interviewer Ja, wat jij het belangrijkste vindt over jezelf en je eigen beschrijving.

Participant A Oké, ik denk voor mij, ik zou beginnen met, nou ja, met religie. Ik ben zelf niet gelovig, maar ik denk omdat ik dat niet ben, dat dat wel is hoe ik naar mijn leven kijk, betekenis kan geven, wat ik verwacht na het leven. Nou ja, dat ik daardoor eigenlijk, nou ja. Voor mij in ieder geval, nou heel erg accepterend ben, naar mensen met allerlei achtergronden. Kijk als je niet gelovig bent dat is overigens waar je in zit, maar dat is niet bij één religie of één gevoel waar ik me heel erg bij thuis voel. Ik heb twee vriendinnen, zij zijn niet gelovig maar dat vind ik niet... (()) is wel het gelovigst van alle drie. En ik geloof ook van hoe ik leef. Ik probeer iedereen met respect te benaderen, maar ik ben ook niet bang voor het maken van fouten, van dat ik na mijn leven dat ik dan veroordeeld word of dat ik naar een slechte plek ga omdat ik geen geloof heb of religie. Ik heb er ook geen angst voor wat er

hierna komt eigenlijk. Dat is voor mij ook heel sterk, zeg maar. In de tussentijd ben ik ook wel... Af en toe houdt het me ook wel bezig, dat ik, ja, ik zal wel denken dat het zo is, maar ja, voor hetzelfde geldt heb ik het mis. Wat als het nou wel of niet (()). Dat weet ik nooit. Ja, dat is wel een vraagstuk dat mij in mijn leven bezighoudt. Vervolgens denk ik door nationaliteit. Ik dacht eigenlijk altijd, nou ik voel me helemaal niet zo Nederlands. Buitenlands, maakt mij niet uit. Er is geen drempel. Toen ik naar Engeland ging, ik dacht, hoe anders is Engeland nou? Het ligt praktisch naast de deur. Maar dat je het pas merkt aan bepaalde manieren, hoe je je aandacht besteedt, over het bedrijfsleven, als er een probleem is, hoe dat dan aan te kaarten, dat was allemaal daar echt ja, dan word je met je neus op de feiten gedrukt.

Interviewer Dan merk je het, hè? Ja.

Participant A Ja. Nee, maakt niet uit, ik ben een wereldburger. Maar toen kwam ik daar en toen dacht ik, oh nee, ik ben echt met cultuur, ik ben een stuk Nederlander dan dat ik dacht eigenlijk.

Interviewer Want het is ook echt dat je die verschillen merkt met Engeland en Nederland?

Participant A Toch ja en dat ik me daar dan ook wel bezig hou met wat betekent de Nederlandse cultuur eigenlijk? Welke waarden, normen? Wat vind ik er mooi aan? Waar stoor ik me aan? Ik moest heel erg wennen, toen ik terugkwam, aan de directheid. (()). Ik dacht oh ja, moet ik weer even aan wennen.

Interviewer Even anders [lacht].

Participant A Ja, daarna denk ik door gender. Ik ben niet zozeer heel erg met het transgender denken, maar ook niet met roze en blauw. Maar ik denk, ja, toch dat de manier waarop ik denk en redeneer af en toe en reageer in situaties, dat dat vaak wel is wat je, nou ja, wat je, als je een artikel leest voor vrouwen en voor mannen, dan denk ik dat ik wel... dat ik naar de vrouwenkant neig, om dat zo maar te zeggen. Ik zeg niet dat het altijd zo is maar voor mij, de hele manier waarop nou ja, waarop ik naar de wereld kijk dat het redelijk samenhangt met het aantal zaken dat wordt verwacht bij vrouwen zeg maar. Natuurlijk heb je weer sekse en gender, waarbij gender het gedrag is. En daarna denk ik klasse, ik ben ook niet, zeg maar, van dat het me echt uitmaakt waar iemand staat in de samenleving, qua werk, qua geld. Maar ik ben zelf, eigenlijk de mensen in mijn omgeving, mijn familie en vrienden die eigenlijk heel erg homogeen qua werk, qua inkomen. Niemand is miljonair, maar ook niemand heeft geldzorgen, dus vooral in de omgeving waar iedereen het wel, op zich wel, goed voor elkaar

heeft zonder, nou ja, enorm rijk te zijn, zeg maar. Maar iedereen kan wel... heeft een huis. Dus ik... Het heeft mij leven wel beïnvloed in dat ik, nou ja, altijd wel vrij zorgeloos in het leven heb gestaan. Dat ik nooit iets slecht heb ervaren maar tegelijkertijd heb ik wel geleerd je werkt wel voor je geld daarbij. Zodat ik om die reden ook nooit zou profiteren van anderen, doe het op eigen kracht, zeg maar. En daarna denk ik etniciteit en ras. Ras en etniciteit, ja wat speelt tussen die twee... die termen. Ik vind het woord ras altijd een beetje wel een negatieve lading hebben, zeg maar, dat als het wordt gebruikt door mensen is het vaak niet zo op de meest... een goede manier. Ja maar ik weet niet of etniciteit veel meer je *roots* is en je ras is meer uiterlijk en gelaatstrekken. Ik weet het niet zo goed. Ik heb het zelf iets minder op ras dus ik heb etniciteit hoger.

Participant A En wat is de reden dat je een DNA test wilde doen?

Interviewer Nou ik vind het zelf... Wat voor mij niet heel belangrijk was... Het was meer de stap om te zien van heb ik de kans om een redelijke stamboom, om een hele tijd terug te kunnen gaan. Het was allemaal Nederland, Nederland, Nederland. Ik was opgegroeid met twee vriendinnen waarvan de ene ouder uit Marokko kwam of Italië, Frankrijk, maakt niet uit. Die hadden altijd dan twee paspoorten of hadden familie in het buitenland. Dat vond ik dan altijd wel interessant en ik was altijd Nederland, Nederland, Nederland. Als kind dacht ik dan "ooh lijkt me wel interessant om familie in het buitenland te hebben" en daarna nooit meer echt mee bezig gehouden. Maar toen kwam die DNA test voorbij en toen dacht ik "oh nou is misschien wel grappig om te weten" en ik heb aan beide kanten van mijn familie... een beetje iets heel lichts, nou ja, beetje wit haar, witte huid en felblauwe ogen, tot aan mensen met echt een olijfkleurige huid, zwart haar, die staan een kwartiertje in de zon, meteen bruin. Daar zit best wel een krachtige (()). Dus ik dacht, nou ja, dat is wel interessant dat er wel... Met voorname waar komt dat hele donkere dan vandaan want dat blonde kan ik me nog wel plaatsen met dat Noordwest-Europa. Dus toen eigenlijk... Want mijn vader ging de test doen en dacht ik dan ga ik hem ook doen, om te kijken wat het verschil... wat er aan mijn moederskant was en daarom heb ik eigenlijk de test gedaan.

Interviewer Oké, bedankt. Nou dan komen we nu aan bij het andere gedeelte. En dat was nog echt voor de test. Dus hoe je echt nadacht over, ja, over jouw achtergrond. Je zei net al van Nederlands etnische achtergrond. Ja, dus dat is echt wat je op dat moment dacht? Was je dat op een bepaalde manier verteld, of...?

Participant A Ja, ik wist wel... we kunnen wel iets buiten de landsgrenzen zitten. Maar ik had... Ja, zelf dacht ik ook wel dat we nooit verder dan Noord-Holland zijn gaan wonen. Wel een heel lokaal stukje, dat ik wel een beetje dacht van, nou ja. Ja, ik dacht eigenlijk op dat moment... qua etniciteit dacht ik is er niet iets Nederlandser dan, mijn familie. Niet dat ik daar een waarde aan ga geven, maar ik dacht dat de kans dat er bij mij wat te vinden is, is heel klein, zeg maar.

Interviewer En dat was ook echt van familie, dat was verteld? Van overgroot oma, en opa, allemaal Nederlands?

Participant A Ja precies en nou mijn moeders familie die heeft wel lang bij de Duitse grens gewoond. Dus ik dacht misschien vanuit daar hebben we wel Duits bloed in zitten. Er waren wel af en toe een keer wat verhalen over van een man in het leven van Napoleon, die had een Russische vrouw gehad. Maar goed dat was dan wel 200 jaren geleden, dus ik dacht het zal wel. Zal zo maar kunnen. Maar mijn vaders familie die komen uit Noord-Holland die zijn nooit ergens anders heen gegaan. Dus daar had ik zoiets van Nederlandser dan Noord-Holland krijg je niet. Dus we dachten wel daar zit het zeker niet.

Interviewer Oké, goed. En heb je ook... Als je jezelf zou beschrijven, hoe zou je zeggen wie je etnisch bent, is dat dan Nederlands?

Participant A Ja ja, ik zou van mezelf denken van wel. Ja, nu met die DNA test weet ik dat dat eigenlijk wel meevalt, zeg maar.

Interviewer Oké, ja daar komen we zo meteen op, na de test. Maar als voor de DNA test, had je je toen beschreven als Nederlands, etnisch?

Participant A Ja die... Ja nou vroeger op de basisschool of middelbare school altijd was ik bijna het enige meisje in de klas met bruin haar, bruine ogen. Dus ik heb me altijd wel een klein beetje anders gevoeld. Ik ben als kind wel eens blond geweest, maar wel in principe wel anders dan... Mijn vriendinnen waren allemaal 1.80 (cm), blond haar en blauwe ogen daardoor had ik het gevoel dat iedereen blond was. Dus toen dacht ik wel, maar dan moet op z'n minst wel iets inzitten, ik week ook verder af van de rest. Stuk kleiner, donkerder. Maar ik dacht van ja, het zal wel goed zo zijn, dat is zo lang geleden dat ik dacht van, nou ja, dat is gewoon Nederlands.

Interviewer Een ander soort Nederlands, zeg maar?

Participant A Ja, ja.

Interviewer En hebben andere ook... hoe noemde ze jou in etnische termen? Zeiden ze altijd Nederlands of ook andere dingen...? Hebben mensen je ook als iets anders ingeschat, zeg maar?

Participant A Ja ik ben wel anders ingeschat. Nou ja, het hangt een beetje af, ik ben in de winter meestal wat donkerder, ja, nu valt het wel mee. Maar ik ben in de winter meestal donkerder dan in de zomer, maar het hangt een beetje af van wanneer iemand het zegt, maar ik heb wel vaak gehad dat mensen dachten van Frankrijk of Noord Italië. Zodat ze dachten je bent donkerder dan de meeste hier, zeg maar, met twee ouders van etnisch Nederlandse afkomst, of hoe je het ook wilt noemen. Dus ik dacht, nou ja oké, dat zal wel, er zal wel iets zuidelijks in zitten, maar ik ben niet heel donker, we kunnen niet praten over Portugal of Turkije of Marokko. Weet ik veel. Dus ik dacht zal wel iets in het midden zitten. Dus Frankrijk heb ik wel heel vaak gehad. Voor mij denk ik altijd... Maar ja goed, ik dacht altijd wel, het is twee uur rijden naar Frankrijk. Het is niet dat iemand dacht dat ik van een ander continent was.

Interviewer Oké, niet heel anders. Oké. En als je naar jezelf kijkt en hoe je jezelf identificeert met een etniciteit. Is dat dan... Nog steeds voor de test, is dat dan echt Nederlands? Hoe je... Je zei net al cultureel gezien, voel je je ook Nederlands?

Participant A Ja, dat had ik eigenlijk wel. Ik ben nooit heel erg nationalist geweest of nooit gehad dat mijn Nederlandse etniciteit of culturele achtergrond heel belangrijk voor mij is. Maar omdat ook in mijn familie er geen bewijs dat het altijd anders was dus dan werd er gedacht dan zal dat het wel zijn en ik heb hier altijd gewoond. Het is niet dat het een grote rol in mijn leven speelde, maar ik had geen bewijs dat er iets anders was dus ik dacht, nou ja, dan zie ik het wel gewoon als Nederlands.

Interviewer En hoe merk je aan jezelf dat je dan Nederlands bent?

Participant A Ik denk vooral dat cultureel gezien, als ik een probleem heb met iets of iemand dat ik dan liever direct en meteen aanpak. Wel op een positieve manier, hoop ik. Maar zal niet heel erg om de hete brij heen draaien en beetje langzaam problemen aankaarten, nou laten we het maar meteen doen, het is vervelend, niemand houdt ervan, (()), positieve feedback". Laten we het dan maar meteen doen. Dat ik iedereen op gelijke voet wil behandelen. Dat toen ik in Engeland zat, de manager, maakt niet uit dat ie het fout heeft, de manager heeft altijd gelijk. Terwijl in Nederland is het vaak zo dat, tuurlijk heb je respect voor de ervaring die iemand heeft, maar je moet ook een manager ergens op aan kunnen spreken of als je iets hebt

het ook aan kunnen kaarten, ook al zit diegene er langer dan jij. En dat was in Engeland *not done*, dus dat was wel een verschil. En ik denk dat ik... ik ben wel iemand die wel zelfverzekerd is, maar ik zou niet van de daken schreeuwen, "kijk hoe geweldig ik ben". En wat ik allemaal gepresteerd heb. Dat in Nederland is een beetje van, doe vooral niet dat je beter bent dan anderen, zeg maar.

Interviewer Zo van *low-key*.

Participant A Ja, precies. In Engeland, waar je afstudeert in de hoeden en de jurken en de hele ceremonie. Waar ik zelf denk, nou ja, we hebben een goede presentatie geleverd, we hebben het gered. Dit zeg maar. Nou dat.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. En op welke manieren, zeg maar, ben je bewust van je etniciteit? Dat je bewust bent dat je Nederlands bent? Heb je het door wanneer je met je familie bent of meer wanneer anderen iets over je zeggen? Wanneer realiseer je van, oh ja, ik ben..., zeg maar meer vanuit anderen? Je omgeving?

Participant A Nou ja, ik denk vooral eigenlijk als ik in het buitenland ben of in het gezelschap van mensen die niet Nederlands zijn, zeg maar, dus bijvoorbeeld (()) die hebben dan familie die in Engeland zitten en ook vrienden. Ik merk het dan meer, zeg maar, niet zozeer als je met familie bent. Al moet ik wel zeggen nu ik weer hier woon, nou ja, dan wel weer als we familie verjaardagen hebben en dingen dat dat dan weer, nou ja... Heel Nederland is dan ook weer meer cultureel eigenlijk. Dat we allemaal Nederlandse dingen doen, dat ik daar meer bewust van ben. Maar het is vooral als ik in het buitenland ben, of me anders gedraag of er anders uitzie. Dat ik dan er meer bewust van ben. Als ik eigenlijk met mensen van mijn familie bent dan val ik niet op en om die reden eigenlijk sta ik er dan niet bij stil. Het moment dat ik afwijk, zeg maar, op een bepaalde manier, dat ik daar meer bij stil sta, zeg maar.

Interviewer Wanneer is je etniciteit belangrijk voor je? Bijvoorbeeld, zijn er momenten dat je echt denk van, oh ja, ik ben blij dat ik Nederlander bent of misschien andere gevoelens erbij?

Participant A Nou ja ik ben blij dat ik hier mijn *roots* heb liggen omdat ik een enorm voorrecht voel, dat ik hier mag wonen, dat ik hier mag blijven, waar het veilig is, waar er over het algemeen, vergeleken met andere landen, goed voor elkaar wordt gezorgd. Er vangnetten zijn voor mensen als het even niet meer gaat. Nou ja, ik zie ook hoeveel mensen hier zouden willen blijven, die bijvoorbeeld komen uit (()) de omgeving daar, die niet per definitie kunnen blijven. Dat ik denk, ja ik ben hier geboren, paspoort gekregen, maar ik heb daar zelf

niets voor gedaan, maar ik mag hier gewoon blijven. Als je ziet wat er in de wereld gaande is ben ik heel erg blij dat ik in een land woon waar alles is... dingen, goed geregeld is, zeg maar.

Interviewer Dus dat is zeg maar het belangrijkste voor jou? Of één van de belangrijke redenen dat je Nederlander bent, zeg maar?

Participant A Ja, ja, precies. Ja, ik kom hier zo van, ja, in het huis waar... hier ik altijd heb gewoond. Ik denk zelfs in andere landen, in Europa denk ik ook en ook in Engeland, is natuurlijk een prima land om te wonen, maar daar zie ik best wel wat dingen die gewoon niet goed gaan en hier wel goed gaan. En dan ben ik gewoon heel blij dat ook binnen Europa dat ik hier vandaan kom en niet uit Engeland kom, zeg maar.

Interviewer Oké, dan heb ik nog één vraag voor dit gedeelte. Eigenlijk heb je dit al een beetje genoemd. Heb je het gevoel dat er ook een verschil is met hoe jij je... met wie jij etnisch bent en wie jij cultureel bent?

Participant A Op zich niet heel erg, denk ik. Nou ja, het is van voor de DNA test, eigenlijk dacht ik van nou ja, etnisch waarschijnlijk wel volledig Nederlands en cultureel ook. Ik ben wat meer bewust geworden ook van mijn... in hoeverre de cultuur met mijn etniciteit verbonden is. Ik dacht eigenlijk totdat ik naar Engeland ging, oké, etnisch gezien Nederlands, cultureel gezien, nou ja, ik ben gewoon mijzelf. En ja, door Engeland denk ik meer, hey, het is toch wel onlosmakelijk met elkaar verbonden. In ieder geval voor mij en dat ik nu ineens denk van... ik heb toch wel heel veel culturele dingen van de Nederlandse samenleving eigenlijk geïnternaliseerd en overgenomen en dat dacht ik eigenlijk daarvoor nooit. Dus dat ben ik de afgelopen jaren eigenlijk wat meer gaan realiseren.

Interviewer Oké, dit was allemaal van voor de test, van hoe het allemaal was. En dan is het nu van na de test. Ik denk wel dat we wat meer uit gaan lopen, is dat ok voor jou? Want het is nu bijna dertig minuten?

Participant A Ja, dat is oké!

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. Oké, waren er nieuwe ontdekkingen die je had gedaan toen je de resultaten kreeg van de DNA test?

Participant A Jazeker. Mijn vader heeft hem voor mij gedaan en ik dacht, denk dat ik ervanuit kan gaan dat mijn vader wel mijn vader is, zeg maar. Dus ik dacht het moet op minst de helft van hem zijn en daarom was het iets minder verrassend omdat hij het al had gedaan. Maar wat eigenlijk bij mijn vader het idee was, eerst, want dat was voor mij iets verrassender.

Het kwam er eigenlijk op neer dat hij etnisch gezien eigenlijk maar 10% uit, nou ja, Nederland, Duitsland, Frankrijk, dat wordt een beetje onder één groep geschaard. Want we dachten bij mijn vaders familie daar zit het echt niet, want als we iets hebben dan is het bij onze moeder, bij onze vader niet. Dat was wel echt heel verrassend dat hij bijna etnisch, etnisch weinig. We hadden wel van beide kant 100% Europees. Dat was niet heel verrassend, want ik dacht van ja, misschien dat er iets ergens van Oost-Europa zou zitten, maar ik denk van ja... Of Aziatisch, weet je. Dan had ik het wel gemerkt, denk ik. Maar het was wel verrassend ook, ik was etnisch gezien iets meer uit de regio Nederland, Duitsland, Frankrijk, dan mijn vader, want eigenlijk betekent dat dat de moeder van ons etnisch gezien het meest hier vandaan komt. Waar wij bij dachten nou als iemand ergens anders vandaan komt dan is zij het wel, want zij is heel donker en dat hadden we tuurlijk niet verwacht in een maatschappij van ons drieën. Maar het meest zit dus bij mijn vader dus dat hadden we eigenlijk niet bedacht.

Interviewer Dat blonde misschien? Want je vader was lichter?

Participant A Ja, nou mijn vader heeft ook bruin haar, maar als kind heeft hij heel lang wit haar gehad en ook blauwe ogen en die kant van de familie... ik ben de enige die daar wel (()). Dus ja. Maar goed, zijn uitslag verklaart ook dit hoor.

Interviewer Want wat waren die andere percentages dan?

Participant A Mijn vader was voor 84% van Scandinavische afkomst. En dan waarschijnlijk Denemarken en Zweden. Wat natuurlijke een hele lichte en ook (()) met rood haar zijn geboren en wit haar hebben gekregen. En dat verklaart ook waarom ze zo licht zijn. Mijn vader had ook Nederland, Duitsland, Frankrijk met 10%. En dan had hij nog een paar procent uit Oost-Europa. Waarvan wij dachten, van oké, geen idee wie daar vandaan is gekomen. We zien dat sommige mensen heel donker haar hebben, wat dat verklaart. En voor mijzelf, ik was 45% Scandinavisch, wat iets meer dan de helft van mijn vader is. Waarbij ik dacht, oh, dan is er zeker bij mijn moeder ook een deel. Maar niet heel hoog. Maar dat is dan grappig. Ik denk dan ongeveer Nederland, Duitsland, Frankrijk. Dan bijna 11% Oost-Europa. Dat betekent dan bij moeder, nou goed, iets van een vijfde Oost-Europa, qua etnische achtergrond, dat het dus bij beide erin zit, maar dus bij moeder net iets meer. Ik dacht, oh, had eerder verwacht dat het wat zuidelijker van Europa zou zitten dan echt Oost-Europa. Dan ben ik gaan speuren van waar zit dat dan want Oost-Europa is best wel een breed begrip. Maar dan vooral veel mensen waar ik een matching mee had waren van Hongarije en Rusland. Wat dan zou kunnen slaan

op die man met die Russische vrouw. Toen had ik nog een paar procent over en dat was de laatste die aangekondigd was en ik dacht ik weet niet wat dat is. Toen ineens kwam erbij, Fins. Dat ik dacht, welke familie is dit? Dus dat komt dus uit mijn moeders kant en dus niet van mijn vaders kant. Dat wisten we ook echt niet.

Interviewer Oké. Zo van wat is dat dan? [lacht].

Participant A Ja, geen idee want we hebben... in ieder geval aan de kant van de moeder van mijn moeder hebben we een stamboom, nou ja, keurig ook ergens... Ook een online stamboom hebben we nu gevonden en dat gaat heel ver terug, iets van duizend jaar. En daar zaten dan veel mensen uit Duitsland onder andere in. Maar ja, niet dat Fins bijvoorbeeld, dus dat moet dan via mijn opa's kant zijn geweest ofzo, maar die konden we even niet plaatsen. Maar ja, eigenlijk etnisch gezien, zijn we dus niet zo heel Nederlands. (()), maar wel helemaal Europees. Wat we wel van dachten, dat is dan weer niet zo verassend. Dat zagen we wel aankomen.

Interviewer En zou je dus nu als je dan zou beschrijven wie jij nu etnisch gezien bent, zou je dat nu dan anders zeggen? Zou je zeggen dat je iets anders bent?

Participant A Een klein beetje. Ik denk niet... Nou mijn *roots* in Scandinavië, Oost-Europa en Finland dat is waarschijnlijk een hele tijd terug. Ik denk van niemand die daarvan vandaan komt... Omdat we ook zien dat we best wat weten in de stamboom moet dat echt honderden jaren terug geweest zijn. Dat is zo lang terug dat het voor mij wel een klein beetje zijn waarde verliest. Ik ken niemand die daar vandaan komt, dus dat maakt het ook iets ongrijpbaarder dan dat bijvoorbeeld jouw ouders' opa en oma ergens vandaan komen. Maar ik ben er wel een beetje over na gaan denken dat... ja, hoe ik aankijk tegen dingen, zoals zaken als migratie, vluchtelingen. Dat... Ik zit een beetje in het midden. Ik ben niet heel links, niet heel rechts. Dat ik altijd denk, nou ja, openstellen voor mensen in nood, maar niet alle grenzen openstellen zonder daar een beetje de (()) voet op te zetten. Maar dat ik eigenlijk toen dacht, van ja, ik kan heel kritisch zijn over misschien iemand die hier vier jaar woont die worden dan, zeg maar, die worden dan teruggestuurd en dan kan ik zeggen die komt daarvandaan, hé? Zo van daar hoort ie thuis. Maar dan misschien ook zo van, ja maar misschien zijn die opgegroeid hier zoals ik hier opgegroeid ben. En ik kan dan wel zeggen, maar ja, ik kan me echt Nederlander noemen, maar dat ik denk, van ja, zo etnisch Nederlands ben ik ook niet meer. Ik denk... Wat als ik nou zeg, van nou oké, jij bent bijna voor de helft... kom je uit Zweden, ga maar naar Zweden. Of ga maar naar Hongarije toe, want daar kom je vandaan. En

hoe zou ik me voelen als ik nu naar Hongarije zal gaan omdat ik daar voor 10% vandaan kom bijvoorbeeld? Ja, dat we dan, zeg maar, pas nadenken over dat soort dingen. Dat ik denk, ja, dat is ook heel makkelijk... Ja. Omdat zo te zeggen. Dat ik toch wat meer aan de linkerkant van de politiek ben komen te staan dan ervoor. Wel voor mezelf echt, dat een klein beetje... dat ik toch denk, nou ja, ik vind het wel interessant om het wat meer uit te pluizen en dat ik denk van ik heb toch iets anders en dat ik eigenlijk wil weten waar dat dan in de familie vandaan komt en wie dat dan is geweest. Maar ja, dat is dan wel natuurlijk zo lang terug. Ja, die mensen zijn al honderden jaren dood, ja.

Interviewer Ja, ja. Ja, het is interessant hoe het dan toch eigenlijk een beetje je wereldbeeld veranderd of een beetje je laat nadenken.

Participant A Ja, je krijgt er toch een andere kijk in. Ja, wat zal ik nu in Hongarije of Rusland moeten. Leuk dat ik daar ga zitten, maar cultureel heb ik daar helemaal niets mee. Ik weet de taal niet, ik ken het niet. Dat ik denk, ja, tuurlijk is het zo dat mijn familie al generaties lang een bijdrage levert aan de Nederlandse samenleving, maar ja, ik denk dan daar heb ik niks mee te doen, weet je? Ik ben mijn eigen persoon. Ik woon nu hier in Nederland, daar ben ik geboren. Wat mijn voorouders voor Nederland hebben betekend, ja, daar heb ik niets mee te maken. En zo'n kind wordt hier dan ook geboren, ja, en dat zijn of haar ouders hier niet al jaren wonen, ja, dat weet het kind ook niet. Ja en dan zeggen mensen dat het kind niet Nederlands is ofzo, dan denk ik, ik eigenlijk ook niet. Dus... [lacht].

Interviewer Ja, het gaat dus meer om waar je bent opgegroeid? De omgeving, zeg maar?

Participant A Ja. Ja, ik vraag me ook af je veel meer positief gaat denken. Zonder mensen te beledigen, maar mensen die heel anti-immigratie zijn, dan denk ik wel dat het leuk is als die zo'n test doen en zien dat die ook maar 10% etnisch Nederlands zijn. Ik ben benieuwd wat ze dan zeggen. Of ze nog steeds vinden dat mensen terug moeten gaan naar waar je etnisch vandaan komt.

Interviewer Ja precies.

Participant A Dat zou ik wel interessant vinden. Ik denk dat mensen een verkeerd beeld hebben (()). Dat soort dingen.

Interviewer Even kijken, hoor. We hebben nog een aantal vragen. Hoe laat moest jij ook alweer weg?

Participant A Oh, het is niet heel nauw hoor. Ik denk half 12 of 12 uur, ofzo. Dus, het maakt niet heel veel uit.

Interviewer Oh oké, zolang zou het wel niet zijn. Nee, helemaal goed. Oké perfect. Even kijken. Ja, want vertrouw je deze gegevens wel, trouwens?

Participant A Ja wel. Het is omdat mijn vader het ook heeft gedaan en ook gewoon omdat ik op de website zag staan, “nou we hebben je vader gevonden”. En ook omdat in ieder geval de Scandinavische achtergrond bijna op percentage nauwkeurig de helft van hem ben. Denk ik wel... het is zo precies dat ik... Ja, ze kunnen er een procentje naast zitten of bijvoorbeeld bij Finland heb je Finland en met Rusland, is, nou ja, een beetje dezelfde groep, dus daar kunnen ze misschien per ongeluk... nou ja, Finland hebben gezegd terwijl het eigenlijk Rusland is. Maar dat denk ik wel... Trouwens anders zou ik een hele andere uitslag hebben gehad dan mijn vader. Maar goed, ze kunnen er altijd wel iets naast zitten. Ja, dan is het Ukraine in plaats van Hongarije ofzo. Maar dat is voor mij niet heel belangrijk, ofzo.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. Nu je wat meer over je etniciteit weet. Identificeer je hier nu wat meer mee? Ga je nu een beetje anders doen? Of misschien bijvoorbeeld naar Hongarije wil gaan? Of dat je je er iets meer mee identificeert?

Participant A Ja, wel een beetje. Ik zou het wel interessant vinden... Ik had een vriendin en die had bij een ander bedrijf de test gedaan en die had iets van vrij verschillende individuele landen in de uitslag gekregen. En toen dacht ik, oh dat lijkt me ook wel interessant om te kijken van klopt het wel een beetje want ik denk overal zijn er (()). Dat ik het wel interessant zou vinden met... Je hebt dit programma met bekende Nederlanders, *Verborgene Verleden* heet dat, geloof ik.

Interviewer Oh ja, ja.

Participant A De namen van mensen uit de geschiedenis, zo van, deze komen daarvandaan, dat het wat concreter wordt. In plaats van ‘Oost-Europa’, dan denk ik, wie, wat, waar, wanneer. Wat ik wel interessant zou vinden om daar wat meer over te weten of misschien daar eens een keer... Oost-Europa. Ik ben wel eens een keer naar Polen geweest, maar verder ken ik het eigenlijk niet zo goed. Dat ik het wel interessant vindt om die landen te bezoeken. Maar het is niet echt dat ik me identificeer met die landen of dat ik zou gaan staan bij het Finse volkslied. Ik voel er, ja, verder niet heel veel bij, het is meer interessant om te kijken waar het vandaan komt met bijvoorbeeld de Oost-Europese bevolking.

Interviewer Oké, gewoon interesse. Oké, helemaal goed.

Participant A Ja.

Interviewer En... Even kijken, hoor. En je zei eerder dat je je identificeert met Nederlands. Hebben nu al die etniciteiten, die erbij gekomen zijn, heeft het enige invloed op hoe je je voelt?

Participant A Nee, niet echt. Nee, ik denk hoe ik mij identificeer met de cultuur hier, dat is niet veranderd. Ik ben nog steeds dezelfde persoon, mijn leven is nog steeds hetzelfde. Dat zou niet beïnvloeden waar ik ga wonen, hoe ik mijn leven ga leiden. Dus nee. Het beïnvloedt voor mij niet in hoeverre ik mij verbonden voel met de Nederlandse cultuur. Het is gewoon meer een interesse dingetje dan dat ik, ja, me nu minder Nederlands voel, zo voelt dat niet.

Interviewer Oké. En dan de laatste afrondende vraagjes. Waarom... Had je misschien positieve of negatieve gevoelens voor de etniciteiten die nu zijn ontdekt? Dus de Scandinavische bijvoorbeeld, had je daar positieve gevoelens bij, of Rusland? Of... Had je daar bepaalde gevoelens bij? Voor de test?

Participant A Redelijk neutraal. Ik had niet echt een land waar ik een probleem mee zou hebben, maar...Ja, redelijk neutraal. Ja, ik heb niet een positief of negatief gevoel bij die landen. Wel meer bij Zweden. Omdat ik wel ooit... Eén van de leukste vakanties die ik ooit heb gehad was toen we naar Zweden gingen, daar ben ik een paar weken geweest. Toen had ik een fantastisch gevoel, van oh wat leuk. Maar toen wist ik helemaal niet dat ik daar ook *roots* had liggen, dus dat vond ik eigenlijk wel heel positief, maar ook meer omdat ik daar echt al geweest ben en het land een beetje ken. Zoals bijvoorbeeld Oost-Europa, nou ja, ik ben in Kroatië geweest en Polen, maar alle andere landen die ken ik helemaal niet. Finland nooit geweest, Rusland nooit geweest. Dat is voor mij een beetje abstract omdat je het dan eigenlijk helemaal niet kent. Terwijl met Scandinavië dan denk je, oh daar ben ik echt geweest. Want Denemarken ben ik geweest, Noorwegen. Dan denk ik, goh, dat vind ik dan wel leuk omdat ik ook goed heb kunnen testen in dat land. Dus dat vond ik wel... Maar verder... redelijk...

Interviewer Dus is dat nu positiever geworden? Of is dat nog steeds neutraal voor de landen waarvan je zegt daar ben ik geweest?

Participant A Ik denk dat Scandinavië wel positiever omdat... Kijk Finland is 5.5% dus ik denk dat is vrij weinig, maar Scandinavië is voor mij echt bijna de helft. Dat was 45 ofzo, dan denk ik, dat is wel behoorlijk veel, dat het... Groter eigenlijk dan het deel Nederland, Duitsland, Frankrijk. Maar dat is wel dusdanig zo dat ik denk, oh, daar zit dus wel echt wat. Dat vind ik wel... Want dan probeer ik terug te gaan... dat ik me anders voel dan als ik nu

ben dan toen ik 11 was en het niet wist, zeg maar. Dus dat is wel leuk en niet met overal, maar goed, ik vind het ook interessant omdat ik het ook echt niet had verwacht. Maar 10%, het is wel wat, maar het is ook niet een enorm percentage dus dat laat mij koud, dat is niet helemaal het juiste woord, maar...

Interviewer Oké. En nog even qua gevoel, toen je je etniciteit zag, wat voelde je daarbij?

Participant A Toen het van mijn vader binnenkwam, vooral een beetje in de war, omdat ik ook echt... Nou ja, dus dat mijn vader 84% Scandinavisch had en ik zoiets had van, huh, hoe kan dat zo hoog zijn, dat we helemaal van niets weten. Dan hadden we er ooit wel wat van gehoord, ofzo? Zou je denken? Maar nee. Toen dacht ik, ik snap er helemaal niks van. Dus dat was een beetje een verwarring. Dan had ik ook nog een paar procent Oost-Europa random erbij, dat ik denk van hoe hebben die elkaar dan getroffen? En bij mij dan dat Finland, dat ik dacht, hoezo Finland nou weer? Dat ik dat dacht, van nou ja, meer een beetje verwarring van als je gaat kijken van hoe die groepen elkaar hebben ontmoet. En als je erover na gaat denken dan denk ik, ja oké, vanuit Scandinavië is er immigratie geweest dan denk ik, oké dat je kan zien dat ze in Friesland zijn gaan zitten, oké dat verklaart dan (()). Het is vooral een beetje, nou ja, verwarring of verbazing, dat ik dacht van, nou ja... Ik had het niet helemaal zien aankomen. Maar verder gewoon wel leuk, zeg maar. Zo van, oh, zit wel redelijke diversiteit in Europa, zeg maar. Maar ik had het wel leuk gevonden als er iets heel raars bij of heel onverwachts bij zat.

Interviewer Iets van buiten Europa, ofzo?

Participant A Ja, (()) of Bali, van iets waarvan je zegt, nou dat kan niet.

Interviewer Is dat om het verassingseffect? Of... Waarom zou je dat dan leuker vinden? Of leuk...

Participant A Nou dat zou ik wel leuk vinden omdat iemand die had... via via iemand gehoord, die had het gedaan en die had hele lichte huid, blond haar, blauwe ogen en bleek een paar procent uit Nigeria te komen. Hoe dat dan kan.

Interviewer Ja, dat had je dan niet verwacht.

Participant A Dan heb je niet bruine ogen, ofzo. Maar ja, zoiets had ik eigenlijk al een beetje... Oh, totaal onverwacht. Maar goed, in dit geval binnen de Europese grenzen, dus misschien... dat was dan niet zo heel verassend. Maar goed.

Interviewer Oké, maar nog steeds interessant. Oké, dat waren eigenlijk alle vragen. Oh ook nog eventjes, had je het met *My Heritage* gedaan?

Participant A Ja, *My Heritage*.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. Dus dat waren alle vragen. Zijn er nog dingen waarbij jij het gevoel hebt dat je nog wat wil zeggen? Of toch nog even wil benoemen? Of iets dat ik nog niet heb gevraagd en je hebt zoiets daar wil ik nog iets over kwijt?

Participant A Nee, niet zozeer. Ik denk dat we alles wel redelijk hebben aangestipt, denk ik.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. Dan stop ik de recording.

Interview 1: Participant A (English)

Interviewer The recording has now started. Well, first I will ask you questions about yourself. So, I kind of have an idea of who you are. That is, how old are you?

Participant A 26.

Interviewer 26, okay. And what is your nationality?

Participant A Dutch.

Interviewer And what is your educational background?

Participant A WO¹ and I have a master (()).

Interviewer Okay, all right. And what's your job right now?

Participant A I currently work at a youth care organisation, as a registration employee. I think I will (()).

Interviewer Very good, thank you. Okay, first before we go into the interview, I want to know: what is ethnicity for you?

Participant A The concept of ethnicity?

Interviewer Yes.

Participant A For me, let's see, more where ... I don't think that it's comparable to culture in definition, but more where you, yes, biologically, I don't know if that is the right word, from where your roots are, where your ancestors come from and if it is inside of you, that can be in

¹ University

facial features, in your DNA. If we go a long way back in time, we will probably all come from the same place, well, ethnicity is where your ancestors come from? What is close enough to find out, of course.

Interviewer Okay, thank you and do you feel that ethnicity has something to do with culture?

Participant A That's possible. Well, look, for me, for example, I had lived in England for a while, but other than those two years, I have always lived here in the Netherlands. My ethnicity that was shown in the DNA test, but that is not necessarily tied to culture because I have never really lived anywhere else than in the Netherlands, so, if the DNA test had said, well you come from China, I would not suddenly have identified with Chinese culture. But I think it does matter to how connected you feel. Because you do somewhat with culture that if you come from the Netherlands and you think that you come from the Netherlands and you find out that you don't really come from the Netherlands in terms of ethnicity. Yes, then you might start thinking a bit more about another culture, but I don't think that by definition your ethnicity is the same as your culture. Also depends very much on where you grew up.

Interviewer Okay, yes. So really the ethnicity that is in you? What you said in relation to your ancestors.

Participant A Yes, it means that, well, your parents who are not from the Netherlands, don't really come from the Netherlands. The ethnicity that they bring with them is also connected to the culture they come from and that perhaps is comparable to mine, my parents grew up in the Netherlands, my grandparents, my great-grandparents. I didn't get a culture from somewhere else, so to speak. Do you understand?

Interviewer Yes. Okay, alright, thank you. Then we now go to the actual part of the interview. This is about how you further look at ethnicity. How important is ethnicity for you? Your ethnic background?

Participant A It's not very important to me. Well, a little bit, more for me to know where my roots come from, where does (()) in history? But it's not something that is really important to me. I am my own person, also in my family. It does not matter to me where someone's roots come from. I find it more interesting to know the story behind it than that it has a certain (()) for me.

Interviewer Okay, yes. I have a list. Maybe you have a pen and paper with you, that may be handy. Because I have a couple of categories and I would like you to put them in order of

what you find most important to least important. So, it's handy to write down. I can say them, but then it might be a bit difficult.

Participant A Let me see. Yes.

Interviewer OK. So those are "gender", "race", "ethnicity", "religion", and then (social) "class" and then "nationality".

Participant A And it's about what I find most important?

Interviewer Yes, so what you find most important you put in first place, and then the last place, what you find least important. About yourself then.

Participant A Yes. Is that in contact with others?

Interviewer Yes, what you find most important about yourself and your own description.

Participant A Okay, I think for myself, I would start with, well, with religion. I am not a believer myself, but I think because I am not, that is how I look at my life and how I can give meaning, what I expect after life. Well, that actually means that I'm very accepting of people with all sorts of backgrounds. Look if you are not a believer that is what you are a part of, but that is not with one religion or one feeling that I feel myself very much at home with. I have two friends, they are not believers but I don't think so ... (()) believes most of all three. And I also believe in how I live. I try to approach everyone with respect, but I am not afraid of making mistakes, and that I will be condemned to a bad place after I've died because I have no faith or religion. I'm also not afraid of what comes next actually. I feel that very strongly. Occasionally, I think about this, that this is my idea about it, but I could be wrong. What if it is or isn't (()). I will never know that. Yes, that's a question that has occupied me during my life. Then nationality, I think. I always thought, well I don't feel that Dutch at all. Foreigners, I don't care. There is no threshold. When I went to England, I thought, how different is England? It's practically next door. But you only notice it with certain ways, how you pay attention to different things, about the business culture, if there is a problem, how to address it, then you are confronted with the facts.

Interviewer Then you notice, don't you? Yes.

Participant A Yes. No, it doesn't matter, I am a world citizen. But then I got there and then I thought, oh no, I am a lot more Dutch than I actually thought.

Interviewer Because of noticing differences between England and the Netherlands?

Participant A Well, yes, and that is why I have been thinking about what it actually means, Dutch culture? What are the values, norms? What do I like about it? What bothers me? When I returned [from England], I had to get used to the directness. ((). I thought oh yes, I have to get used to it again.

Interviewer A little different [laughs].

Participant A Yes, then I think gender. I am not so much into thinking about transgender, but also not into pink and blue. But I think, the way I think, reason and respond in situations, when you read an article for women and men, then I am leaning towards the women's side, so to speak. I am not saying that it's always that way for me, but the way I look at the world is reasonably related to the number of things that are expected of women. Of course, there is sex and gender again, of which gender is behaviour. And afterwards, I think class, It doesn't really matter to me which place someone has in society, in terms of work, in terms of money. But the people in my area, my family and friends, are actually very homogeneous in terms of work, income. Nobody is a millionaire, but nobody has any money worries, it's an environment in which everyone is doing well, without being, enormously rich. But everyone has a house. It has influenced my life such as way that I have always been able to live quite a carefree life. That I have never experienced anything bad but at the same time, I have learned that you work for your money. So that for that reason I would never have to lean on others, do it on my own. And then after, I think ethnicity and race. Race and ethnicity, yeah, what goes on between the two, those terms. I think the word race always has a negative connotation, that if it's used by people, it's often not used in the most ... a good way. Yes, but I don't know if ethnicity is much more your roots and your race is more appearance and facial features. I don't know so well. I have less with race, so I have ethnicity higher.

Participant A And what is the reason that you wanted to do a DNA test?

Interviewer Well I find it myself ... Which was not very important to me... It was more to see if I would be able to make a reasonable family tree, to go far back in time. It was all the time, the Netherlands, the Netherlands, the Netherlands. I grew up with two friends, of which one parent came from Morocco or Italy, France, doesn't matter. They always had two passports or had family abroad. I always found that interesting and I was always the Netherlands, the Netherlands, the Netherlands. As a child, I thought "oh, I think it would be interesting to have family abroad" and never really did anything with it again. But then the DNA test came by and I thought "oh well maybe it is fun to know" and I have on both sides of

my family... somewhat light, well, some white hair, white skin and bright blue eyes, to people with olive skin, black hair, they go into the sun for fifteen minutes, immediately brown. There is quite a powerful (()) there. So, I thought, well, that's interesting that there is ... In particular, where does that very dark [in the family] come from because that blonde [in the family] I can still connect to North-western Europe. So then actually ... Because my father was going to do the test and I thought then I would do it too, to see the difference ... what was on my mother's side and that is why I actually did the test.

Interviewer Okay, thanks. Well then, we've come to the other part [of the interview]. And that's really before the test. So how you really thought about your background. You just mentioned your Dutch ethnic background. Yes, so that's really what you were thinking at the time? Were you told that in a certain way, or ...?

Participant A Yes, I knew we could perhaps be outside the national borders a bit. But I had... Yes, I also thought that we never went to live further from Noord-Holland. Very locally I kind of thought, well. Yes, I actually thought at that time ... when it comes to ethnicity, I didn't think there was anything more Dutch than my family. Not that I'm going to give it a value, but I thought that a chance of finding something would be very small.

Interviewer And what you knew about family, that was told? From great grandma and grandpa, all Dutch?

Participant A Yes exactly, and well my mother's family had lived near the German border for a long time. So, I thought maybe we have German blood from there. Once in a while, there were some stories about a man in the life of Napoleon, who had had a Russian wife. Anyway, that was 200 years ago, so I thought that's possible. Could be. But my father's family comes from North Holland and they never went anywhere else. So, I thought you don't get more Dutch than North Holland. So, we thought it was certainly not there.

Interviewer Okay, good. And do you also... If you describe yourself, how would you say who you are ethnically, is that Dutch?

Participant A Yes, yes, I would think so. Yes, now with the DNA test I know that that's actually not that much.

Interviewer Okay, yes, we'll get to that in a moment, after the test. But before the DNA test, did you describe yourself as Dutch, ethnically?

Participant A Yes that... Yes, well, always in primary or secondary school, I was almost the only girl in the class with brown hair, brown eyes. So, I always felt a little bit different. As a child, I have been blond, but generally, it was different than... My friends were all 1.80 (cm), blond hair and blue eyes so I felt that everyone was blonde. So, then I thought, there must be something in it, I also deviated further from the rest. Much smaller, darker. But I thought this is probably what it is, that is so long ago that I thought, well, that's just Dutch.

Interviewer A different kind of Dutch?

Participant A Yes, yes.

Interviewer And have others too... how did they call you in ethnic terms? Did they always say Dutch or also other things...? Did people also consider you to be something else?

Participant A Yes, that has happened. Well, it depends a bit, I'm usually a bit darker in the winter, yeah, now it's not too bad. But in the winter, I'm usually darker than in the summer, but it depends a bit on when someone says it, but I've often had people think [I'm from] France or northern Italy. So they thought you are darker than most [people] here, with two parents of ethnic Dutch descent, or whatever you want to call it. So I thought, well, okay, there could be something southern in it, but I'm not very dark, so we're not speaking of Portugal or Turkey or Morocco. I don't know. So I thought something must be in the middle. So France I've heard a lot. For me, I always think... But okay, I always thought, it's a two-hour drive to France. It's not that anyone thought I was from another continent.

Interviewer Okay, not very different. Alright. And if you look at yourself and how you identify yourself with an ethnicity. Is that ... Still before the test, is that Dutch? How you ... You just said culturally, do you also feel Dutch?

Participant A Yes, I actually did have this. I have never been very nationalistic or felt that my Dutch ethnicity or cultural background was very important to me. But because there was never any evidence in my family that it could be different, so it was thought that's what it is, and I have always lived here. It is not that it played a big role in my life, but I had no evidence that there was anything else so I thought, well, then I just think it's Dutch.

Interviewer And how do you notice that your Dutch?

Participant A I think that from a cultural point of view, if I have a problem with something or someone, I would rather be direct and deal with the problem immediately. In a positive way, I hope. But I won't approach it indirectly and address the problem slowly, well, let's do

it right away, it's not fun, nobody likes it, (()), positive feedback. Then let's do it right away. I want to treat everyone equally. That when I was in England, the manager, it doesn't matter that he's wrong, the manager is always right. Whilst in the Netherlands, it is often the case that, of course you have respect for the experience that someone has, but you also have to be able to talk to a manager about an issue related to him/her or if you have something to say, even if the person is there longer than you. And that was not done in England, so that was a difference. And I think I ... I am someone who is confident, but I would not shout from the rooftops, "look how amazing I am". And what I have achieved. In the Netherlands, it's a bit like, don't act like you're better than others.

Interviewer Like low-key

Participant A Yes, exactly. In England, where you graduate in hats and dresses and the whole ceremony. When I think, well, we did a good job, we made it. Something like this. Well, that.

Interviewer Okay, all right. And in which ways are you aware of your ethnicity? That you are aware of being Dutch? When you are with your family or more when others say something about you? When do you realise, oh yes, I am..., based more on others? Your environment?

Participant A Well, I think mainly when I am abroad or in the company of people who are not Dutch, so for example (()) they have family who are in England and also friends. I notice it more, not so much when I'm with family. Although, I have to say, now that I live here again, I notice it when we have family birthdays and things that then again, well... The whole of the Netherlands is also more cultural actually. That we all do Dutch things, that I am more aware of that. But it's especially when I am abroad or behave differently or look different. That I am more aware of it. When I am with people from my family, I do not stand out and for that reason, I do not think about it. The moment that I deviate, in a certain way, then I think about it more.

Interviewer When is your ethnicity important to you? For example, are there any moments when you really think, oh yes, I am happy that I'm Dutch or perhaps other feelings?

Participant A Well, I am happy that I have my roots here because I feel enormously privileged, that I can live here, that I can stay here, where it is safe, where, generally, compared to other countries, people are being cared for. There are safety nets for people when things are not going that well for a moment. Well yes, I also see how many people would like

to stay here, who come, for example, from (()) the environment there, who cannot stay. That I think, yes, I was born here, received a passport, but I haven't done anything for it, but I can just stay here. When you see what's going on in the world, I'm very happy that I live in a country where everything is ... things are well-organized.

Interviewer So that's the most important thing for you? Or one of the important reasons that you are Dutch, you say?

Participant A Yes, yes, exactly. Yes, I am coming here, yes, in the house where... I have always lived here. I think even in other countries, I think in Europe and also in England, of course, it's a great country to live in, but there I see quite a few things that just don't go that well and those things go well here. And then I am just very happy that within Europe I come from here and not from England, so to speak.

Interviewer Okay, then I have one more question for this section. You have already mentioned this a bit. Do you feel there is also a difference with how you are ... with who you are ethnically and who you are culturally?

Participant A Not that much, I think. Well, before the DNA test, actually I thought well, ethnically probably completely Dutch and culturally too. I have also become more aware of my ... to what extent culture is connected to my ethnicity. I actually thought until I went to England, okay, ethnically speaking I'm Dutch, culturally speaking, well, I'm just myself. And yes, because of England I think it's inextricably linked. At least, for me, and that I suddenly think... I actually internalised and adopted many cultural things from Dutch society and I never thought that before. So, in recent years, I actually started to realise that more.

Interviewer Okay, this was all about before the test, about how it all was before. And then it's now about after the test. I think we're going to be longer, is that okay for you? Because it is now almost thirty minutes?

Participant A Yes, that's okay!

Interviewer Okay, alright. Okay, were there any discoveries you made when you got the results of the DNA test?

Participant A Certainly. My father did it before me and I thought, I think I can assume that my father is my father. So, I thought it must be at least half of him [what he has] and that was why it was a little less surprising because he had already done it. But what actually the idea was with my father, at first, that was a little more surprising to me. It basically boiled down to

the fact that, from an ethnic point of view, he actually had only 10% of, well, the Netherlands, Germany, France, that is one group. Because we thought it wouldn't be in my father's family; if we had something it would be with our mother's, not with our father's. That was really very surprising that he had little ethnically. We had 100% European on both sides. That wasn't surprising, because I thought yes, maybe there would be something somewhere in Eastern Europe, but I think yes ... Or Asian, you know. Then I would have noticed, I think. But it was also surprising that I was a little more ethnically from the Netherlands, Germany, France, than my father, so that actually means that the mother of us comes from here the most, ethnically speaking. We thought if someone comes from somewhere else it's her because she is very dark and we certainly didn't expect that amongst us three. But most of it is with my father so we hadn't actually thought of that.

Interviewer That blonde maybe? Because your father was lighter?

Participant A Yes, well my father also has brown hair, but as a child, he had very long white hair and also blue eyes and that side of the family ... I am the only one there (()). So yes. Anyway, his results also explain this.

Interviewer Because what were those other percentages then?

Participant A My father was 84% Scandinavian. And then probably Denmark and Sweden. Some were born very light and also (()) with red hair and got white hair. And that also explains why they are so light. My father also had the Netherlands, Germany and France with 10%. And then he had a few percents from Eastern Europe. We thought, okay, no idea who came from there. We see that some people have very dark hair, which explains that. And for myself, I was 45% Scandinavian, which is slightly more than half my father's. What made me think, oh, there must be a part in my mother too. But not very high. But that's funny then. Then I had the Netherlands, Germany, France. Then almost 11% Eastern Europe. That means that with mother, well, something of a fifth Eastern Europe, in terms of ethnic background, that they both have it, but with mother just a little more. I thought, oh, had previously expected it to be a little more southern Europe than Eastern Europe. Then I went to find out where that was because Eastern Europe is quite a broad concept. But especially many people with whom I matched were from Hungary and Russia. Which could apply to that man with that Russian wife. Then I had a few percents left and that was the last one that was announced, and I thought I don't know what that is. Then suddenly, Finnish. I thought, which

[side] of the family is this? So that comes from my mother's side and not from my father's side. We really didn't know that either.

Interviewer Okay. So, what is that? [laughs].

Participant A Yes, no idea because we have... at least on the mother's side of my mother, we have a family tree, well, somewhere too... Now we have also found an online family tree and that goes a long way back, something from a thousand years. And there were among others, many people from Germany. But yes, not Finnish, for example, so that must have been through my grandfather's side or something, but we couldn't place it. But yes, actually from an ethnic point of view, we are not very Dutch. (()), but completely European. That was what we thought about it, so that's not really surprising. We saw that coming.

Interviewer And so if you would describe who you are now ethnically, would you say it differently now? Would you say that you are something else?

Participant A A little bit. I don't think so... Well, my roots in Scandinavia, Eastern Europe and Finland is probably from a long time ago. I don't think anyone comes from that ... Because we also see that we know quite a lot about the family tree, it must have been hundreds of years ago. That is such a long time ago that it loses its value a little bit to me. I don't know anyone from there, so that makes it a bit more elusive than, for example, that your parents' grandfather and grandmother come from somewhere. But I started to think a little about that ... yes, how I look at things, such issues as migration, refugees. That ... I'm kind of in the middle. I'm not very left, not very right. I always think, well, open up to people in need, but don't open all the borders without putting a stop on it sometimes. But that I actually thought then, yes, I can be maybe very critical about someone who has been living here for four years, then they will be sent back, and then I can say they come from there? So they belong there. But maybe they grew up here, as I myself grew up here. And I can say, I can call myself Dutch, but that I think, yes, I am not that ethnically Dutch anymore either. I think ... What if I say, well now, you're almost half ... you come from Sweden, go to Sweden. Or just go to Hungary, because that's where you come from. And how would I feel if I now go to Hungary because I have 10%, for example? Yes, let's think about things like that. That I think, yes, that is also very easy ... Yes. Because so to say. I have moved more to the left side in politics than where I was before. Well for myself really, that little bit ... that I still think, well, I find it interesting to find it out a bit more and that I think I do have something else and that I

actually want to know where it comes from in the family and who it then was. But then again, it's, of course, such a long time ago. Yes, those people have been dead for hundreds of years.

Interviewer Yes, yes. Yes, it is interesting how it actually changes your worldview or makes you think a bit more.

Participant A Yes, you get a different perspective. Yes, what shall I do in Hungary or Russia now? Nice to be there, but I don't have anything with it culturally. I don't know the language; I don't know the country. I think, yes, it is true that my family has been contributing to Dutch society for generations, but then again, I think that doesn't have anything to do with me, you know? I am my own person. I now live here in the Netherlands, where I was born. What my ancestors have meant for the Netherlands, I have nothing to do with that. And a child like that is born here, and that his or her parents have not been living here for all those years, the child does not know that either. Yes, and then people say that the child is not Dutch or something, then I think, I'm actually not Dutch either. So ... [laughs].

Interviewer Yes, so it's more about where you grew up? The environment?

Participant A Yes. Yes, I also wonder if you will start thinking more positively. Without trying to offend anyone, but people who are very anti-immigrant, I think it would be nice if they do such a test and see that they are only 10% ethnic Dutch. I'm curious what they will say. Whether they still think people should go back to where they ethnically come from.

Interviewer Yes exactly.

Participant A I would find that interesting. I think that people have the wrong view (()). Those kinds of things.

Interviewer Let's see. We still have a few questions. What time do you have to leave?

Participant A Oh, it's not that narrow. I think half-past eleven or noon, or something. So it doesn't really matter.

Interviewer Oh okay, it wouldn't be that long. No, alright. Ok perfect. Let's see. Yes, do you trust this information, by the way?

Participant A Yes. It is because my father did it and also because I saw on the website, "well we found your father". And also, because at least the Scandinavian background is almost half his percentage. I think ... it is so precise that I ... Yes, they can be one percent off or, for example, in Finland, there are Finland and Russia, well, they are a bit the same group, so there they might by accident ... well yes, have said Finland whilst it's actually Russia. But I think

so... Besides, I would have had very different results than my father. Anyway, they can always be somewhat wrong. Yes, then it is Ukraine instead of Hungary or something. But that is not very important to me or something.

Interviewer Okay, alright. Now that you know more about your ethnicity. Do you now identify more with this? Are you going to act differently now? Or maybe you want to go to Hungary, for example? Or that you identify with it a little more?

Participant A Yes, a little bit. I would find it interesting ... I had a friend who had done the test at another company and she got something from quite different individual countries. And then I thought, oh that's an interesting way to see if it's correct because I think there (()) everywhere. I would find it interesting with... You have this program with famous Dutch people, I believe that it's called *Verborgen Verleden*².

Interviewer Oh yes, yes.

Participant A The names of people from history, [refers to where] they come from, that it becomes more concrete. Instead of 'Eastern Europe', I think, who, what, where, when. What I would find interesting to know a little more about or maybe someday... Eastern Europe. I have been to Poland once, but otherwise, I don't really know it very well. I'm interested in visiting those countries. But it is not really that I identify with those countries or that I would stand when the Finnish national anthem comes on. I feel not much else, it is more interesting to see where it comes from, for example, the Eastern European population.

Interviewer Okay, just interested. Okay, alright.

Participant A Yes.

Interviewer And ... let's see. And you said earlier that you identify with being Dutch. Do all the other ethnicities that have been added to this knowledge have had any influence on how you feel?

Participant A No, not really. No, I think how I identify with the culture here, that hasn't changed. I am still the same person; my life is still the same. That would not affect where I will live, how I will live my life. So, no. It doesn't affect to what extent I feel connected with Dutch culture. It is just more of an interest than that I feel less Dutch now, that is not how it feels.

² Dutch TV programme with famous people who try to discover more about their family history. It is an adaptation of the British 'Who Do You Think You Are?'.

Interviewer Okay. And then the last final questions. Did you perhaps have positive or negative feelings for the ethnicities that you've discovered? So the Scandinavian, for example, did you have positive feelings about that or Russia? Or ... Did you have certain feelings about that? Before the test?

Participant A Fairly neutral. I didn't really have a country that I would have a problem with, but ... Yes, fairly neutral. Yes, I do not have a positive or negative feeling towards those countries. More with Sweden. One of the nicest vacations I have ever had was when we went to Sweden, I have been there for a few weeks. Then I had a fantastic feeling, like oh how nice. But then I did not know that I also had roots there, so I actually thought that was very positive, but also more so because I have already been there and know the country a bit. Such as Eastern Europe, well, I've been to Croatia and Poland, but I don't know the other countries at all. I've never been to Finland, never been to Russia. It's a bit abstract for me because you don't know it at all. While with Scandinavia, then you think, oh I really have been there. Because I have been to Denmark, Norway. Then I think, gosh, I like that because I was able to check it out in that country. So I thought so... But otherwise... reasonable...

Interviewer So has that now become more positive? Or is that still neutral for the countries you say you have been to?

Participant A I think Scandinavia is more positive because ... Look Finland is 5.5% so I think that is pretty little, but Scandinavia really is almost half to me. That was 45 or so, I think, that is quite a lot, Bigger than the part of the Netherlands, Germany, France. But that is such a considerable amount that I think, oh, there is really something there. I think so ... Because then I try to go back ... that I feel different than when I am now than when I was 11 and didn't know it. So that's nice and not with everywhere, but okay, I also find it interesting because I really didn't expect it. But 10%, it is something, but it is also not a huge percentage, so that leaves me cold, that is not quite the right word, but ...

Interviewer Okay. And when it comes to the feeling you felt, when you saw your ethnicity, what did you feel about it?

Participant A When [the results] came in for my father, [I] was especially a bit confused, because I really... Well, so my father had 84% Scandinavian and I thought, huh, how could that be so high, and we didn't know anything about it. Then we ought to have heard something about it or something? You would think? But no. Then I thought, I don't get it at all. So that was a bit of a confusion. Then I also had a few percentages of Eastern Europe

randomly added [to my results], that I thought how did they meet each other? And with me then that Finland, that I thought, why Finland? That I thought, well, more confusion when you look at how those groups would have met. And if you start thinking about it then I think, there has been immigration from Scandinavia then I think that you can see that they have settled in Friesland, okay that explains (()). It is above all a bit, well, confusion or astonishment, that I thought, well ... I hadn't quite seen it coming. But otherwise just fun. So like, Europe is reasonably diverse. But I would have liked it if there was something very strange or unexpected about it.

Interviewer Something from outside Europe?

Participant A Yes, (()) or Bali, of something you say, well that cannot be possible.

Interviewer Is that because of the surprise effect? Or ... why would you prefer that?

Participant A Well, I would like that because someone had heard via, someone who had done it and who had very light skin, blond hair, blue eyes and who had a few percentages from Nigeria. How is that possible?

Interviewer Yes, you didn't expect that.

Participant A Then you don't have brown eyes or something. But yes, I already had something like that... Oh, totally unexpected. Anyway, in this case within the European borders, so maybe ... that was not very surprising but anyway.

Interviewer Okay, but still interesting. Okay, those were all the questions. Oh also briefly, had you done it [the test] with My Heritage?

Participant A Yes, My Heritage.

Interviewer Okay, alright. So those were all questions. Are there still things that you'd still like to say something about? Or something that I have not asked and you want to mention still?

Participant A No, not so much. I think we have touched on everything.

Interviewer Okay, alright. Then I stop the recording.

Interview 2: Participant B (Dutch)

Interviewer Oké en ik ga eerst even wat vragen stellen over jou. Dus hoe oud ben jij?

Participant B 38.

Interviewer Oké en wat is je nationaliteit?

Participant B Nederlands.

Interviewer Oké en wat is je educatie achtergrond?

Participant B HBO

Interviewer En wat doe je voor werk?

Participant B Ik werk in de ICT.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. Oké, om er eerst achter te komen wat jij van etniciteit denkt heb ik als eerste vraag: Wat denk jij dat etniciteit betekent?

Participant B Voor mij persoonlijk of in het algemeen?

Interviewer Ja, gewoon wat etniciteit is?

Participant B Jeetje. Waar je *roots* liggen. Het laat zien... of het betekent, waar je *roots* liggen en dat kan heel ver terug in de tijd gaan.

Interviewer Oké en is dat dan DNA gezien of is dat ook hoe je je voelt? Waar je *roots* liggen?

Participant B Nee, volgens mij heeft het niet echt met gevoel te maken. Is echt DNA.

Interviewer DNA, oké. Helemaal goed. En heb je het gevoel dat etniciteit ook iets te maken heeft met cultuur?

Participant B Ik denk niet per se de cultuur waar je zelf in bent opgegroeid. Ik denk dat het twee losse dingen zijn, ja het zijn twee losse dingen.

Interviewer Oké, dus je hebt etniciteit en dat zit in het DNA en cultuur is weer iets anders, dus het is los daarvan.

Participant B Ja, ja, ja.

Interviewer Oké. Dan ga ik nu eerst wat meer over wat etniciteit voor jou is echt. Dus hoe belangrijk vind jij etniciteit of je etnische achtergrond?

Participant B Voor mij onbelangrijk.

Interviewer Ja, hoe belangrijk je het vindt? Ja.

Participant B Ja.

Interviewer Heel belangrijk?

Participant B Nee, onbelangrijk.

Interviewer Oh onbelangrijk! Oh oké, sorry. En dus als je... heb je misschien een pen en papier bij je? Want ik ga zeg maar vragen of je het in volgorde kan zetten of hoe belangrijk je het vindt. Is misschien handiger om...

Participant B Ja, wacht effen. Even pakken. Een pen en papier, ja.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. Dan hebben we de volgende concepten, 'gender'. 'Ras'.

Participant B Sorry?

Interviewer Ras.

Participant B Ras?

Interviewer Ja, R A S.

Participant B Oh ras, ja sorry.

Interviewer Etniciteit.

Participant B Ja.

Interviewer Religie.

Participant B Jup.

Interviewer Klasse.

Participant B Klasse.

Interviewer En nationa...

Participant B Is dat sociale klasse?

Interviewer Ja. En nationaliteit.

Participant B Oké.

Interviewer Zou je dan die in volgorde willen zetten van zeg maar de eerste die je het belangrijkste vindt en aan het einde wat je het minst belangrijk vindt. Voor jou dus, hoe jij als je naar jezelf kijkt, wat jij voor jou, voor jou omschrijving, zeg maar, het hoe je naar jezelf kijkt, het belangrijkste vindt.

Participant B Wat ik het belangrijk vind?

Interviewer Ja.

Participant B Ik vind ze eigenlijk allemaal niet belangrijk.

Interviewer Oké.

Participant B Voor wat ik ben. Even kijken hoor. Of even belangrijk eigenlijk.

Interviewer [lacht] oh, je kan beide kanten op?

Participant B Ja.

Interviewer Zeg maar, als je over jezelf denkt in eerste instantie?

Participant B Ja, ik zit...even kijken hoor. Nou ik zet religie alvast onderaan. Naar boven meer...ja het is maar net wat je belangrijk vindt, natuurlijk. Lastig hoor.

Interviewer Neem je tijd, hoor.

Participant B Wat zeg je?

Interviewer Oh neem je tijd, geen probleem. Even goed nadenken.

Participant B Ik wil het wel goed doen, natuurlijk. Ik ben er enigszins mee eens zo.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed.

Participant B Oké, laten we maar zo starten. Wil je het weten?

Interviewer Ja, graag. En waarom ook.

Participant B Ik heb sociale klasse op één. En nationaliteit op twee.

Interviewer En waarom heb je sociale klasse als eerst?

Participant B Ja, [lacht] dat ja. Nou het is meer... Ik vind het niet per se belangrijk maar vind het wel prettig... Ik voel me wel thuis in... zoals het nu is...In de sociale klasse waar ik in zit, zeg maar. Daar voel ik me in thuis, ik denk dat dat het is. Maar of het nou echt belangrijk is, dat is een tweede.

Interviewer Maar dat vind je van eigenlijk alles, toch eigenlijk? Minder... niet echt belangrijk?

Participant B Ja, eigenlijk wel. Niet belangrijk, niet onbelangrijk. Zit daar een beetje tussenin eigenlijk. Ik vind dat met sociale klasse wat dat betreft heb ik... het is zoals het is.

Interviewer En dan op twee heb je nationaliteit?

Participant B Ja, nationaliteit, Ja vind ik gewoon heel fijn dat ik in Nederland ben en leef, en omdat ik vind dat het hier gewoon allemaal best wel prima voor elkaar is. Dat eigenlijk. En dan heb ik gender. Ja. Ja, is misschien is die niet helemaal op de goede plek. Maar... Het is sowieso... ja. Kijk misschien komt het wat samen een beetje met etniciteit. Nou nee, trouwens niet. Niet met etniciteit, een beetje samen met ras, denk. Het is gewoon... het is de hele combinatie is wat me bevalt en dan bedoel ik, het is heel makkelijk om een 39-jarige blanke man te zijn, in een sociale middenklasse, zeg maar, of misschien wel iets hoger, als je dat van jezelf kan zeggen. En dan ook nog in Nederland. Dat is dan gewoon supermakkelijk. Dus de hele combinatie. Ja, dan is de volgorde niet zo heel belangrijk wat mij betreft. Ik had dus sociale klasse bovenaan en dan nationaliteit en dan gender. Oh ja, het is gewoon makkelijker om een man te zijn. Etniciteit, heb ik daaronder staan. Ik heb niet echt een uitleg daarover. En dan ras, ja, ik ben gewoon, ja, wat is het...het blanke ras is het? Is dat de juiste beschrijving?

Interviewer Ik weet ook niet precies, zou dat denk ik ook zeggen. Maar dat verschilt ook per persoon.

Participant B Ja, ik weet niet, nou ja.

Interviewer Maar dat is als laatst dan? Oh nee, religie.

Participant B Nee, dan heb ik als laatst heb ik religie, dat vind ik helemaal niet belangrijk.

Interviewer Oké en waarom heb je een DNA test gedaan?

Participant B Eigenlijk omdat ik hem heb gekregen.

Interviewer Oh gekregen [lacht]. Voor je verjaardag of zoiets?

Participant B Ja.

Interviewer Oké, en had je verder zelf niet een gedacht dat je een DNA test had willen doen?

Participant B Eigenlijk wel uit interesse, van waar kom je eigenlijk vandaan. Maar niet omdat ik iets miste ofzo. Dat ik... dat ik niet compleet ben, zeg maar, als ik niet weet waar ik vandaan kom, daar heeft het niks mee te maken.

Interviewer En... Nou ja, nu, zeg maar, meer een stuk van hoe je erover nadacht voordat je de test had gedaan. Dus wat dacht je...Wat wist je eigenlijk over je etnische achtergrond voordat je de test deed?

Participant B Ik wist wel dat het... ja, ik wist wel dat het allemaal uit West-Europa... ja, nu heb ik het al wel over de resultaten, maar ik wist wel dat het in het westen was.

Interviewer En waarom dacht je dat? Had je het idee? Familieverhalen of...?

Participant B Ja, familieverhalen eigenlijk ja. Omdat ik meer wist en niks gehoord heb over dat het buiten die regio, niet niks, maar dat mijn voorouders niet buiten die regio, zeg maar, buiten die regio vandaan zijn gekomen. Ik heb nooit verhalen gehoord over opa's en oma's die elders vandaan zouden zijn gekomen, dus geen andere ras zouden hebben.

Interviewer Oké. Oh ja, wat ik nog vergeten was te vragen over etniciteit was waarom is dat niet belangrijk voor je? Waarom vind je etniciteit niet belangrijk.

Participant B Nou ja het is op zich wel belangrijk. Nou ja ik ben daar niet zo mee bezig, misschien is dat het en vind ik het daarom niet zo belangrijk.

Interviewer Oké. En als je jezelf zou beschrijven, etnisch gezien, hoe zou je je dan... zou je dan zeggen, Nederlander? Dit is nog voor de test.

Participant B Hoe zou ik mijn etniciteit beschrijven? Daar heb ik eigenlijk nog nooit over nagedacht. Nou ja, mijn nationaliteit is natuurlijk Nederlands, maar etniciteit is meer dan dat.

Interviewer Ja, waar denk je dan aan wat nog meer die etniciteit is? Ja je zei DNA misschien of...? Want het is meer dan nationaliteit...?

Participant B Nou ja, ja, Nederlander is natuurlijk mijn etnische achtergrond. Ja en dat is het ook. Ook omdat ik geen...geen...geen andere invloeden heb gezien bij mijn voorouders dan Nederland, is mijn etniciteit dan ook Nederlands.

Interviewer Ja, ja, oké. Maar is het dan ook een bepaald gevoel daarbij door wat je zegt want het is niet alleen maar nationaliteit. Het is ook een...

Participant B Ja, precies, dat is het. Etniciteit is natuurlijk ook het gevoel en dat is eigenlijk ook gewoon Nederlands. Of West Europees, zeg maar.

Interviewer Oké en hebben andere mensen als ze jou zagen ook wel eens gedacht dat het iets anders was dan Nederlands?

Participant B Ja, ik heb van alles gehoord, ja. Turks, Tunesisch. Noord- Afrikaans.

Interviewer Oh wow.

Participant B Ja, ja. [lacht].

Interviewer Een beetje, zeg maar, dat gebied van ja...

Participant B Een beetje om de Middellandse Zee heen, ook, zeg maar.

Interviewer Oké, oh interessant. En heb je daar ook bij nagedacht zit daar misschien iets van die achtergrond in of was het meer van dat je dacht van...

Participant B Ik dacht eigenlijk dat het zou komen omdat ik misschien wat meer Franse invloeden zou hebben. Daar heb ik wel over... of nagedacht en dat misschien wat meer zou zitten maar niet verder dan dat. Ik heb nooit gedacht dat het verder dan bijvoorbeeld Zuid-Frankrijk zou zitten ofzo. Dus dat ik daadwerkelijk ook misschien wel iets, ik weet niet, iets Turks of Tunesisch zou hebben ofzo. Dan was niet mijn... Maar dat soort opmerkingen hebben wel mijn interesse gewekt.

Interviewer En als je even kijkt naar hoe je jezelf identificeert. Zijn er bepaalde etniciteiten waar jij je het meest mee identificeert? Dus is dat Nederlands of ook andere?

Participant B Nee, nee, nee. Nou nee, nee. Eigenlijk niet. Ik denk van mezelf dat ik daar niet zo op let. Tuurlijk zie je dat en tuurlijk heb je vooroordelen, ook al zeg je dat je die niet hebt. Maar je ziet "verschillen", zeg maar, tussen haakjes. Maar ik denk niet dat ik daar zelf heel erg naar kijk.

Interviewer Ja, ja. En heb je het gevoel dat je misschien wel als je kijkt naar misschien de Nederlandse etniciteit dat je bepaalde dingen doet, misschien ook cultureel gezien. Omdat het soms een beetje overlapt. Hoe jij jezelf identificeert als Nederlander. Zijn er bepaalde dingen die je doet? Wat daaraan gelinkt kan worden misschien?

Participant B Dan moet je je afvragen wat is dan de Nederlandse etniciteit? Hoe kenmerkt die zich? Dat zal ik eigenlijk niet zo weten.

Interviewer Ja, wat is vaak een beetje cultureel gezien...

Participant B Ja natuurlijk heb je de Nederlandse tradities, zeg maar. Die ik wel meekrijg. Maar ik weet... dat bepaalt natuurlijk ook wel je etniciteit, denk ik. Maar goed ik doe ook mee met Indonesische tradities. Maar dat is gewoon omdat je Indonesische mensen in je omgeving hebt.

Interviewer En dan doe je dat samen?

Participant B Dus dan doe je daar ook in mee, zeg maar, ja.

Interviewer Maar je identificeert je daar niet mee?

Participant B Nou kijk, ik herken dat dan wel als Indonesische tradities. Ik herken ook wel de Nederlandse tradities als in Nederlands tradities. Maar het is niet per se dat ik me Nederlander... Ja, ja. Je moet je inderdaad afvragen wat zijn dan die Nederlandse... wat spooort voor een Nederlandse etniciteit en dat weet ik eigenlijk niet.

Interviewer Nee, maar dat is ook... dat verschilt denk ik ook voor mensen, maar wat je inderdaad aangeeft van voor mij is dat niet zozeer dat als je iets ziet, sommige mensen denken inderdaad ook zo. Want sommige mensen kijken meer zo van dat ze wel recht aan dingen kunnen zeggen. Zo zijn we in Nederland.

Participant B Ja, nee. Dat zou ik niet zomaar kunnen... Nou kijk, er zijn natuurlijk wel... Nederlandse dingen zoals ... er zijn wel Nederlandse trekjes. Die zijn bijvoorbeeld zijn Nederlanders zijn heel erg direct. Zijn misschien niet zo sociaal. Ik denk dat...die hard werken, zeg maar. Kijk, ik denk dat dat soort dingen zal ik ook wel hebben.

Interviewer Daar herken je jezelf wel in?

Participant B Ja, daar herken ik denk ik mezelf wel in, ja.

Interviewer En heb je dan... nou je zei van je hebt iets met de Indonesische cultuur of etniciteit vanuit die tradities, dus daar doe je dus ook iets uit? Heb je dan het gevoel dat dat ook...

Participant B Ja, maar dat gaat dan meer over de dingen zoals eten en zo [lacht].

Interviewer Ja, ja [lacht]. Dat is dus meer...

Participant B En dan bedoel ik niet... natuurlijk ook wel eten, maar dan bedoel ik ook, zeg maar, je weet toch hoe... Nou ja het zijn grote families. Vaak. En ze zijn heel veel samen en die zorgen voor elkaar. Ik denk dat ik dat wel heb meegekregen. Juist ook omdat ze in deze families (()).

Interviewer Oké. Dat je daar dus wel andere trekjes van hebt?

Participant B Dat krijg ik er wel van mee, zeg maar.

Interviewer Anders dan Nederlands?

Participant B Ja. En ik voel me daar ook net zo in thuis als in de Nederlandse...

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. Even kijken, hoor. Wanneer ben je, zeg maar... Wanneer ben je bewust van je Nederlandse etniciteit? Op zich had je er net al over dat je het niet echt merkt?

Participant B Nou, oké. Ik merk het als ik met... Ik werk met... regelmatig met buitenlandse klanten. Dan merk ik het wel eens. Dan is het meer de manier hoe je met elkaar omgaat en hoe je communiceert. Dan zie je wel dat ik in ieder geval uit Nederland kom.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed, ja. En wanneer... nou je zegt dat etniciteit is niet echt belangrijk voor je, maar heb je wel momenten dat je denkt, oké, nu is het wel, zeg maar, betekenisvol voor mij, ik ben misschien wel trots, of wat anders...? Op het moment dat het iets voor je betekent om een Nederlandse etniciteit te hebben?

Participant B Ja, ik denk dat het te maken heeft met wat ik al eerder zei dat de dingen gewoon prima op orde zijn in dit land. En ook de werkethos. Heb meegekregen. Ik denk dat dat wel komt doordat ik de Nederlandse... Doordat ik Nederlander ben en hier ben opgegroeid mijn hele leven. Ja, dat zie ik eigenlijk als een voordeel, ja. Maar goed, dat is makkelijk zeggen want ik ken niks anders. Althans, als we het bijvoorbeeld hebben over werkethos en ik kom bijvoorbeeld uit Griekenland. Nederlanders denken op een bepaalde manier over Grieken, denk ik. Bij werkethos. Daar kijk ik op een bepaalde manier tegen aan. Maar ik kan er alleen maar over oordelen vanuit mijn Nederlands etniciteit. Dus als ik daar had gewoond, dan had ik daar ook tevreden mee geweest. Dat is misschien...ja, ik weet niet. Dat is moeilijk te zeggen.

Interviewer Ja, oké. Dankje. En je had het net over het verschil tussen cultuur en etniciteit en net zei je daar al een beetje over dat je wel bepaalde culturele trekjes hebt. Dus dat zie je wel terugkomen in de link cultuur en etniciteit?

Participant B Ja, zie ik dat terugkomen? Ja, de Nederlandse cultuur. Ik vind dat altijd moeilijk te omschrijven, wat is dan de Nederlandse cultuur, weet je wel? Ik weet wel Nederlandse tradities, maar dat is... ja, dat is misschien ook wel een onderdeel van de Nederlandse cultuur. Maar ik zou niet weten hoe ik echt de Nederlandse cultuur zou moeten omschrijven.

Interviewer Oké. Even kijken. En als je dan... Dan nu is het meer voor na de test, dus toen je de test had gedaan. Dus had je enige nieuwe ontdekkingen gedaan? Toen je de test had gedaan?

Participant B Nou ja, of er iets uitsprong bedoel je?

Interviewer Ja.

Participant B Ja, eigenlijk... Nou in die zin dat het... het was helemaal geen verrassing, maar het enige wat wel een soort verassing was wel het gevoel, puur, als je dat zo mag zeggen, de waarden zijn. Dus heel erg... Volgens mij de waarde was 98% West-Europees. Nederlands, Belgisch, Noord-Frankrijk en natuurlijk een stukje Duitsland. En dat was 98%. Ik had wel gedacht dat het meer verspreid zou zijn. Dus dat was eigenlijk de verrassing. Maar niet... regio niet heel erg, nee.

Interviewer En had je zoiets van... nou ja, je weet niet precies of het alleen Nederland is, maar was je blij met de resultaten? Of...?

Participant B Nee, niet... neutraal. Het is een gegeven voor mij. En dat is niet... blanco. Ik was nergens naar opzoek en ik miste niks dus ik heb... had ook geen... Ik had ook niet echt bevestiging nodig. Plus het betekent niet heel erg veel voor mij. En nogmaals ik wist van niks, plus je kan er niks aan veranderen, wat mij betreft. En ik ben... Het verandert niks aan mij als persoon, want ik ben wie ik ben. En ik woon waar ik woon. Ik heb meegekregen wat mijn ouders me hebben meegegeven. Dus ik was daar niet blij of iets anders om.

Interviewer Dus ook als het iets heel anders was, Aziatisch, zeg maar, dan had het nog steeds niet veel gedaan?

Participant B Nee, dat denk ik niet, nee. Dan was ik misschien wel opzoek gegaan van hoe kan het dan? En hoe kan daar dan in ene zoveel Aziatische kenmerken... of *roots* of nee... oorsprong. Hoe kan dat? Dan had ik daar wel onderzoek naar gedaan, maar het verandert niks aan mij als persoon.

Interviewer Oké, goed. En nou je zei net van dat je dacht dat je misschien wel vanuit Frankrijk kan komen. Dat is nu niet helemaal duidelijk, want je kan dat niet zien. Dus is dat nog iets waarvan je denkt dat zou ik nog wel verder uit willen zoeken?

Participant B Ja, op zich... dat is eigenlijk maar één vraag, want...bijvoorbeeld mijn oma heeft een Franse achternaam. En dan vraag me wel af waarom dat niet meer naar voren is gekomen.

Interviewer Ja, ja. Dat er misschien toch wel iets in die hoek zit?

Participant B Ja, precies.

Interviewer Oké. En heb je het gevoel dat de resultaten wel, ja, juist zijn? Ben je daar wel...?

Participant B Ja, ik heb geen reden om te twijfelen aan die resultaten.

Interviewer En heb je het gevoel van... oké je hebt nu een beetje dat gebied waar je iets meer over weet. Heb je het gevoel dat je daardoor... Identificeer je nu iets meer met die gebieden als persoon?

Participant B Nee. Want dat was er al eigenlijk. Het was dus niet zo'n verassing. De verassing was meer dat het zo... hoge mate was. Niet dat ik me daar meer of minder mee identificeer. Aan de andere kant ook waar, dat ik, omdat het een bevestiging is dat zo puur is dat ik hier vandaan kom, dan zou je kunnen denken, dan heb ik nog minder met de rest van de wereld. Zou je, denk ik, kunnen denken maar dat is niet... voor mij verandert er dus niets. En denk ook niet op de manier hoe ik denk over etniciteit en nationaliteit anders dan Nederlands.

Interviewer Want hoe denk je daar eigenlijk over? Hoe zie je...?

Participant B Nou ja, we zijn allemaal wereldburgers natuurlijk. Natuurlijk zijn er wel allemaal verschillen, maar het betekent voor mij niet... In ieder geval de wetenschap dat ik hier vandaan kom, doet mij niet zoveel. Maar jouw vraag was een andere volgens mij? Hoe denk ik over andere plekken in de wereld?

Interviewer Nou ja hoe je inderdaad... Je gaf wel antwoord, hoor, dus dat was goed. Maar hoe zie je eigenlijk zo'n test, he, waar je eigenlijk leert over etniciteit, zeg maar. Hoe dat jouw blik op de rest van de wereld... jouw idee van de wereld is. Ja, je zegt nu het is voornamelijk toch hetzelfde gebied, dus het is niet heel verschillend...maar heb je...

Participant B Het heeft niet mijn kijk op andere plekken beïnvloed. Het heeft mij niet beïnvloed als mens, na de bevestiging. Het heeft ook niet op andere werelddelen...

Interviewer Want daar zei je dat je daarvoor open staat? Een wereldburger. Iedereen is dat. Dus het maakt niet uit wat voor etniciteit je hebt?

Participant B Nee.

Interviewer Oké. En dus er is eigenlijk helemaal niks met hoe jij jezelf ziet, zeg maar, etnisch gezien, heeft helemaal geen invloed... Deze resultaten hebben helemaal geen invloed gehad op...

Participant B Nee, precies. Ik ben er niet anders over gaan nadenken.

Interviewer En dat gebied... Heb je Frankrijk, Duitsland. Had je enige negatieve of positieve gevoelens naar die plekken toe?

Participant B Nee, eigenlijk niet. Ik heb niet zoveel met Duitsland. Ik heb meer met Frankrijk, zeg maar. Maar dus, nou ja. Ook niks op tegen. Duitsland. Maar ik heb gewoon meer met Frankrijk. Dat komt gewoon omdat we daar vroeger op vakantie gingen. Ik kom nauwelijks in Duitsland. Ja, je rijdt er doorheen. Maar ja, verder heb ik daar niks mee.

Interviewer En na die test is dat nog steeds neutraal?

Participant B Ja, ja.

Interviewer Of is dat wat hoger geworden of lager?

Participant B Nee het is eigenlijk... idem.

Interviewer Oké. Je zei net dat het 98% dat gebied was en dat het niet iets anders was. Was er ook een reden voor waarom dat je verraste? Had je liever iets meer...

Participant B Nou ja, kijk. Je hoort wel eens die uitslagen van testen. Die mensen komen dan overal van de wereld vandaan. Of in ieder geval van vijf verschillende plekken die best wel ver van elkaar vandaan liggen. En bij mij was dat dus eigenlijk niet. Daar keek ik van op, zeg maar.

Interviewer Ja, ja. Oké. Dus had je dat liever gewild? Dat het zo was?

Participant B Nou nee, nou jeetje. Had ik het gewild? Voor het verhaal is het boeiender natuurlijk. Nee, nou ook niet. Ik vind de 98% ook wel wat hebben, weet je wel? Dat je echt...ja, wat hebben, dat kan ik moeilijk uitleggen wat dat dan is. Je komt echt hiervandaan, zeg maar.

Interviewer Ja, dat je daar van wat meer over weet en dat dat ook prima is.

Participant B Ja, het is eigenlijk een bevestiging, denk ik, dat je nooit wat gemist hebt. Stel nu hè, dat er uitkwam dat ik 60% IJslands was. Dat had echt wat verandert, denk ik. Tenminste... In ieder geval in die zin veranderd, dan ga je er echt naar opzoek. Het had mij als mens niet veranderd, want zoals ik zeg, ik ben wie ik ben, maar dan was ik er wel naar opzoek gegaan.

Interviewer Hoe dat in de familiestamboom zit? Of was je dan ook naar...

Participant B Nou nee, het zit daar helemaal niet. Maar stel nu dat het zo'n uitslag was geweest wat daar enorm van afwijkt. Dan was ik heel verrast geweest en dan had dat dan misschien wel wat veranderd in die zin van oké hoe zit dat dan? Maar dit is er niet. 98%. Nou ja, het is maar een gegeven wat mij betreft.

Interviewer Ja, ja. Oké. Ik denk dat waren eigenlijk alle vragen. Dankjewel. Ik heb nog even een vraag aan jou...

Participant B Ja, ik heb... ja.

Interviewer Oh. Heb je nog iets wat je zou willen zeggen?

Participant B Nou het is niet zo'n boeiend verhaal hè, dat van mij?

Interviewer Nou ik vind het wel juist boeiend omdat je hebt natuurlijk heel veel verschillende verhalen. En ik merk ook al met het doen van, zeg maar, mensen zoeken en weet ik wat, en sommige mensen zijn er juist niet zo positief over het hele DNA testen en dat is ook wel weer... Eerst dacht ik, hier kan ik niets mee, maar uiteindelijk dacht ik dit is eigenlijk ook weer heel interessant, van waarom zijn ze er zo negatief over? En daarin komen weer andere interessante dingen naar voren. En dit vind ik juist ook weer interessant hoor. Dus wees niet bang [lacht].

Participant B Oké. Mooi.

Interviewer Het is helemaal goed. Maar is er nog iets wat je nog kwijt zou willen? Of iets dat ik niet gevraagd heb waar je nog iets over wil zeggen?

Participant B Ik denk, kijk, voor mij was zo'n test niet per se belangrijk. En ik kan me voorstellen dat voor iemand zoals jezelf wel belangrijk is om te weten waar je echt vandaan komt omdat dat niet per se zeker is. En voor een heleboel mensen die niet het idee... kijk mijn... onze stamboom, van beide kanten, van vaders en moeders kant, gaat gewoon heel ver weg... terug in de tijd. Ik op zich weet dat wel. Maar als je die kennis niet hebt, dan lijkt het me wel veel interessanter om te weten, en belangrijker om te weten. Dus voor mij is het wel makkelijk praten erover.

Interviewer Ja, dat snap ik. Oké. Dankje. Dan ga ik nu...

Participant B Best... niks...opmerkingen.

Interviewer Oké dan ga ik nu de recorder stoppen.

Interview 2: Participant B (English)

Interviewer Okay and I'll first ask you a few questions about you. So how old are you?

Participant B 38.

Interviewer Okay and what is your nationality?

Participant B Dutch.

Interviewer Okay and what is your educational background?

Participant B HBO³

Interviewer And what kind of work do you do?

Participant B I work in IT.

Interviewer Okay, alright. Okay, first to find out what you think about ethnicity, The first question: What do you think ethnicity means?

Participant B For me personally or in general?

Interviewer Yes, just what ethnicity is?

Participant B Gosh. Where your roots are from. It means where your roots are from and that can go very far back in time.

Interviewer Okay and is that part of your DNA or is that also how you feel? Where your roots are from?

Participant B No, I don't think it has anything to do with feeling. It's DNA.

Interviewer DNA, okay. Good. And do you feel that ethnicity has something to do with culture also?

Participant B I don't necessarily think [it has something to do with] the culture you grew up in. I think these are two separate things, yes these are two separate things.

Interviewer Okay, so there's ethnicity and that is in the DNA and culture is something else, so it is something separate?

Participant B Yes, yes, yes.

Interviewer Alright. Now first, I will ask you about what ethnicity is to you. So how important do you think ethnicity is or your ethnic background?

Participant B Unimportant for me.

Interviewer Yes, how important do you think it is? Yes.

³ University of Applied Sciences

Participant B Yes.

Interviewer Very important?

Participant B No, not important.

Interviewer Oh unimportant! Oh okay, sorry. Do you perhaps have a pen and paper? Because I'm going to ask you if you can put in order of how important you think something is. It's perhaps more convenient to...

Participant B Yes, one moment. Let me see. A pen and paper, yes.

Interviewer Okay, alright. Then we have the following concepts, Gender. Race.

Participant B Sorry?

Interviewer Race.

Participant B Race?

Interviewer Yes, R A C E.

Participant B Oh race, yes sorry.

Interviewer Ethnicity.

Participant B Yes.

Interviewer Religion.

Participant B Yup.

Interviewer Class.

Participant B Class.

Interviewer And nationa...

Participant B Is that social class?

Interviewer Yes. And nationality.

Participant B Alright.

Interviewer Could you put these in order, the first you find the most important and at the end, what you find the least important. So, about you, how you look at yourself, what you find the most important to you, for your own description, how you look at yourself.

Participant B What I find important?

Interviewer Yes.

Participant B I don't think they're important.

Interviewer Alright.

Participant B For what I am. Let's see. Or just all as important actually.

Interviewer [laughs] oh, you can go either way?

Participant B Yes.

Interviewer In first place, what do you think about yourself first?

Participant B Yes, let me see. Well, I would already put religion at the bottom. Yes, it's just what you find important, of course. Difficult though.

Interviewer Take your time.

Participant B What did you say?

Interviewer Oh take your time, no problem. Think carefully.

Participant B I want to do it well, of course. I somewhat agree with what I have.

Interviewer Okay, alright.

Participant B Okay, let's start this way. Would you like to know?

Interviewer Yes, please. And why as well.

Participant B I have social class in first place. And nationality second.

Interviewer And why do you have social class first?

Participant B Yes, [laughs] yes. Well, it's more... I don't think it's important, but I find it comfortable... I feel at home ... as it is now ... In the social class that I am in. I feel at home there, I think that's what it is. But whether it is really important, is another matter.

Interviewer But you think that actually for everything, right? That it's not really important?

Participant B Well, actually yes. Not important, not unimportant. It's actually a bit in between. I think that with social class for that matter I have ... it is as it is.

Interviewer And then in second place you have nationality?

Participant B Yes nationality, Yes, I just really like being and living in the Netherlands, and because I think it's just well-organised here. That actually. And then I have gender. Yes. Yes, maybe it's not in the right place. Look, maybe it's together a bit with ethnicity. Well no. Not

with ethnicity, but with race, I think. It's just the whole combination that I like and what I mean is, it's very easy to be a 39-year-old white man, in a social middle class, or maybe a little higher, if you can say that about yourself. And then also in the Netherlands. that is just very easy. So, the whole combination. The order is not that important to me. So, I had social class at the top and then nationality and then gender. Oh yes, it's just easier to be a man. Ethnicity, I have it below [gender]. I don't really have an explanation about that. And then race, yes, I'm just, yes, what is it ... is it white race? Is that the correct description?

Interviewer I also don't know exactly, I would say so. But that also varies per person.

Participant B Yes, I don't know, well.

Interviewer But that's the last thing then? Oh no, religion.

Participant B No, I have religion last, I don't think that's important at all.

Interviewer Okay and why did you do a DNA test?

Participant B Actually because I received it.

Interviewer Oh [you] received it [laughs]. For your birthday or something?

Participant B Yes.

Interviewer Okay, and didn't you ever think you wanted to do a DNA test yourself?

Participant B Out of interest, to find out where you actually come from. But not because I missed something. That I'm not complete if I don't know where I come from, it has nothing to do with that.

Interviewer Let's talk more about how you thought about it [ethnicity] before you did the test. So, what did you actually know about your ethnic background before you took the test?

Participant B I knew it was all from Western Europe ... yes, now I am already saying something about the results, but I knew it would be in the West.

Interviewer And why did you think that? Did you have this idea? Family stories or...?

Participant B Yes, family stories. Because I knew a lot and heard nothing about it being outside that region, not nothing, but that my ancestors did not come from outside that region. I never heard stories about grandfathers and grandmothers who came from elsewhere, so who wouldn't have a different race.

Interviewer Alright. Oh yes, what I forgot to ask about ethnicity was why isn't that important to you? Why don't you think ethnicity is important?

Participant B Well, it is somewhat important. Well, I am not so concerned with it, maybe that's what it is and that is why I think it is not that important.

Interviewer Alright. And if you were to describe yourself, from an ethnic point of view, how would you then... would you say, Dutch? This is for before the test.

Participant B How would I describe my ethnicity? I have never actually thought about that. Well, my nationality is, of course, Dutch, but ethnicity is more than that.

Interviewer Yes, what else do you think ethnicity is? Yes, you said DNA maybe or ...? Because it is more than nationality...?

Participant B Well, yes, Dutch is, of course, my ethnic background. Also, because I haven't seen any... no... no other influences from outside the Netherlands in my ancestors, my ethnicity is also Dutch.

Interviewer Yes, yes, okay. But is there a certain feeling because you say it's not just nationality. It is also a ...

Participant B Yes, that's it. Ethnicity is of course also a feeling and that is actually also Dutch. Or West European.

Interviewer Okay and when other people saw you have they thought it was something other than Dutch?

Participant B Yes, I have heard many things, yes. Turkish, Tunisian. North African.

Oh wow.

Yes, yes. [laughs].

Interviewer A bit in the area of yes...

Participant B A bit around the Mediterranean.

Interviewer Okay, oh, interesting. And have you thought about that there might be something to it? That there's this background? Or was it that you thought ...

Participant B I actually thought it was because I might have some French influences. I did think about it and that it maybe would be more... But not further than that. I never thought it would be further than the south of France or something. So that I might have something, I

don't know, that I would have something Turkish or Tunisian or something. But these kinds of comments aroused my interest.

Interviewer And if you look at how you identify yourself. Are there certain ethnicities which you identify with the most? So is that Dutch or others as well?

Participant B Well no, no. Not really. I think I don't pay much attention to that. Sure, you see things and of course, you have prejudices, even if you say you don't have them. But you see "differences," in parentheses. But I don't think I look at that very much myself.

Interviewer Yes, yes. And do you feel that if you look at perhaps the Dutch ethnicity that you do certain things, maybe also culturally? Because it sometimes overlaps a bit. How you identify yourself as a Dutch person. Are there certain things that you do? What can be linked to that perhaps?

Participant B Then you have to ask yourself, what is the Dutch ethnicity? How is it characterised? I don't really know that.

Interviewer Yes, what is often a bit culturally seen...

Participant B Yes, of course, you have the Dutch traditions, so to speak. Which I have adopted. But I know... that of course also determines your ethnicity, I think. Anyway, I also participate in Indonesian traditions. But that's just because there are Indonesian people in your area.

Interviewer And then you do that together?

Participant B So then you also participate, yes.

Interviewer But you don't identify with that?

Participant B Well look, I recognise Indonesian traditions. I also recognise Dutch traditions as being Dutch traditions. But it is not necessarily that Dutch ... Yes, yes. You do indeed have to ask yourself what is Dutch ... what is in line with a Dutch ethnicity and I don't really know that.

Interviewer No, but that is also... I think that is also different for people, but what you indeed indicate that for you it's difficult to point at something, some people think differently. Because some people would pinpoint it. That's how we are in the Netherlands.

Participant B Yes, no. I couldn't just do that ... Well look, there are of course ... Dutch things like ... there are Dutch traits. These are, for example, Dutch people are very direct. Maybe not that social. I think that ... they work hard. Look, I think I probably have those things as well.

Interviewer Do you recognize yourself in that?

Participant B Yes, I think I recognize myself in that, yes.

Interviewer And do you have ... well, you said you have something with the Indonesian culture or ethnicity from those traditions, so you do something with that? Do you feel that ...

Participant B Yes, but that is more about things like food and such [laughs].

Interviewer Yes, yes [laughs]. That is more ...

Participant B And I don't mean ... of course, I mean food, but I also mean, you know how ... Well, they are big families. Often. And they are together a lot and they take care of each other. I think I adopted that. Especially because they are (()) in these families.

Interviewer Okay. That you have other traits from this?

Participant B That's what I get from it.

Interviewer Other than Dutch?

Participant B Yes. And I feel just as much at home there as in the Dutch ...

Interviewer Okay, alright. Let's see. When are you aware of your Dutch ethnicity? You just mentioned that you don't really notice?

Participant B Well okay. I notice it when I work with foreign customers regularly. Then I notice it sometimes. Then it's more the way you interact and how you communicate. Then you can see that I come from the Netherlands.

Interviewer Okay, alright, yes. And when ... well, you say that ethnicity is not really important to you, but do you have moments when you think "okay, now it is meaningful to me, perhaps I am proud" or something else...? Which moments did it mean something to you to have a Dutch ethnicity?

Participant B Yes, I think it has to do with what I said before that things are just well-organised in this country. And also the work ethos that I adopted. I think that is because I am Dutch and grew up here my whole life. Yes, I see that as an advantage. Anyway, it's easy to say because I know nothing else. That is, if we are talking about work ethos, for example, and I am from Greece, for example. The Dutch think a certain way about the Greeks, I think. With

work ethos. I look at that in a certain way. But I can only judge it from my Dutch ethnicity. So, if I lived there, I would have been satisfied with it as well. That might be ... yes, I don't know. That's hard to say.

Interviewer Yes. Thank you. And previously you mentioned the difference between culture and ethnicity, and you said a bit about that you have certain cultural traits. So, do you see that reflected in the relationship between culture and ethnicity?

Participant B Yes, do I see that? Yes, Dutch culture. I always find that hard to describe, what is Dutch culture, you know? I know Dutch traditions, but that is... yes, that is perhaps also part of Dutch culture. But I wouldn't know how I should really describe Dutch culture.

Interviewer Alright. Then now it's about after the test, so when you did the test. Did you make any new discoveries?

Participant B Well, if something jumped out, you mean?

Interviewer Yes.

Participant B Yes, actually ... Well in the sense that it ... it was no surprise at all, but the only thing that was kind of a surprise was the feeling of being pure, if you can put it that way, because of the values. So much ... I think the value was 98% West European. Dutch, Belgian, Northern France and of course a piece of Germany. And that was 98%. I thought it would be more scattered. So that was actually the surprise. But the region not very much, no.

Interviewer Well, you don't know exactly if it is just the Netherlands, but were you happy with the results? Or...?

Participant B No, not ... neutral. It's what it is for me. And that's not ... empty. I wasn't looking for anything and I didn't miss anything, so I didn't really need confirmation either. Plus, it doesn't mean very much to me. And again, I didn't know anything, plus you can't change anything, as far as I'm concerned. And I am ... It doesn't change me as a person because I am who I am. And I live where I live. I got what my parents gave me. So I wasn't happy or something else about that.

Interviewer So even if it was something completely different, let's say Asian, then it still hadn't done much?

Participant B No, I don't think so, no. I might have examined how it happened. And how can it be so much of an Asian origin? How is that possible? Then I would have researched that, but it doesn't change anything about me as a person.

Interviewer Okay. And well you just said that you thought maybe you could come from France. That is not entirely clear now, because you cannot see that. So is that something that you think you would like to explore further?

Participant B Yes, I think so ... that's one question, because ... for example, my grandmother has a French surname. And then I wonder why that didn't emerge more.

Interviewer Yes, yes. That there might be something in that part of the family?

Participant B Yes, exactly.

Interviewer Alright. And do you feel that the results are, yes, correct? Are you ...?

Participant B Yes, I have no reason to doubt those results.

Interviewer Okay, you now have this area that you know a little more about. Do you as a person identify more with those areas now?

Participant B No. Because that was already there. So, it wasn't such a surprise. The surprise was that it was so ... high. Not that I identify with it more or less. At the same time, it's also true that because it's a confirmation that I purely come from here, one could think that I have less interest in the rest of the world. But that's not ... so for me, nothing changes. And that also applies to the way I think about ethnicities and nationalities other than Dutch.

Interviewer Because what do you think about that? How do you see ...?

Participant B Well, we are all global citizens, of course. Of course, there are all differences, but it doesn't mean to me ... In any case, the knowledge that I'm from here doesn't really matter to me. But you asked something else, I think? What do I think about other places in the world?

Interviewer Well how you indeed ... You did answer, though, so that was good. But how do you view such a test, where you learn about [your] ethnicity. How does that [influence] your view of the rest of the world ... your idea of the world. Yes, you now say it's mainly the same area anyway, so it's not very different ... but do you have ...

Participant B It has not affected my view of other places. It did not affect me as a human being, after confirmation. It also hasn't got other continents...

Interviewer Because you said you're open to that? A world citizen. Everyone is that. So, it doesn't matter what ethnicity you have?

Participant B No [doesn't matter].

Interviewer Alright. And... So, there is actually nothing at all about how you see yourself ethnically... has not had any influence at all ... These results have had no influence at all on ...

Participant B No, exactly. I don't think differently about it.

Interviewer And that area ... You have France, Germany. Did you have any negative or positive feelings about those places?

Participant B No, not really. I'm not that interested in Germany. I'm interested in France. But so, well. Nothing against it either. Germany. But I'm just more interest in France. That's just because we used to go on holiday there. I hardly come to Germany. Yes, you pass through it. But yes, nothing else.

Interviewer And after the test, that is still neutral?

Participant B Yes, yes.

Interviewer Or has it become a little higher or lower?

Participant B No, it's actually ... the same.

Interviewer Alright. You just said it was 98% for that area and it wasn't anything else. Was there also a reason why you were surprised? Would you rather have something more...

Participant B Well, look. You sometimes hear those test results. Those people [find out they] come from all over the world. Or at least from five different places that are quite far apart. And with me, it wasn't really. I was surprised by that.

Interviewer Yes, yes. Alright. So, did you want to that? That it was like that?

Participant B Well no, well, gosh. Did I want it? It is more fascinating of course for the story. No, not either. I think the 98% also has something, you know? That you really ... yes, to have... It's hard to explain what that is. You really come from here, so to speak.

Interviewer Yes, that you know a little more about that and that's also fine.

Participant B Yes, it is actually a confirmation, I think, that you have never missed anything. Now suppose that it came out that I was 60% Icelandic. That really would have changed something I think. At least ... At least changed in that sense, that you are going to research it. It had not changed me as a person, because as I say, I am who I am, but then I would have researched it.

Interviewer How it fits in the family tree? Or were you also to...

Participant B Well no, it's not there at all. But suppose there was such a result that deviates enormously from that [Dutch ethnicity]. Then I would have been very surprised and perhaps that would have changed in the sense of, okay, what about that? But this is not there. 98%. Well, it is what it is for me.

Interviewer Yes, yes. Alright. I think that were all the questions. Thank you. I just have one question for you ...

Participant B Yes, I have ... yes.

Interviewer Oh. Do you have anything else you would like to say?

Participant B Well it's not such a fascinating story, mine?

Well, I find it fascinating because there are, of course, many different stories. And I also notice, people search and some people are not so positive about the entire DNA testing. First I thought, I can't do anything with this, but in the end, I thought this is actually very interesting as well, why are they so negative about it? And this makes that there are other interesting things emerge. And I find this interesting. So, no worries [laughs].

Participant B Alright. Nice.

Interviewer It's very good.

Participant B But is there anything else you would like to say? Or something that I did not ask you to say anything about?

Interviewer I think, look, such a test was not necessarily important to me. And I can imagine that for someone like yourself it is important to know where you really come from because that is not necessarily certain. And for a lot of people who don't have the idea ... look my ... our family tree, from both sides, from father's side and mother's side, just go a long way ... back in time. I know that. But if you don't have that knowledge, it seems to me much more interesting to know, and more important to know. So it's easy for me to talk about it.

Yes, I understand that. Alright. Thank you. Okay, then I'm going to stop the recorder.

Interview 3: Participant C (English only)

Interviewer There we go. Okay, and just in the beginning I'll just ask you some factual questions just to have an idea of who my participants are. So, what is your age?

Participant C Okay, I am 64.

Interviewer And what is your nationality?

Participant C I'm British.

Interviewer And what is your educational background?

Participant C Okay, I went to college and I did a lot of on-the-job training, so I worked in the hospital laboratory. I used to call the pathology tests.

Interviewer Okay. Perfect. And what is your occupation now?

Participant C I'm now retired but I have a... I'm a genetic genealogist. So, I do... I help people who have DNA problems.

Interviewer OK that's a good thing, so you know a lot about it then?

Participant C A little.

Interviewer I was looking for the book that you sent me, but unfortunately, I couldn't find it yet. I don't think, I think I have to find it in a book shop because I couldn't find it a library or online.

Participant C You're probably best trying to get it from Amazon.

Interviewer Alright. Yeah.

Participant C Yeah, It's not very expensive. It's a paperback. So yeah.

Interviewer Oh ok, that will be fine. I will have a look at it because I was looking at his website where you can find at all libraries if they have this book. Unfortunately, they don't have it in the Netherlands. Alright. So, before we continue, I just wanted to ask you the beginning question, which is more about to see what your idea's of ethnicity, what you understand looking at ethnicity. So what is ethnicity according to you?

Participant C My idea of ethnicity is a racial heritage

Interviewer Racial heritage okay, alright.

Participant C Racial heritage rather than, rather than cultural. So it's racial. It's a racial heritage.

Interviewer And what do you exactly mean with racial?

Participant C Whether you are Caucasian or Asian or African, all European. Yeah, that sort of thing.

Interviewer Okay, alright, perfect. And, so you already said, for you, it's not really cultural but do you have a feeling that sometimes ethnicity, the concept ethnicity and cultural, culture are together or are they really two separate things?

Participant C Well, obviously, the cultural side is... it is key because people of a certain ethnicity will have a cultural background but a DNA test isn't going to measure that so... so it's very separate but obviously, they go hand in hand. So, you know, I... we'll get on to it in a minute, but I have certain ideas of what sort of French culture is compared with Swedish culture, you know, Scandinavian culture. I have an idea but Mediterranean culture can't really be reproduced outside of the Mediterranean because everything it's all together. So it's food. It's music. It's customs. It's that kind of thing. So that's my idea. Yeah.

Interviewer Okay, and now we're really going into the rest of the interview. So just... just how you experience... What is ethnicity for you. So, how important do you find ethnicity or your ethnic background?

Participant C As a child growing up, it was important for me because I'm biracial. My mother is German and my father was English. Okay, so as a child growing up I learned to speak German, but then was told to forget all my German because I was living in England and so we were not allowed to speak German. Okay, because of the problems with the second world war, it was obvious that it was something that we were allowed to use. We were allowed to use German words at home but I didn't speak German with my mother. So we had little things which we knew were German. We have local customs. We had little, we had foods, things like that, but we didn't make a big thing about it because we didn't want to upset the neighbours. So... But that was sort of growing up. I mean, my father was in the British forces and my dad was in the Royal Air Force and he met my mother while she was working... So my mother's German, and she was working for the British military in the 1950s on an air force space... So she was working for the British Military and they got together married in England and I was born in England but then we went through it back out to Germany again, and I spent in... the next five, six years, in Germany with all it... with its differences.

Interviewer Yeah. And then that's what made you very aware of those differences? So you get ethnicities and is that why you have been interested in parts of you as well?

Participant C Yes.

Interviewer Okay? Right. And do you have maybe a pen and paper because I have a couple of concepts and I was wondering if you could place them in order for me.

Participant C Yes, okay.

Interviewer Okay, so the first one is gender.

Participant C Yep.

Interviewer And then race. Ethnicity

Participant C Yeah.

Interviewer And then religion, class and last one, nationality. So could you please put them in order? So the first one is what you find most important and the last one which you find the least important?

Participant C Okay. This is very difficult.

Interviewer I know some other people tried...

Participant C Yeah, it is difficult because they are... some of them are interlinked sort of concepts. Okay, let's go with... So which do I put in order? Okay.

Interviewer And why?

Participant C I'm going to go. Okay, I'm gonna go for ethnicity. I'm going to go for race too. I'm going to go for gender third, and I'm going to go for nationality fourth and class fifth and religion sixth. Okay. Now you're going to ask why?

Interviewer Yes exactly, haha.

Participant C Okay, right, okay. We'll come to this in a minute, but you will see I have a secret.

Interviewer Ooh okay, alright. Now you've made me very curious haha.

Participant C Okay, yes, I have a secret. So I'm going to put ethnicity and race at the top.

Interviewer Right

Participant C Because it is my current interest. Okay, I'm going to put gender in the middle, so third, so it's neither one thing nor the other. Nationality. Four five and six, I'm not particularly worried about religion. So I put it at the bottom, and I'm not, maybe class four and nationality five but you will see in a minute that race and ethnicity are something that I'm very passionate about.

Interviewer That is really important to you?

Participant C Excuse me? Yeah.

Interviewer And what made you decide to do a DNA test?

Participant C Okay, because when I retired in 2007 and I started to do my genealogy... my family tree. Okay, and I was interested in it because knowing that my mother was German, I was surprised that she had no relatives because she always told us that everybody was dead. So my mother sort of cut herself off from her roots, so to speak. She wasn't particularly worried that she was German. In fact, if anybody asked her what her accent was she would say, "oh, I'm Irish" and she would... she would pretend first anything if you were sitting on a table next to some Germans, she would speak English and she definitely didn't want to give anything away. So she lived all her life in England. She wasn't particularly... she wasn't particularly fussed about being German. Although she did follow up a few little sort customs and things like that. But yeah. So I started doing my genealogy and I had got quite a way; I had been doing research on it for several years, even though the German side was quite difficult. And I got to a certain point where I had some, what we call, a 'brick walls', where it was possible that one of the male lines could have been a Clark or he could have been a Jones because the child that I was looking at was possibly illegitimate.

Interviewer Hmm.

Participant C But the records stated that there was a child of that name, but he was illegitimate, but the record showed that his father had a different name. So his name was Jones. And so I was interested in DNA from that point of view because you can follow, this is the traditional genealogy, where you can follow the male line, the Y DNA, and so I did a y DNA test and got interested in that. So that was my first sort of dabbling with DNA, but then later I was able to do a UK-based ancestry.com test when it became available because it wasn't available in the UK before about 2015/16. And so I did... I did that test there and the results were not what I expected.

Interviewer Okay.

Participant C Okay?

Interviewer Okay, so we'll get to that, yeah. Okay, so just still before the test, a question. So what did you... So you've already said what you knew about your ethnic background, so that would be just... you thought this is German and English? Did you know anything else or?

Participant C Yes, yep. That's what I expected.

Interviewer Okay, and that is from what you've heard from family stories or...?

Participant C Yes.

Interviewer Ok alright. And in describing yourself briefly how would you, before the test, describe yourself?

Participant C Anglo-German.

Interviewer And have others anytime labelled you differently from how they saw you? Another kind of ethnicity.

Participant C Yes.

Interviewer Okay and what ethnicity?

Participant C As a child I was picked on a lot at school because I looked very different from all the other British kids. So I used to get called some very nasty names.

Interviewer That's not good.

Participant C I have, bear with me, I have [shows picture]... It's too shiny. There you go. So, that is me. I was very, very dark.

Interviewer Yeah dark, obviously that was different.

Participant C Very dark hair yeah. So, yeah. And we used to live in the Mediterranean because my father was with the Air Force, we got moved around a lot. And yeah, we used to... I lived for three years in Malta in the Mediterranean and when we came back, I was very very Brown. I was really proud. When I went to junior school, I was picked on remorselessly because of my colour.

Interviewer Okay. So interesting. So this is what I'm thinking, Mediterranean area, that's what they were saying to you?

Participant C No, no, we used to live near, we used to live near the Midlands for a time in England and there was quite a large ethnic population in Birmingham. And I was I was given names relating to that. Yeah.

Interviewer Okay and what was the ethnicity there mainly?

Participant C They didn't really specify. It was just the racial word, which I'm not gonna repeat.

Interviewer Okay, alright. And, okay let me see, so also before the test, were there any ethnic identities you identified yourself as, so for any you most identify yourself with, is that more maybe, because you said like Anglo-German?

Participant C Yeah, that is what I identified as. Was...

Interviewer Okay. So really the two?

Participant C Was European. German mother, English father.

Interviewer Right, okay. So it's not that one of the two is more just both...

Participant C No, no. Because I know that you get 50% from your father and 50% from your mother. So, yeah. But clearly, I spent most of my life in England. I pass as British, I identify as British.

Interviewer And do you also notice that in any way? The way you behave? Or...?

Participant C Well, yes because I was brought up to not play up my German side. I tend to be much more introverted than perhaps some of my colleagues. So yeah, so I tend to try and sort of keep my head down just blend in and not discuss things like World War II and yeah, world war I.

Interviewer Okay and when are you aware of, for example, your English ethnicity?

Participant C I was... well when I was essentially told as a child that we speak English, so my ethnicity went with my language. So, I wasn't allowed to speak my German, so I had to speak my English. So, I became an English boy that fitted in.

Interviewer Yeah. Okay, so it's like for you... you are aware of your English ethnicity, as you say, when you were speaking English and when you were in this English context, would you say? With family members?

Participant C Yes

Interviewer Okay, and also were you ever aware of your German ethnicity? In contact with others or...?

Participant C No, because I lost my German language and because I never learned to write because I never went to school because I never learnt German, although I did sort of evening classes and things because I had always been told we don't speak German, this was always in my head. You don't speak German. So I found it very difficult to continue and I still

struggle. If I'm confronted with a German who wants to speak German to me, I find it very difficult.

Interviewer Okay, alright. And when are both ethnicities, so any or the other, most meaningful to you? Do you have a moment that you feel proud or that it really means something for you being Anglo-German?

Participant C No. I mean, part of the problem about being... about being German is that it is, there is such a negative history involved with the second world war and with the Nazis. So it's difficult to be proud of that. And I think that's why my mother became very English and tried to iron out her German accent. It wasn't there. So it is difficult to be terribly proud of being German. Which is sad.

Interviewer Yeah. And it's still a part of you. Yeah.

Participant C Yeah, so I'm very conscious that if you were... If I was talking to a Dutch person, I wouldn't make a big song about the fact I'm half German because there were so many problems because so many people are suspicious of Germans and because of the history that I'm... you know, it is difficult to actually be proud of being German. So, whereas people are my, say, one "I'm really proud to be you know, I have Welsh Heritage and I want to learn Welsh and you know, it's really important", but it's slightly more difficult when you're half English half German.

Interviewer but you do... No, but you do identify as Anglo-German, so you do put it out there, you would say?

Participant C Yes, I don't hide it but I have people where I sometimes work and they will start a conversation and say oh, we're really sorry. We're gonna start talking about World War II now. Okay great, thank you. Okay.

Interviewer Oh really, then you are aware of it again? Of your ethnicity? The people being aware of you being partly German?

Participant C Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Interviewer And you were learning German at some point. You started learning German?

Participant C I have over the years learnt German but my memory is not terribly good and I forget it as soon as I... I guess anywhere, so.

Interviewer Yeah, I mean if you... if you're not using it, then it's harder as well. I think it will go again a little...

Participant C And if you meet Germans, they only want to practice their English on you. So.

Interviewer Yeah, yeah exactly. That's the thing Dutch people do... that the same. Okay. Let me just see. So okay, now we get to the test... So you did the test. So, were there any discoveries that you've had?

Participant C There were indeed. I'd discovered, now I haven't done just one test, I have done several.

Interviewer Which ones, if I may?

Participant C I've done Ancestry DNA. I've done Family Tree DNA. I've done 23andMe. I've done My Heritage and I've also uploaded all my DNA results to GEDmatch, which is the third-party software.

Interviewer Yeah. Yeah, so a lot of them?

Participant C Yeah, that's right. So, the big discovery was that I am 25% South Asian.

Interviewer Oh really! South Asian? Okay. That's a lot. That's a very high number.

Participant C Yes. Originally, we thought, is it Romani Gypsy? Because there was always...

Interviewer Right, so that was what they were saying?

Participant C Yes. Because there has always been this connection, but I have spoken to Romani DNA experts in America and they said that 25% is far too much to be Romani Gypsy.

Interviewer Okay, alright.

Participant C So, I have... I had a problem.

Interviewer Mmm-hmm.

Participant C And so I tested with a number of companies and they all said exactly the same thing. You are a green 22 and 25% South Asian. Okay, everything went fine, and there wasn't much I could do about it. I mean, I looked into it. I know that my father's father, so my grandfather, he went to India during the first world war and second world war. He was an Army Nurse and we know that he was out in India. He died in 1943 in India, where he was, he died on the way home and he was not well and they were sending him home. He died

on the journey and so they buried him at sea. So grandfather is buried in the sea somewhere between India and the UK. But his trunk came back and in his trunk were some really nice books on India. And various bits and pieces about India, but none of the family tree fitted, this was still a puzzle. Then my mother passed in about 2016 and I asked my sister if she wanted to help with my DNA and so we tested her and her results came back and it turns out she's not my sister.

Interviewer Hmm.

Participant C So, at the age of 62, I discovered that my sister was my half-sister. We shared a mother and all of my sister's family tree fitted with what I knew of the family. So she was our father's child, but I wasn't. She didn't have any Indian at all. To have 25% ethnicity of anything specific like that. So it could be African or it could be Chinese or whatever; means you got to have at least a grandparent who is fully of that race or for two parents who are biracial. So I realized that I was looking for a grandparent who was probably Indian.

Interviewer Yeah, yeah, ooh.

Participant C Okay? Okay. So, there was nothing I could do other than take a step back and just wait to see what happened with Ancestry, GEDmatch, 23andMe, My Heritage and Family Tree DNA. And it turned up in January 2017 that a second cousin posted on Ancestry DNA as a second cousin, which meant that we shared a great grandparent. So I contacted her and said, "have you got any Indian connections?" She said, "yes, we have." I said right. She said that her grandfather's brother went to India in the first world war and he liked it so much that he stayed. And he joined the police. And he married an Indian lady. They had four children. Okay? But in 1950, they came back to the UK. So following Indian independence, they had to leave India and came back to West Yorkshire. Now. A lot of my ancestry cousins were coming up with West Yorkshire connections. Very strange to me, West Yorkshire surnames, but very very particularly West Yorkshire surnames. So I thought, well, okay. This could be this could be possible.

Interviewer Yeah.

Participant C So I looked on Ancestry and we were able to discover the family returning to the UK on a ship. And we found all of the children's names and their ages and I decided that the eldest son, he was called Andrew, was born in 1933, has the right sort of age as my mother. Okay? But remember my mother was in Germany.

Interviewer Yeah. I was already wondering about that.

Participant C So, I'm so... I found the eldest son and thought well, okay, he could possibly be my father. He has West Yorkshire connections. That's where... that's where... that's where the grandfather came from. He has an Indian collection and he's the right age so he could be my father.

Interviewer Hmm.

Participant C So, I then Googled all the family. And managed to find that the youngest son was still alive and still working. He's 80. He has a business, is still working and on his biography, it says that he was from India.

Interviewer Aah.

Participant C It confirmed that his father was in the police force in India. And I phoned him up!

Interviewer Yeah! Okay, great! Yeah, alright.

Participant C I sat down and I phoned him up. I spoke to his wife and she said, "oh right, I'm going to get Richard." And we had a conversation and he told me that my possible father was dead, but he wasn't quite sure how he... how he thought I fitted in. And I said, "well was your brother, your late brother, was he in the forties?" Oh, yes, he was. Yes, he was in the Royal Air Force. I said, "Okay. Did he travel?" He said, "Oh, yes, he was in Germany." And I said, "when?" He said, "between 1953", and I said, "Bingo."

Interviewer Yeah, oh wow!

Participant C Okay. I then sent this gentleman my photograph. And he says, "oh my God your Andrew's son." He sent me this photograph [shows photograph].

Interviewer He's on the right?

Participant C And this is in India and the gentleman in the center looks exactly like me.

Interviewer Yeah, ooh amazing.

Participant C And that's his brother. And so all of a sudden, I'm Indian.

Interviewer Mmm. Oh wow, that's such a big difference than any like, because it is also quite far, it's not European anymore.

Participant C Yeah. Yeah. It's not like I'm saying, "oh I'm Dutch."

Interviewer Yeah, because that's like this little yeah, but this is interesting yeah, quite a story.

Participant C So yes. Now I identify as Anglo-Indian.

Interviewer Right, okay, so not German anymore?

Participant C Well, funnily enough, my German is now my biggest ethnicity.

Interviewer Hmm.

Participant C I think because my English is only 25%.

Interviewer Right, yeah, okay. So, you identify still as English since I think then because you've been born in England. And...

Participant C Yeah.

Interviewer And culturally you are British?

Participant C Well, yeah, well, apparently the Anglo-Indians were any kind of European so you didn't have to be English you could be Dutch. You could be German and so it turns out that my grandmother is called... she was called Gouveia. And she was from Goa, which is the Portuguese part of India.

Interviewer Ooh, okay.

Participant C So, okay. So, they all have Portuguese names in Goa.

Interviewer Right.

Participant C They all have Portuguese names. So, Anglo-Indian is any kind of European and an Indian.

Interviewer Right, I understand. Yeah.

Participant C So Anglo-Indian is any kind of European ethnicity, yeah.

Interviewer Right, okay, perfect. So that's how you describe yourself now, ethnically? so that's different after the test?

Participant C Yeah, yeah.

Interviewer Okay, perfect. And, so, okay. So, you identify as well, you already said as, so as being part European then so English and German and Indian, is that correct?

Participant C Yes.

Interviewer And have the results impacted how you feel about...

Participant C Yes.

Interviewer How has it impacted you?

Participant C Well, I mean, partly it's had an impact on myself, my sister. We're the only ones left now. So, my father and mother have passed away, but it means that everything I look at within my life there's always... Now, I think, of course, did my father know? Now, this was the other thing I haven't said. It turns out that when my parents married, my mother was five months pregnant with me. So, dad married her knowing that she was pregnant now whether he knew that she was carrying somebody else's child or whether he thought that I was his child. But my father is as blond an Englishman as you can... So, this was a... you know, this little boy, [points at picture] this little boy here. When you see pictures of me and my sister, we are so different that all these years it's difficult not to think that we have different parents. But for 62 years, I had absolutely no idea that my mother had a child by another man.

Interviewer Yeah, that must have been tough. Such a change in how you were thinking of your life before.

Participant C Yes, yes, yes. So, it's made me... I mean, it's made me very conscious of... I mean, I realise how mixed we all are anyway, but I also know that all of the companies, and this goes back to the point I made on the website earlier, all of the companies will give you different percentages.

Interviewer Yeah, yeah.

Participant C There is no gold standard. Okay? And some of the companies are pretty poor at doing estimates. In my case, I would say that My Heritage is pretty poor it tends to class Europeans as 30% Scandinavian, 30% Irish. Whereas, you know, I have Western European. So German, Western European. And what happened over the years, companies like Ancestry and 23andMe, have moved the goalposts slightly. They have improved the reference population. Okay? And they're much more specific now. I used to be 30% Scandinavian with one company and that's completely changed now. And this is the problem with some of the genealogists who you came across on RootsChat.

Interviewer Yeah.

Participant C Nobody seriously believes ethnicity. It's complete rubbish because their results have changed so much over four or five years, but how can it possibly be one thing one year, and then something else the next year? So, it must be rubbish. But as a scientist, I understand that if you're testing apples and oranges. What you call a Satsuma or a Clementine, it isn't an apple or an orange.

Interviewer Yeah. Yeah.

Participant C Yeah? Okay. So, if you only, if you're only testing apples and oranges, what do you do with all the other fruits? And I think this has been part of the problem and so it hasn't got a good name, ethnicity testing. From... from that point of view, okay. Anything else?

Interviewer Yeah. So, well, before these results did you have any negative or a positive, maybe, positive feelings towards these ethnicities you had in your DNA, before the test? So that... the one found out now, that you have the Indian (ethnicity). If you have any negative or positive feelings?

Participant C I suppose... I suppose I had the usual sort of negative stereotype that the British people get fed about... about British India because it was... it was very colonial and so, and because I've never been to India, I've no idea, but I know there's a lot of the colonial attitudes and the problems that have occurred over the years have been because of a very sort of rigid British colonial attitude to foreigners. And it's difficult not to pick that up as you go along, you know. So... But after I'm... I'm... I'm quite chuffed. I'm... I'm really happy because I... you know, I see people... there are lots of Indian communities in Britain now and I kind of... although I don't look terribly Indian, I did... when I was a child, I did. I had... I had very, very black hair. But as I've aged, I sort of blended in. But I... you know, I'm... I'm quite happy to say, "yes. I'm Anglo-Indian." You know, it's not what you expect and it's not what you expect somebody to say and it is... and it is an unusual story. But I'm glad I told you.

Interviewer Yeah, it's... I didn't expect that this kind of story would happen.

Participant C No, no.

Interviewer So yeah, it's very interesting. So, how did it really... Yeah, you already said that you were very happy seeing this ethnicity, seeing this Indian (ethnicity) and to understand, right?

Participant C Well, once I understood the whole family history, then... one type of explaining it, if it had been just Dutch or Italian it might not have been so easy to prove. Because it's so off the wall and unexpected. You know, so, I mean that, you know, I know a lot of... a lot of Americans are sort of finding African-American in their ethnicity. I know a lot of African Americans are finding European in their ethnicity.

Interviewer Yeah.

Participant C It's kind of opening up all sorts of questions about, you know, what is... what is... what is ethnicity? You know. What... Where do we all come from?

Interviewer Yeah. And do you have a feeling that you, that you like to go to India? To see India now?

Participant C Yeah! Well, unfortunately, the part of India... the part of India that I would need to go to is completely off-limits because it's Pakistan. And Westerns do not go to Pakistan. Just not. Maybe one day. But... So, I now have... What I didn't mention was, when this uncle told the rest of the family about me, I've now gained all these cousins. So I have, I have a cousin in Lahore Pakistan, who WhatsApps me all the time.

Interviewer Okay, nice!

Participant C Yeah. So, I was having... I was having tea yesterday and I sent her a picture of my Mumbai Chai and sent it to Pakistan, and she was... you know, she was really pleased. I was getting in touch with my... with my cultural side”.

Interviewer Yeah, that's amazing. And do you really feel like now, you have actually a family... a larger family now.

Participant C Yes.

Interviewer Do you really feel a sense of belonging, any ties to this family?

Participant C Yes. Yes. I mean, I've met... I've met the uncle a few times and I've met one of my cousins... one of my Indian cousins in London, and we're trying to meet up with some of the other cousins but, you know, some of them live in... some of them live in Italy, some of them live in Germany. So, it's not somewhere I can just go to. So, we are looking at trips to visit these people. But yeah, it's really nice to have a new sort of circle of family.

Interviewer Okay, very nice to hear. Yeah. I think that was... yeah, that were all my questions. I was wondering if you have anything else you'd like to add or anything I didn't ask you and you feel like to respond... like... like to say maybe.

Participant C Well, I suppose, without... What got you interested in DNA testing and ethnicity?

Interviewer Alright. So yeah, I still I haven't done my test yet, but I'm quite interested...

Participant C No?

Interviewer No, not yet. But I was... I was always... was quite interested. Like I myself, I'm adopted and my brother... my brother as well. So I already know that it's like... I don't... I don't know anything that... I only know that I'm from... I was born in Colombia, that's the only thing that I know.

Participant C Yeah.

Interviewer And my brother, we aren't blood relate... relatives, but he also did his test and he found out he has most of his ancestry in Africa, which I kind of think I will have as well. But yeah, so but I'm quite interested, and I want to do it at some point. So yeah, and I saw those videos on YouTube of people being really surprised about some things. For example, someone was African-American, she was not happy that she found out that her... on her maternal line that it was only European and she was even crying. And I thought that was really interesting to see that some people... it has such an... yeah, it can impact people so much for some reason. And I was really wondering how... What that does to people finding out that it's different than what they originally thought. So that's what got me into... into it. Yeah.

Participant C Okay, yeah. No, that's a very valid point. I would... I would recommend if you do one, to either go with... Okay. Ancestry is great if you're trying to find American family because it's such... because it's such a huge database. It's over 10 million people.

Interviewer Okay.

Participant C Yeah. My Heritage, I don't think it's particularly strong and I nearly... as I have 4%... 4% West African and 1% North Africa. So, it says that I'm 5% African which really doesn't fit in with anything... with what we know.

Interviewer Yeah.

Participant C But 23andMe is good. Although the... They tend... have the more generalized... Where they're not sure, they tend to have broadly Northwest European.

Interviewer Hmm.

Participant C So, they use that sort of word a bit more, which I suppose is okay. Yeah, I would say Family Tree DNA is good... is good as well. But you may want to do one or two.

Interviewer Right. Yeah, I was already thinking of doing two because then you can...

Participant C Yeah. And of course, there... You know, holiday sales they come down to like, you know, \$59 and things.

Interviewer Yeah, that's alright.

Participant C Yeah, and also it depends what you're able to get in Holland because I know some places in Germany, they don't... they don't like Ancestry. They can only get My Heritage.

Interviewer I see My Heritage a lot.

Participant C It's about laws and things. Yeah.

Interviewer Okay. Yeah, I will have a look. Thank you for the tips, they're very good. Alright, so I'll just stop the recording now.

Interview 4: Participant D (Dutch)

Interviewer Oké, nou eerst even gewoon wat vraagjes over jou. Dus hoe oud ben je?

Participant D Ik ben 34.

Interviewer En wat is je nationaliteit?

Participant D Nederlands.

Interviewer Wat is je educatie achtergrond?

Participant D HBO

Interviewer En wat doe je voor werk?

Participant D Ik ben beleidsmedewerkster in de jeugdzorg.

Interviewer Oké, heel goed. En dan wat ik nu ga vragen is om te kijken hoe jij denkt over etniciteit. Dus eigenlijk, wat betekent etniciteit voor jou? Wat is dat volgens jou?

Participant D Goeie vraag. Ik denk dat het veel te maken heeft met deels achtergrond, maar ik denk wel dat er veel termen door elkaar lopen. Je hebt cultuur en je culturele achtergrond. Je hebt het rase achtergrond. Ik denk dat het een combinatie daarvan is.

Interviewer En dat vanuit de achtergrond van je familiesituatie, zeg maar?

Participant D Je hebt een stuk dat je meekrijgt van je milieu, dus je leefomgeving, dat is een deel van van jou. Maar je hebt ook een deel inderdaad dat meegegeven wordt door je

ancestors. En ik denk dat het daar een combinatie van is. Ik bedoel je hebt tuurlijk heel zwart wit, zeg maar, de etniciteit van... In Amerika heb je dat heel sterk. Daar heb je de *Afro-Americans* en van oudsher de *European Whites*. En daar is het nog echt een ding. Ik heb het gevoel dat het in Nederland al een stuk minder is. Het is er nog steeds, maar het is minder *obvious* dan daar. Ik denk dat het een combinatie is van hoe je opgroeit deels vanuit je milieu, en je omgeving, en deels vanuit je DNA.

Interviewer Ja, en dat is mijn volgende vraag, daar gaf je ook al een beetje antwoord op. En wat is dan de relatie met cultuur?

Participant D Ik denk dat het bij elkaar hoort. Je bent niet alleen maar het chemische, zeg maar je lichaam. Je natuur, maar je bent ook het stuk dat je meekrijgt. Ik denk zeker dat er een atmosfeer eromheen zit wat daar een invloed op hebt.

Interviewer Kan etniciteit en cultuur ook verschillend zijn?

Participant D Ik denk dat... Huh, allemaal vragen waar je nog nooit eerder over hebt nagedacht [lacht]. In het begin van zo'n vraag, denk je het, staat los, maar ik denk dat het toch met elkaar verbonden is. Als je kijkt naar bepaalde groepen die dezelfde culturele waarden en gebruiken hebben, ook al heb je die nu niet meer zo sterk als vroeger omdat we allemaal zo *migrated* zijn. Denk ik dat het er in de basis nog wel inzit, maar in de loop van de tijd minder is geworden. Je cultuur hoeft niet hetzelfde te zijn als je etniciteit.

Interviewer Oké, dan nu een vraag over... Hoe belangrijk is etniciteit voor jou?

Participant D Het is niet belangrijk als zijnde het maakt wie ik ben. Het is meer een interesse die ik heb. Ik ben altijd geïnteresseerd geweest in mijn familie. Wat maakt dat wij samen zijn, welke onderdelen zitten daarin. Ook omdat ik hele oude foto's heb en omdat ik een vermoeden had dat er één iemand niet Nederlands was. En er was een gerucht in de familie dat er nog iemand was waarvan we echt niet wisten wie die papa was. Daar kwam vooral mijn interesse vandaan voor mijn eigen DNA. Voor mijn man was dat ook mijn interesse [lacht]. Omdat ik de verhalen van zijn oma ken. Mijn stiefdochter heeft volgens haar moeder Italiaans bloed. Ik ben gewoon een beetje bezig met genealogie, dat vind ik leuk. Ik ben een puzzelaar. Ik hou nou eenmaal van alles uitzoeken en backtracken. Dus daar kwam dat stukje DNA bij, dat dat ook opeens optie was.

Interviewer Zou je een pen en papier kunnen pakken om de volgende concepten op te kunnen schrijven?

Participant D Oké, vertel.

Interviewer Dat zijn de woorden ‘gender’, ‘ras’, ‘ethniciteit’, ‘religie’, ‘sociale klasse’ en ‘nationaliteit’. Zou je die in de volgorde kunnen zetten van belangrijk tot minst belangrijk?

Participant D Hoe ik naar mezelf kijk of hoe ik naar anderen kijk?

Interviewer Hoe je naar jezelf kijkt.

Participant D Sociale klasse is voor mij nummer één. De manier waarop je je gedraagt en presenteert, ik zie daar ook een stukje educatie bij, dat je een gesprek op hetzelfde niveau kunt aangaan. Dat staat voor mij op nummer één omdat ik me daar het meest mee identificeer. Daarin merkte ik dat toen ik in het buitenland woonde ik makkelijker aansluiting vond bij andere die op dezelfde tree staan. Niet dat het klassensysteem bestaat, maar je blijft wel het gevoel houden. Daarentegen heeft mijn man alleen zijn middelbareschooldiploma en heb ik het gevoel helemaal niet. Dus het zit ook een beetje in het menselijk contact. Maar over het algemeen pak je daar de sociale klasse wel uit.

Interviewer: Dezelfde achtergrond?

Participant D Ja. Of weer het milieu. Maar het is ook wel wat ik van huis uit heb meegekregen. Het heeft er heel sterk ingezet. Dus dat is wel grappig.

Interviewer Omdat dat erin zit?

Participant D Ja, omdat mijn ouders daar altijd heel erg mee bezig zijn geweest. Daar was ik altijd heel blij om. Het heeft ook in mijn opvoeding een belangrijke rol gespeeld. Mijn ouders kwamen uit de middenklasse, maar hadden een eigen bedrijf. Dus zij waren altijd heel erg bezig met hoe verhoudt zich dat in vergelijking met de rest van de mensen om ons heen. Als ik er zo over na denk snap ik wel waar het vandaan komt.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. Dat is nummer één.

Participant D Op de tweede plaats komt nationaliteit, omdat je hier opgegroeid bent, het komt eigenlijk terug op milieu. Ik identificeer mezelf wel met Nederland. Dat was in de tienerjaren niet. Ik was zo van serieus, mijn vader is opgegroeid op de Antillen en in Spanje en waarom woon ik in Godsnaam in Nederland? Toen ik naar Amerika ging, toen realiseerde ik me eigenlijk pas hoe Nederlands ik ben. Dus als ik niet was verhuisd naar de *States* dan had ik deze waarschijnlijk niet op twee gehad. Hier was ik achter gekomen gedurende die periode.

Interviewer Want dat merkte je op de manier...?

Participant D Ja, bepaalde humor, bepaalde manier van kijken naar zaken. Dus even een voorbeeld. Nou ja, hele suffe dingen kunnen het zijn. Hoe je iemand aanspreekt. Ik ben best wel direct en ik vind dat prettig. Ik vind het fijn dat ik weet wat iemand bedoelt en dat je daar niet naar hoeft te raden. Dat het allemaal van die schijnvriendelijkheid is. En dat is echt wel Hollands. En dat ben ik wel echt gaan waarderen. En mensen noemde mij de gekke Hollander daar. Als het soort van humor, je hebt best wel donkere humor als Nederlander. Dat niet altijd gewaardeerd wordt door buitenlanders. Dat is wat je tegenkomt wanneer je niet omringd wordt door Nederlanders. Daarom nationaliteit.

Op drie heb ik, en dat is puur omdat ik zo naar mezelf kijk, dat is gender. Ik vind mijzelf wel echt een vrouw. Ik ben niet gender neutraal, natuurlijk heb ik wel mijn *tomboy* dingetjes, maar ik ben wel echt een vrouw en daar wil ik ook blijven. Het is niet dat ik bij anderen per definitie naar gender kijk, maar bij mijzelf wel.

Dan had ik etniciteit. Daarvan een stukje van waar we het eerder over hadden, van waar kom je vandaan? Wat brengt dat met zich mee? En welke cultuur zit je in? Waarbij ik het wel lastig vind in dit lijstje om het onderscheid tussen de sociale klasse, nationaliteit en etniciteit te vinden. Maar dat is meer om de oorsprong. De oorsprong vind ik interessant, maar is niet mijn woord.

Interviewer Daarom is die ook later dan nationaliteit?

Participant D Ja. En daarna heb ik religie. Omdat ik juist... Religie vind ik belangrijk, is heel persoonlijk, maar is iets wat toevoegt aan wat ik ben. Dus het is wederom niet de kern van wie ik ben. Het is ook niet de kern waarop ik mensen wel of niet selecteer in mijn omgeving. Het is een leuke diversiteit. En als laatste ras. Wij zijn een *multiculti* gezin en het is helemaal niet iets waar wij bewust mee bezig zijn meer iets wat anderen ons soms voorhouden.

Interviewer Op dat moment word je bewust van ras?

Participant D Ja. In de *States* werd ik er met mijn neus opgedrukt want ik woonde in een *Hispanic* en *Afro-American* wijk. Dus ik was de enige blanke die daar rondliep. Op dat moment... Ik was natuurlijk gewoon lekker Hollands. Ik kan dit gewoon, hop, schoenen aan, naar buiten. Maar het was zoiets van eigenlijk, het is nu acht uur 's avonds, je kan nu niet alleen naar buiten. Maar ik moest even iets van de winkel halen. Ja, als ik Afro-Amerikaans was geweest, dan was het waarschijnlijk geen probleem geweest. Maar omdat ik blank ben, dan opeens wel. Hetzelfde heeft mijn man aan deze kant van de oceaan. Natuurlijk dat hij op

een andere manier benaderd wordt. Dus het is iets wat er nog steeds is, maar waar we niet bewust mee bezig zijn.

Interviewer Ok, goed. Dankje. Even kijken.

Participant D Ik denk meteen, was er iets goed? Is er iets slecht? Is er een reden waarom je voor deze woorden hebt gekozen?

Interviewer Nou deze woorden zitten in dezelfde categorie. Etniciteit met al deze andere woorden, die kijken naar hoe we ons verhouden tegenover andere mensen, tot welke groepen wij onszelf plaatsen. Het is ook om te zien hoe belangrijk etniciteit is in een rijtje met al deze andere woorden. Ik hoor hele verschillende verhalen erop en het is ook heel fijn om te horen hoe mensen ernaar kijken. Dus alles wat je zegt... Ik heb ook mensen gehad die niets belangrijk vonden wat ook weer interessante informatie geeft. Het is heel grappig hoe dat allemaal naar voren komt.

Participant D Ook mooi voor je onderzoek weer.

Interviewer Ja precies. Daarom vraag ik ook waarom en hoor je ook weer wat dingen. Dus het is allemaal goed, geen probleem.

Participant D Leuk.

Interviewer En oké, wat was eigenlijk de reden om een DNA test te doen? Je zei het net al een beetje.

Participant D Ik vond het altijd leuk om een stamboom te maken en ben geïnteresseerd in geschiedenis. Wie is wie. Ik heb een opa die er niet helemaal Nederlands eruitziet op foto's en iedereen verklaart me voor gek. "Hoe weet je nou zeker dat hij niet Nederlands is?" Ik denk dat hij geen Nederlandse achtergrond heeft, maar is getrouwd met iemand van Verkade, van de chocoladefabriek. Ik wil gewoon weten wat is dat [lacht]. Het kwam er niet helemaal uit hoe ik het verwacht had, maar ik denk wel dat daar iets zit.

Interviewer Oké, daar gaan we nog opkomen. Eerst met welke DNA test heb je de test gedaan?

Participant D Met *My Heritage*.

Interviewer Oké, dit is nog even van voor de test. Wat wist je over je etnische achtergrond?

Participant D van mijn moeder wist ik eigenlijk niets. Zij komt uit Arnhem, tegen de grens aan, maar niets is bekend over buitenlands bloed. Ik heb altijd naar mijn moeder gekeken als

typisch Hollands. Van mijn vaders kant wist ik dat het spannende mensen zijn, dus daar had ik wel verwacht dat er het één en ander in zou zitten. Dus die ene opa, ziet er een beetje indo-Afrikaans uit, die had ik wel verwacht en er was een opa waarvan gedacht werd dat het een rijke Jood uit Amsterdam was. Maar dat was rond de oorlog en er stond geen vader op het geboortecertificaat. En mijn oma was een kamermeisje dus dat was een beetje een raar verhaal. Dat waren de twee waarvan ik het meeste wilde weten en die ik verwacht had. Ik realiseerde me dat ik een leuke mix was en dat er iets leuks uit voort zou komen. Dus meer spannend vanuit mijn vaders dan vanuit mijn moeders kant.

Interviewer en als je nu jezelf zou beschrijven? Nog steeds voor de test. Hoe zou je je dan etnisch gezien beschrijven?

Participant D Jeetje. Ik zou zelf, Nederlands. Maar dat is meer uit nationaliteit. Vanuit achtergrond zou ik het meest benoemen mijn Joodse *roots*, omdat dit het meest zichtbaar is. Mijn neus is heel stereotyperend (joods) en mijn donkere krullen. Dus dat zou het eerste zijn waar ik naar zou grijpen. In de States werd er juist gezegd dat ik meer een mengelmoes was. Maar dat is hoe anderen mij observeren. Maar daar ga je je wel naar gedragen.

Interviewer Oh, dat is ook mijn volgende vraag. Hoe zien anderen jou? En wat dachten ze bij jou? Een mengelmoes van wat dan?

Participant D Je zou daar ook weg kunnen komen als een Porto Ricaan. Omdat je daar blank Puerto Ricanen hebt en ik natuurlijk wel behoorlijke *curves* heb. Ja, [lacht], dus dat werd wel geaccepteerd. En ik spreek natuurlijk Spaans en Engels zonder accent. Dus ja dat hè, die combinatie daarvan, Puerto Ricaans. Maar als ik daar in de orthodox-Joodse wijk loop. Je ziet aan mijn haarstijl, dat ik niet orthodox-joods ben. Daar dragen ze allemaal pruiken. Dus daaraf kan je het niet zien, maar vanaf gezicht pas ik er ook tussen. Dus niet zozeer qua figuur, maar meer van de eigenschappen van mijn gezicht.

Interviewer Dus hoe ze je zagen gebaseerd op uiterlijk?

Participant D Ja echt vanuit uiterlijk. Ja, qua innerlijk was ik de gekke Hollander.

Interviewer Vanuit hoe je jezelf ziet komt dat door familie verhalen en wat ze jou vertelden of ook hoe andere mensen jou zagen.

Participant D Ik denk meer vanuit familie inderdaad. Ik ging ook wel om me heen kijken. Het Joodse is natuurlijk niet een echt ras. Je kan niet echt zeggen... Colombianen herken ik zo, maar bij Joden is dat niet en dan kom je snel op stereotypische joodse kenmerken. Dat is

het gene waar je naar kijkt. Joods is natuurlijk een religie maar ook van oorsprong een etnische achtergrond. Dat verschil en misschien is het door de oorlogen meer op de achtergrond gekomen, dat het minder makkelijk te onderscheiden is.

Interviewer Oké. En nog steeds voor de test, zijn er ethniciteiten waar je je het meest mee identificeert?

Participant D Nee. Ik denk het is makkelijker om te zeggen het is het West-Europese, omdat de combinatie van allemaal factoren het dichtst bij jezelf staat.

Interviewer En als je dat zou pinpointen. Is dat dan Nederlands? Ik weet dat *My Heritage* meer gebieden geeft, maar meer uit je eigen idee.

Participant D Mijn mentaliteit is echt Hollands, dat heb ik gewoon gemerkt. Maar er zitten ook Spaanse invloeden in, maar dat komt omdat ik dat uit mijn thuisomgeving heb meegekregen. Omdat mijn vader op de Antillen en Spanje heeft gewoond. Dus dat is er wat er is ingeslepen. Dus qua echt DNA achtergrond had ik dit niet verwacht, op voorhand, maar die zat er qua denkwijze en cultuur wel al in. Dus als je kijkt naar ethniciteit. Het is dan goed om een definitie te geven van ethniciteit. Dat is een goede tip. Dus de biologische kant dus niet, maar de culturele schil wel.

Interviewer Dus dat is voor jou meer een cultureel ding? Lostaand van ethniciteit? Of bedoel je...

Participant D Nee, ik denk dat ethniciteit echt een combinatie daarvan is. Dat de oorsprong van de cultuur die echt bij het biologische deel hoort, dat die verslepen is op het moment dat je niet meer bij die groepen bij elkaar bent. Omdat we nu allemaal gemigreerd zijn. Ik voel me echt wel Nederlands qua biologie, wetende dat er mogelijk meer achter zit. Maar de cultuurkant is niet gelijk aan mijn biologie.

Interviewer En als je zegt met welke etnische kant je je het meest identificeert?

Participant D De biologische kant is Nederlands.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed.

Participant D Lastig al die termen.

Interviewer [lacht] Ja. En dat is hoe je doet, hoe je cultureel gezien...?

Participant D Ja, bio kant Nederlands, maar qua cultuur voel ik me dus meer een Spaanse of Latijns-Amerikaanse, maar dat is meer van wat ik mee heb gekregen.

Interviewer Helemaal goed, duidelijk. Wanneer ben je je bewust van wat je etnisch gezien bent?

Participant D Ik ben me er het meest van bewust als het een negatief effect heeft.

Interviewer Nooit op een positieve manier? Misschien met familie?

Participant D We hebben binnen de familie wel verschillende rassen en die wonen verspreid over de wereld, daar zitten ook allerlei cultuurverschillen, maar het blijft familie, dus je weet elkaar wel te benaderen. Ik merk het alleen als het negatief is. Ik zou niet weten wanneer je het positief ziet. Misschien komt het ook omdat we *multiculti* hier in huis zijn. Dat we het alleen merken op het moment als het negatief is.

Interviewer Dus als iemand van buitenaf iets erover zegt?

Participant D Ja, en dat is dus een vorm van racisme wat beide kanten uitgaat. In de States naar blanken toe en hier naar donker getinte mensen toe. Dat is meer wat we meekrijgen. Kijk je naar een film waar je ook al die *multiculti*... Zelfs bij de *West Side Story*. Ja, daar voel je juist bij het kan en voel je de triomf van het is niet erg om *multiculti* te zijn. Op zo'n moment heb je het positieve ervan. Dat bepaalde acteurs het heel goed doen en dat die dan een Nederlandse achtergrond hebben. Dat zijn weer dingetjes dat je toch kijkt naar een ander en hebt van, we delen iets. Wat natuurlijk een bizarre emotie is. Dat zijn dingetjes dat je het positief kan ervaren, maar het is niet zo dat wij het één op één als positief ervaren.

Interviewer Want ja, mijn volgende vraag zou zijn, wanneer is het echt betekenisvol? Je eigen etniciteit?

Participant D ik denk het moment dat het negatief kan uitpakken en het het niet doet. Dat iets positief gelabeld wordt bijvoorbeeld, "Jij hebt een blanke aan de haak geslagen," ook bizar maar dat werd dan als compliment gezien. Ik denk dan, oké, ik hoef er niets mee, maar het kan als positief benaderd worden. Mensen in de States die een Europese achtergrond lijken te hebben ook al zijn ze al generaties lang Amerikaan, die voelen toch een bepaalde connectie met je. Zo van, "oh jij komt ook uit Europa." Een voorbeeld van mijn baas, die was dan Italiaans, echt Queens Italiaans. Zo'n maffia *chick* en die woonde al generaties lang in Queens en die was heel blij met mij. Die dacht dat zij een speciale band met mij had omdat ik uit Europa kwam. Alsof het iets magisch was. Ik merk wel echt dat Amerikanen dat heel sterk voelen. Dat ze ook heel graag terug willen naar die *roots*. Een bepaalde trots in hebben. Je hebt het natuurlijk ook met de Olympische Spelen als Nederland wint en dan ben je ook aan het juichen.

Interviewer Dan voel je het wel.

Participant D Ja, Nederland! Ook met een video van Trump met “America First” en dan heb je een Nederlandse video met “Netherlands Second” en dan zijn het wel weer die gekke Hollanders die dat doen en dat je je daar wel mee identificeert.

Interviewer Dus dat zijn de momenten voor jou dat het betekenis heeft?

Participant D Ja, dat het wel leuk is. Ik voel het niet heel sterk.

Interviewer We hadden het er net over. Wat je cultureel bent kan dus verschillen met wat je etnisch gezien bent.

Participant D Ja.

Interviewer Oké. Dan gaan we nu naar de resultaten van de test.

Participant D Het is nog niet helemaal ingedaald, hoor.

Interviewer Oké, nog niet? Want mijn vraag zou dus zijn, wat heb je allemaal ontdekt?

Participant D Het gene ik verwacht had van die opa's die niet helemaal klopten, die kwamen er niet uit. Een oom van mijn vaders kant, die heeft het ook gedaan, en daar kwam het er wel uit, dus dat vond ik heel vreemd. Hij had inderdaad een procent Nigeriaans en 6% dat Joods. En dat zat bij mij er helemaal niet in. Dat schijnt te kunnen, omdat je van de een iets overneemt, van je moeder en andere van je vader. Dus daar kan je zelfs in broers en zussen combinaties in hebben. En zijn vrouw die had een Engelse opa en bij haar broer was het 23% Engels, maar bij haar zat er helemaal niks Engels in. Dus het lijkt me dat je bepaalde *strands* wel of niet kan hebben, maar die zijn toch nog onderdeel van je familiegeschiedenis. Dus nog wel je achtergrond, maar alleen heb je dat stukje DNA nou net niet. Dat had ik me nooit gerealiseerd. Maar daardoor was ik wel geschrokken door de resultaten, want dat Joods en dat stukje Afrikaans of Indonesisch zat er dus niet in. Dat neemt niet weg dat het in de geschiedenis er misschien wel heeft ingezet, maar het zit er dus niet in bij mij.

Interviewer En wat vond je daar dan van?

Participant D ik vond het wel jammer. Dat hetgeen wat ik verwacht had er niet in zat. Dat maakt het voor mij wel weer interessant omdat ik kan gaan speuren en hoe werkt het DNA dan? Voor mij is het dus weer een nieuwe uitdaging. Maar qua gevoel denk ik dat het er nog steeds inzit, alleen is het bij mij dus afgetakt. Want ik heb op die manier wel de bevestiging

gekregen door mijn oom. Dus mijn verwachting klopt, maar dan niet bij mij, maar wel in mijn familie.

Interviewer Dus dan is dat toch wel een stukje van jou?

Participant D Ja, het is wel mijn geschiedenis. Het zit alleen niet in mijn DNA. Maar wat wel heel grappig is, mijn oom heeft niet een Joodse neus, maar bij hem zit het er wel in. En ik en mijn vader hebben wel die joodse neus. Dus ik vind het wel komisch hoe dat dan weer werkt, dus dat is weer meer die biowetenschap van hoe zit dat? En dat is een andere uitdaging. Maar het voelt nog steeds als een stuk van mij. Dingen die er anders uitkwamen, waarvan ik het vermoeden heb dat het van mijn moeders kant kan zijn, dat is 16% Scandinavisch. Die had ik helemaal niet zien aankomen. En dat vind ik nog best wel een fors deel. Helaas hebben we niet veel familie aan mijn moeders kant, dus ik kan ook niet echt backtracken waar het dan vandaan komt. Maar dat geeft me dan wel de uitdaging om meer met mijn moeders stamboom te doen, maar ik identificeer niet met Scandinavisch. Ik ben er ook nog nooit geweest en het is een beetje ver van mijn bed show. Ik weet niet zoveel wat ik ermee moet.

Interviewer Dus het is meer ik heb de resultaten ontvangen en dat is het eigenlijk?

Participant D Het triggert wel iets om te onderzoeken, dat met die stamboom. Dat is de reden waarom ik begonnen ben met het DNA. Maar het is niet iets wat ik me nu aantrek. Er zaten twee andere dingen in waarvan ik dus ook niet weet wat ik ermee aan moet. Maar het is aanzienlijk lager. Een procent Centraal Aziatisch. En dan hebben ze het over Kazachstan, Oezbekistan. Geen idee hoe ik daar weer aankom [lacht]. En dan is er nog een procent Midden-Oosters. En dan staat er Irak, Saudi-Arabië, Egypte, Iran, Syrië, Lebanon, Israël. En dan denk ik dat Israël, dan kan het dat Joodse stuk zijn. Maar dat is in de uitslag anders dan bij mijn oom. Bij hem staat Asjkenazische joods. Dat is meer daar bij Litouwen. Maar dan denk je dus weer, misschien omdat Israël ook weer in het Midden-Oosten valt, misschien hoort het daarbij. Dat zijn dus twee dingen die ik ook niet verwacht had. Waarvan ik meteen denk, mijn oom heeft het niet, maar hij heeft dingen die ik niet heb. Dus dan zou je vermoeden dat het van mijn moeders kant komt, maar het kan ook zijn dat het DNA gesplitst is. Dus het is meer dat ik dan eigenlijk verder wil weten hoe zit het dan biologisch? Waar komt het dan vandaan? En hebben we iets gemist in de stamboom? Dat. Echt meer het onderzoekende dan dat ik me ermee identificeer.

Interviewer Oké. En in hoeverre vertrouw je de resultaten van de test?

Participant D Moeilijk te zeggen, op het moment dat je het niet zelf uitvoert, vertrouw ik bijna niks [lacht]. Je hoopt dat het geen flauwekul is, maar tuurlijk neem je het met een korreltje zout. Met een korrel zout, zeker omdat het zo afwijkt. Daarbij hoorde ik dus dat mijn oom's zijn vrouw en haar broer zulke afwijkende resultaten hadden. Dus vandaar dat ik mij ben gaan verdiepen in hoe werkt dat DNA dan?

Interviewer Eerst even kijken hoe dat werkt.

Participant D Ja, kreeg pas de resultaten tweeëneenhalve week terug.

Interviewer Het is best wel ingewikkeld.

Participant D Ja en meer die stamboom. Mijn man zei ook van misschien moeten we het ook doen voor de meisjes. Maar dan zijn ze zo jong en dan ligt hun DNA al ergens.

Interviewer Misschien nog even wachten als ze achttien zijn?

Participant D Ja, dan kan je het semitesten. En komt er dan uit wat wij als resultaten hebben?

Interviewer Ja, dat is wel interessant, ja. Wie weet?

Participant D Wie weet?

Interviewer Dus je gaat misschien wel verder met die stamboom uitwerken?

Participant D Ja ik kan echt de hele dag achter de computer zitten opzoek naar oude archieven en daar staan dan dingen beschreven, is dat een 'a' of een 'o'? Inzoomen en uitzoomen. Vergelijken met een ander handschrift. Ik kan me daar wel echt in verdiepen, is echt een hobby. Ja, het is ontspanning. Word echt blij als ik iets vind.

Interviewer Nou je zei al eerder over dat Spaanse dat een beetje in je zit. Maar dat kwam dus niet naar voren?

Participant D Nee, helemaal niet.

Interviewer Maar daarmee identificeer je je daar dan toch nog mee ook al kwam het niet uit de test?

Participant D Ja, dat is het stukje cultuur dat ik heb meegegeven is door mijn vader. Bepaalde gebruiken bijvoorbeeld dat je je familie probeert af te troeven door bijvoorbeeld als eerste de rekening te betalen. Dat is echt Spaans net zoals wij het huishouden doen, is vanuit het Zuid-Amerikaans, dit is ook beïnvloed door mijn man, dat is behoorlijk strikt. Dit is wat mama zegt en er is geen andere manier. Dat is iets wat wij doorgeven. Een stuk cultuur dat we

ook vanuit huis hebben meegekregen. Ook al komt dat dus mogelijk niet overeen met je etnische achtergrond.

Interviewer Als je nog even kijkt naar het rijtje, cultuur zat er niet in, maar zou je dan cultuur belangrijker vinden dan etniciteit?

Participant D Ja. Het is die atmosfeer die eromheen hangt. En cultuur is ook niet vast te pinnen aan één locatie. Zoals ik al zei, mijn vader woonde hier in Nederland maar heeft mij ook de Spaanse cultuur meegegeven. Ik denk wel dat je net zoals met de sociale klasse, je gelijke vindt.

Interviewer Heeft het resultaat van de test invloed gehad over hoe je over jezelf denkt?

Participant D Niet direct. Het zet me wel aan het twijfelen over wat ik dacht en wat ik heb binnen gekregen qua resultaten. Niet dat ik me anders voel of anders over mezelf denk. Meer dat ik zoekende ben, hoe dan, wat dan? Nieuwsgierig over moet ik hier iets mee? Sociaal? Emotioneel? Ik denk het niet. Het verandert niet wie ik ben. Niet in de kern. Het is meer dat mijn hersenen er spelletjes meespelen. Ik voel me nog steeds gewoon Jenny van de blok. Ik ben nog steeds die gekke Hollander. Er zit nog steeds een mengelmoes in, zoals ik verwacht had, maar het is alleen een andere mengelmoes.

Interviewer Maar dat heeft verder geen invloed op hoe je naar jezelf kijkt?

Participant D Het is meer dat ik denk, mijn moeder heeft hangende oogleden, komt dat dan ergens vandaan? Uit het Midden-Oosten? En dan Scandinavisch. Hoezo Scandinavisch? Welke oma heeft dan een slippertje gemaakt dat dan niet op papier staat. Mijn moeder heeft altijd gedacht dat ze niet van dezelfde papa was als haar zusje. Misschien moet ik mijn tante vragen om een DNA test te doen? Dat soort dingetjes. Het is dus meer inderdaad het spelen ermee.

Interviewer Ja, oké. En dan de laatste paar vraagjes. Had je enige positieve of negatieve gevoelens over de etniciteiten die uit de test kwamen?

Participant D Nee, niet zozeer negatieve gevoelens. Ik heb zelf niet zoveel met Aziatisch en denk dan uhh Centraal Aziatisch? Wat is dit? Hoor je Aziatisch. Dan denk je meer aan China. Maar dan is het Oezbekistan enzo en dan denk je daar is het nu niet zo best. Het voelt niet als mijn bevolking, om het zo maar te noemen. Het is meer dat ik er breed naar keek omdat het Aziatisch zegt en dat valt weg voor mij. Ik heb meer met Amerikanen, Zuid-Amerikanen, Afrikanen, Europeanen, daar heb ik gemakkelijker contact mee, over het algemeen, dan

Aziaten. Ik weet niet waar dat uit voorkomt, want het is nu echt heel stereotyperend. Maar dat stond iets verder weg. En dat het dan op die manier uitkomt, het is dan het naampje wat eraan gegeven wordt waardoor ik er wel op doorklikte. Het voelt voor mij meer Midden-Oosters dan Aziatisch is. Het is dan meer de naam die het een trigger gaf.

Interviewer Maar dat was neutraal verder?

Participant D Klopt, geen negatieve gevoelens ofzo.

Interviewer Zijn er ook gevoelens versterkt?

Participant D Nee, omdat er hele andere dingen uitkwamen. Als er had gestaan 20% Joods dan had ik me er anders bij gevoeld.

Interviewer Positiever?

Participant D Ja, meer bevestigend. Dat is het nu niet echt. En er stond nu 16% Scandinavisch en het hele joodse kwam niet terug.

Interviewer Hoe kijk je naar de resultaten? Je zei al eerder dat er meer een soort van verbazing was? Ook een beetje teleurgesteld?

Participant D Ja beetje wel. Jammer dat er dingen niet uit zijn gekomen. Maar daarentegen heb ik de resultaten van mijn oom. Dus wel een semibevestiging. De bouwstenen zitten erin, ik heb alleen andere DNA-stenen meegekregen en die zijn vermengd met die van mijn moeder natuurlijk. Mijn vader is er niet meer, anders had ik papa gevraagd om hem ook te doen. Ik ben tegelijk wel getriggerd om het andere deel te onderzoeken. Dus het is jammer maar ook weer uitdagend.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. Dat was het. Dat was wel vijftig minuten.

Participant D Want we konden heel gezellig kletsen.

Interviewer Ja, en het was ook heel interessant. Heb jij nog iets wat je zou willen zeggen, iets wat ik niet heb gevraagd en je wilt er nog iets over kwijt?

Participant D Nee, eigenlijk niet. Alleen met de eerste vraagstelling vraag je wat etniciteit is en daarna gebruik je ook etniciteit. Het is misschien wel handig om van te voren vast te stellen wat etniciteit is en ik had het fijn gevonden als ik wist wat de definitie is.

Interviewer Het lastige is dat er eigenlijk geen echte definitie voor etniciteit bestaat want er zijn veel verschillende ideeën over. En daarom vraag ik aan jou, wat jij eronder verstaat, zodat ik een idee heb waar we dan over praten.

Participant D Oké vandaar. Dus onderdeel ook van je onderzoek.

Interviewer Ja, precies. Maar ik snap het wel hoor, dus misschien handig dat ik dat nog even zeg in het vervolg. Oké, dankjewel.

Participant D Oké goed. Verder vond ik het helemaal prima. Ik vond het leuk om te doen.

Interview 4: Participant D (English)

Interviewer Okay, first just a few questions about you. So how old are you?

Participant D I am 34.

Interviewer And what is your nationality?

Participant D Dutch

Interviewer What is your educational background?

Participant D HBO⁴

Interviewer And what kind of work do you do?

Participant D I am a policy officer in youth care.

Interviewer Okay, good. And then what I'd like you to ask is about what you think about ethnicity. So, what does ethnicity mean to you? What do you think it is?

Participant D Good question. I think it has a lot to do with background, but I do think that many terms are mixed up. There is culture and one's cultural background. There's racial background. I think it's a combination of both.

Interviewer And is that based on your family's background?

Participant D A part of that you get from your environment, so your living environment, which is a part of you. But you also have a part that is given by your ancestors. And I think it's a combination of that. I mean, you certainly have clear differences in ethnicity of ... In America, you have that very strong. There you have the Afro-Americans and Americans of white European origin. And there it is really still a big thing. I feel it is already a lot less in the Netherlands. It is still present, but it is less obvious than there in the US. I think it is a

⁴ University of Applied Sciences

combination of partly how you grow up, your environment and surroundings and partly from your DNA.

Interviewer Yes, and that brings me to my next question, you've already somewhat answered this question. What is the relationship with culture?

Participant D I think it belongs together. You are not just the chemical, say, your body. It is your nature but also what you have been brought up with. I certainly think that there is an atmosphere that influences it.

Interviewer Can ethnicity and culture also be different?

Participant D I think ... Huh, all these questions are questions I've never thought about before [laughs]. At the beginning of such a question, you think it is unrelated, but I think it is still connected to each other. If you look at certain groups that share the same cultural values and customs, even though, they're not as strong as in the past because of how much we have migrated. I think it is still in the basics but has diminished over time. Your culture does not have to be the same as your ethnicity.

Interviewer Okay, now a question about ... How important is ethnicity for you?

Participant D It's not important in relation to making me who I am. It is more of an interest that I have. I've always been interested in my family. What drives us being together, which parts are in it. Also because I have very old photos and because I suspected that one person was not Dutch. And there was a rumour in the family that there was someone else of whom we really didn't know who that father was. That's where my interest mainly came from for my own DNA. That also applied to my husband's DNA [laughs]. Because I know his grandmother's stories. My stepdaughter has Italian blood according to her mother. I just like being busy with genealogy. I like to puzzle. I just love figuring everything out and backtracking. So, I can puzzle more now with DNA.

Interviewer Okay. Could you take a pen and paper to write the following concepts?

Participant D Okay, tell me.

Interviewer These are the words 'gender', 'race', 'ethnicity', 'religion', 'social class' and 'nationality'. Could you put them in the order from which you find most important to least important?

Participant D How I look at myself or how I look at others?

Interviewer How you look at yourself.

Participant D Social class is number one for me. The way you behave and present yourself, I also see a bit of education in there, that you can start a conversation at the same level. For me, that is number one because I identify with it the most. I noticed when I lived abroad that it was easier to connect with people with the same social class. Not that the class system exists, but the feeling is still there. However, with my husband, who only has his high school diploma I don't have this feeling. So, it's also a bit of human contact. But in general, it still leads back to social class.

Interviewer The same background?

Participant D Yes. Or the environment again. But it is also what I got from home. There was a strong focus on that there. So that's funny.

Interviewer Because of this focus?

Participant D Yes because my parents have always been very involved. I was always very happy about that. It has also played an important role in my upbringing. My parents were middle class but had their own business. So, they were always very concerned about how we relate ourselves to other people. If I think about it that way, I understand where it comes from.

Interviewer Okay, alright. That's number one.

Participant D Nationality comes second because you've grown up here, it actually also refers back to the environment. I identify with being Dutch. This wasn't the case in my teenage years. I was like, seriously, my father grew up in the Antilles and in Spain and why, for God's sake, do I live in the Netherlands? I only realised how Dutch I am when I went to America. So, if I hadn't moved to the States, I probably wouldn't have had nationality in second place. I had learnt this during that period.

Interviewer Because you noticed that in a way...?

Participant D Yes, a certain humour, a certain way of looking at things. So just an example. Well, it could be silly things. How you address someone. I am pretty direct and I like that. I like that I know what someone means and that you don't have to guess. That it is all of this fake friendliness. And that is really Dutch. And I really started to appreciate that. And people called me the crazy Dutchie there. As this kind of humour... As a Dutch person, you have dark humour. That is not always appreciated by foreigners. That is what you encounter when you are not surrounded by Dutch people. Thus, nationality second place. In third place, and

that's purely because I look at myself that way, that's gender. I think I am really a woman. I am not gender neutral, of course, I have my tomboy things, but I am really a woman and I want to stay there. It is not that I look at gender in relation to others by definition, but I do look at gender this way in relation to myself. Then I had ethnicity. A bit of what we were talking about earlier, where are you from? What does that entail? And what culture are you in? I find it difficult to distinguish between social class, nationality and ethnicity in this list. But that is more because of the origin. I find the origin interesting, but it is not my thing.

Interviewer Is that why it's later than nationality?

Participant D Yes. And then I have religion. Because I am ... Religion is important to me, it is very personal, but it is something that adds to what I am. So again, it's not the core of who I am. It is also not the basis on which I do or don't select people in my environment. It is a nice type of diversity. And race is last. We are a multicultural family and it is not at all something that we are consciously aware of ourselves, but it's something others make us aware of.

Interviewer So, those are the moments you become aware of race?

Participant D Yes. In the States, I was made very aware when I lived in a Hispanic and African-American neighbourhood. So, I was the only white person walking around there. On that moment ... I was just very Dutch. I can do this, just go, put shoes on and go outside. But it was actually that I couldn't go like that, it was like, it is now eight o'clock in the evening, you cannot go outside alone. But I had to get something from the shop. Yes, if I had been African-American, it probably would not have been a problem. But because I'm white, it suddenly was a problem. My husband has the same on this side of the ocean. Here, he is approached in a different way. So, it is something that is still present, but that we are not always aware of.

Interviewer Okay good. Thank you. Let me see.

Participant D I immediately think, were the answers alright? Was there something bad? Is there a reason why you chose these words?

Interviewer Well these words are in the same category. Ethnicity, and all these other words, describe how we relate to other people, to which groups we place ourselves. It is also to see how important ethnicity is in a list with all these other words. I hear very different stories and it is also great to hear how people look at it. So, everything you say ... I've also had people who didn't find any of these concepts important, which also yields interesting information. It is very interesting how it all emerges.

Interviewer Also nice for your research again.

Participant D Yes, exactly. That is why I also ask why, and then I hear also some interesting things. So all answers are good, no worries.

Participant D Nice.

Interviewer And okay, what was actually your reason for doing a DNA test? You already said something about it.

Participant D I always enjoyed making a family tree and I am interested in history. Who is who. I have a grandfather who doesn't look quite Dutch on pictures and everyone thinks I am crazy for this. "How do you know for sure that he is not Dutch?" I think he hasn't got a Dutch background but is married to someone from Verkade, from the chocolate factory. I just want to know what's that [laughs]. It didn't quite work out how I expected it, but I think there's something there.

Interviewer Okay, we're getting to that in a bit. First, which DNA test did you do the test with?

Participant D With *My Heritage*.

Interviewer Okay, this is just about before the test. What did you know about your ethnic background?

Participant D I didn't know anything about my mother's side. She's from Arnhem, near the border, but nothing is known about foreign blood. I have always looked at my mother as being typically Dutch. About my father's side, I knew there were exciting people, so I expected that there would be somethings in it. So, this one grandfather looks a bit Indo-African, so I expected something there, and there was a grandfather who was thought to be a rich Jew from Amsterdam. But that was during the war and there was no father on the birth certificate. And my grandma was a chambermaid, so that was a bit of a strange story. Those were the two of whom I wanted to know about the most and of which I expected there would be something there. I realised that I was a nice mix and that something nice would come out of it [the test]. So more exciting things from my father's side than from my mother's side.

Interviewer And if you would describe yourself now? Still before the test. How would you describe yourself ethnically?

Participant D Gosh. I would say, Dutch. But that is more based on nationality. Based on background, I would say mainly my Jewish roots because this is the most visible. My nose is

very stereotypical [Jewish] and my dark curls. So that would be the first thing I'd look at. In the States, it was just said that I was more of a mishmash. But that's how others view me. But you will behave accordingly.

Interviewer Oh, that's my next question too. How do others see you? And what did they think of you? A mishmash of what then?

Participant D You could also be taken as a Puerto Rican. Because you have white Puerto Ricans there and of course as well because of my considerable curves. Yes, [laughs], so that was accepted. And of course, I speak Spanish and English without an accent. So yes, the combination of those: Puerto Rican. But if I walked there in the Orthodox Jewish quarter. You could see from my hairstyle, that I am not Orthodox Jewish. They all wear wigs there. So based on that you can't see it, but based on my face I could also fit there. So, not so much in terms of my figure, but more of the characteristics in my face.

Interviewer So, how they saw you was based on appearance?

Participant D Yes, really based on appearance. Yeah, on the inside I was the crazy Dutchie.

Interviewer How you see yourself is because of family stories and what they told you or how other people saw you?

Participant D I think indeed more because of family but I also looked around me. Jewish is of course not really a race. You can't really say ... I recognize Colombians just like that, but that is not the case with Jews, other than naming stereotypical Jewish characteristics. That is what you are looking at. Jewish is, of course, a religion but from origin also an ethnic background. That difference, and perhaps because of the wars, it has moved more to the background, that it is less easy to distinguish.

Interviewer Okay. And still before the test, are there any ethnicities that you most identify with?

Participant D No. I think it's easier to say it's West European because the combination of all factors is closest to yourself.

Interviewer And if you would try to pinpoint. Is that Dutch then? I know that *My Heritage* shows more areas, but more from your own idea.

Participant D My mentality is really Dutch, I just noticed that. But there are also Spanish influences, but that is because I got it from my environment at home when I was growing up. Because my father lived on the Antilles and in Spain. So that's how that has also become a

part of me. So, in terms of a real DNA background, I had not expected to see this in the results in advance, but in terms of thinking and culture, it was already there. So if you look at ethnicity. It is then good to give a definition of ethnicity. That might be a tip. So, not the biological side, but there is a cultural side to it.

Interviewer So, that's more of a cultural thing for you? Different from ethnicity? Or do you mean ...

Participant D No, I think ethnicity is really a combination of the two. That the origin of the culture that belongs to the biological part can be different when you are no longer in those [biological] groups. Because we are all migrated now. I really feel Dutch in terms of biology, knowing that there may be more behind it. But the cultural side is not the same as my biology.

Interviewer And when you say which ethnic side you most identify with?

Participant D The biological side is Dutch.

Interviewer Okay, alright.

Participant D Difficult all those terms.

Interviewer [laughs] Yes. And that's how you do, how you culturally...?

Participant D Yes, biological side Dutch, but in terms of culture, I feel more Spanish or Latin American, but that comes from how I was raised.

Interviewer Very good, clear. When are you aware of what you are ethnically?

Participant D I am most aware of it if when has a negative effect.

Interviewer Never in a positive way? Maybe with family?

Participant D Within our family, there are different races, they live in different parts in the world, there are also all kinds of cultural differences but as it is all family, we know how to approach each other. I only notice it if it is negative. I would not know when you can see it as positive. Perhaps it is also because we are a multicultural household. That we only notice it when it is negative.

Interviewer So, if someone who's on the outside says something about it?

Participant D Yes, and it's a form of racism that goes both ways. In the States against white people and here to dark-skinned people. That is what we get. If you watch a movie where you also have all those multicultural ... Even with West Side Story. Yes, then you feel it's possible and triumphant about that it's not that bad to be a multicultural family. At that moment, it is

positive. That certain actors are doing very well and that they then have a Dutch background. Those are the things that you look at someone else and you think, we share something. Which is, of course, a bizarre emotion. These are things that you can experience it positively, but one on one, we don't experience it as positive.

Interviewer Because yes, my next question would be, when is it really meaningful? Your own ethnicity?

Participant D I think the moment when it could turn out negatively but this doesn't happen. That something is labelled positively, for example, "You got yourself a white woman", this is also bizarre, but that was then meant as a compliment. I then think, okay, I don't want anything to do with it, but it can be positively approached. People in the States who seem to have a European background, even though they have been American for generations, still feel a certain connection with you. So, like, "oh you also come from Europe". An example of my boss, who was Italian, a real Italian from Queens. Such a mafia chick and she had been living in Queens for generations and she was very happy with me. She thought she had a special relationship with me because I came from Europe. As if it was something magical. I really notice that Americans feel that very strongly. That they also really want to go back to those roots. Feel a certain pride in it. Of course, you also have it with the Olympic Games if the Netherlands wins, you also cheer.

Interviewer Then you can feel it.

Participant D Yes, the Netherlands! Also with a video of Trump with "America First" and then you have a Dutch video with "Netherlands Second" and then again it's the crazy Dutch who do this kind of thing and then you identify yourself with that.

Interviewer So those are the moments that it has meaning for you?

Participant D Yes, it can be fun. I don't feel it very strong.

Interviewer We had just been talking about this. So what you are culturally, may differ from what you are ethnically.

Participant D Yes.

Interviewer Okay. Then we're going to the results of the test now.

Participant D It hasn't completely sunk in, you know.

Interviewer Okay, not yet? Because my question would be, what have you discovered?

Participant D What I expected to see about those grandfathers who did not quite match, did not show in the test. An uncle from my father's side, he did it as well, and it did show in his results, so I thought that was very strange. He indeed had one percent Nigerian and 6% Jewish. And that wasn't with me at all. Apparently, that is possible because you take over somethings from one person, from your mother and others from your father. So, you can even have different combinations in siblings. And his wife had an English grandfather and her brother had 23% English, but she didn't have any English in her at all. So it seems to me that you may or may not have certain strands, but they are still part of your family history. So you still have your background, but you just don't have that part in your DNA. I had never realised that. But because of that, I was shocked by the results, because that Jewish and African or Indonesian part wasn't there. That does not alter the fact that it may have been there in my family's history, but it is not in my DNA.

Interviewer And what did you think about that?

Participant D I thought it was a pity. That what I expected was not in it. At the same time, that makes it interesting for me because I can research how DNA works. So for me, it is a new challenge. But in terms of feeling, I think it is still there, only it is not in my DNA. I got the confirmation because of my uncle. So my expectation is true, but just not with me, but in my family.

Interviewer So that's a part of you after all?

Participant D Yes, it is my history. It's just not in my DNA. But what is very funny is that my uncle does not have a Jewish nose, but it is in his DNA. And my father and I have that Jewish nose. So I find it funny how it works, so it's more related to the bioscience of how it works. And that is another challenge. But it still feels like a part of me. Things that were different, which I suspect may be from my mother's side, is 16% Scandinavian. Which I didn't see coming at all. And I think that's quite a big part. Unfortunately, we don't have a lot of family on my mother's side, so I can't really backtrack where it comes from. But that gives me the challenge to do more with my mother's family tree, but I don't identify with Scandinavian. I've never been there before and it's far away from what I know. I don't know what to do with it.

Interviewer So it's more as I've received the results and that's it?

Participant D It does trigger something to investigate, that with that family tree. That is why I started with the DNA. But it's not something that affects me. There were two other things in

there of which I also don't know what to do with it. But it is considerably lower. One percent Central Asian. And then this refers to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan. No idea how I got that again [laughs]. And then there is one percent Middle Eastern. And that is then Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Israel. And then I think Israel can be that Jewish part. But that's a difference with my uncle's results. In his results, it says Ashkenazi Jewish. That's more from the Lithuania area. But then you think again, maybe because Israel is in the Middle East, maybe that is part of it. So those are the two things that I didn't expect either. Which makes me immediately think, my uncle doesn't have it, but he has things that I don't have. So then you would suspect that it is from my mother's side, but it is also possible that the DNA is split. So it's actually that I want to know how does it work biologically? Where does it come from? And did we miss something in the family tree? That. Really more focused on investigating rather than that I identify with it.

Interviewer Okay. And to what extent do you trust the results of the test?

Participant D Hard to say, when I'm not doing things myself, I hardly trust anything [laughs]. You hope it's not nonsense, but of course, you take it with a pinch of salt. With a pinch of salt, certainly, because it deviates so much. Then I heard that my uncle's wife and her brother had such different results. So that's why I started to look into how DNA works.

Interviewer Checking how it works first?

Participant D Yes, the results only came back two and a half weeks ago.

Interviewer It's pretty complicated.

Participant D Yes and especially that family tree. My husband also said maybe we should do it for the girls too. But they're still so young and then their DNA would already be somewhere.

Interviewer Maybe wait a little until they are eighteen?

Participant D Yes, then you can sort of test it. And see whether it is similar to what we have as results?

Interviewer Yes, that is interesting, yes. Who knows?

Participant D Who knows?

Interviewer So you might continue with figuring out that family tree?

Participant D Yes, I can really sit behind the computer all day looking for old archives and there are things described there, is that an "a" or an "o"? Zoom in and zoom out. Compare with other handwriting. I can really delve into that, it is really a hobby. Yes, it's relaxation. I get really happy when I find something.

Interviewer Well you said earlier that Spanish is somewhat inside of you. But that did not emerge in the test?

Participant D No, not at all.

Interviewer But you still identify with that even though it did not show in the test?

Participant D Yes, that's a part of culture that I have been given by my father. For example, certain customs such as trying to beat your family by, for example, being the first to pay the bill. That is really Spanish just like we manage the household, is South American, this is also influenced by my husband, which is pretty strict. This is what mommy says and there is no other way. That is something we pass on. A part of a culture that we also got from home. Even though it may not reflect your ethnic background.

Interviewer If you take a look at the list, culture wasn't in it, but would you consider culture more important than ethnicity?

Participant D Yes. It's the atmosphere that surrounds it. And culture cannot be connected to one location either. As I said, my father lived here in the Netherlands but also taught me the Spanish culture. I think that just as with social class you find your equal.

Interviewer Have the results of the test influenced how you think about yourself?

Participant D Not immediately. It makes me doubt what I thought and what I received in terms of results. Not that I feel different or think differently about myself. More that I am looking for the how and the what. Wondering if I should do something with this. Socially? Emotionally? I don't think so. It doesn't change who I am. Not in the core. My brain just plays games with it. I still just feel like Jenny on the block. I'm still that crazy Dutchie. There's still a mishmash in it, as I expected, but it's just a different kind of a mishmash.

Interviewer But that doesn't affect how you look at yourself?

Participant D I think more like, my mother has drooping eyelids, does that come from somewhere? From the Middle East? And then Scandinavian. What Scandinavian? Which grandmother has had an affair that is not on paper? My mother always thought she didn't have

the same daddy as her sister. Maybe I should ask my aunt to do a DNA test? Those kinds of things. So it is indeed this kind of playing with it.

Interviewer Yes, okay. And then the last few questions. Did you have any positive or negative feelings about the ethnicities that emerged from the test?

Participant D No, not really any negative feelings. I don't have that much with Asian, so I thought uuuh Central Asian? What is this? So, you hear Asian. Then you think more about China. But then it's Uzbekistan and stuff and you think it's not so good there. They don't feel like my people, so to speak. I looked at it more in a broad sense because it says Asian and that is not that interesting for me. I have more with Americans, South Americans, Africans, Europeans, I have easier contact with them, generally, than with Asians. I don't know where that comes from because it's really quite stereotypical now. But that was a little further away. And that it comes out that way, it is then the name that is given to it, so that I clicked on it. It feels more Middle Eastern to me than Asian. So, it's more the name that triggered me.

Interviewer But for the rest it was neutral?

Participant D Correct, no negative feelings or something.

Interviewer Have any feelings become stronger?

Participant D No because very different things came out. If it had been 20% Jewish, I would have felt differently by it.

Interviewer More positive?

Participant D Yes, more affirmative. It's not really that now. And now there was 16% Scandinavian and no Jewish at all.

Interviewer How do you view the results? You said before that you had some kind of surprise? A little disappointed too?

Participant D Yes, a little. Too bad things didn't come out. But I have the results of my uncle. So, a sort of confirmation. The building blocks are there, I have only received other DNA stones and they are mixed with my mother's, of course. My father is no longer there, otherwise, I would have asked dad to do it [the test] too. At the same time, I have been triggered to investigate the other part. So, it is a pity but also a challenge.

Interviewer Okay, all right. That was it. That was fifty minutes.

Participant D Because we were able to have such a nice chat.

Interviewer Yes, and it was very interesting too. Do you have something you would like to say, something that I have not asked you and you want to say something about?

Participant D No, actually not. Only with the first question, you ask what ethnicity is and then after you also use ethnicity. It may be useful to determine in advance what ethnicity is and I would have liked to have known the definition.

Interviewer The tricky thing is that there is actually not a real definition of ethnicity because there are many different ideas about it. And that is why I ask you what you mean by it, so that I have an idea of what we are talking about.

Participant D That's why. So, that's also part of your research?

Interviewer Yes, exactly. But I fully understand so it might be an idea that I will explain that a little in the future. Okay, thank you.

Participant D Okay. The rest was absolutely fine. I enjoyed doing it.

Interview 5: Participant E (English only)

Interviewer [starts recording] There you go. Alright, okay. So what do you think ethnicity is? So what does ethnicity mean, do you think?

Participant E Well. For me it means like, basically who you are and where you come from. You know, how can I say? Your origin. You know, that's what it means to me. You know. Everybody has different...

Interviewer Okay, yeah. That's perfect. And do you often have the feeling that ethnicity and culture work together? Do they work together?

Participant E Yeah, they do. I mean, they have to. I mean, you can't have one without the other. You know. Because what's brings your, how do you say, yourself? You know, where you come from? And where you at. That is very different, you know?

Interviewer Different from being like your background?

Participant E Exactly. Exactly.

Interviewer Okay, alright, perfect. Alright, so, because I was asking you these questions because in the theory there are just lots of things like often ethnicity's different for people. So what that means. So that's why I wanted to make sure that I have an idea what you think about it and for the rest of the questions you can talk to me about your idea of ethnicity and...

Because I will talk more about ethnicity, of course, but what you think of ethnicity. So, okay. So that was the beginning and now it's really about the test. This is more about what you think about ethnicity still. So how important is ethnicity for you? Your ethnicity and your ethnic background?

Participant E Well, for me, I mean, before I did the DNA, you know, I was more like thinking I was more Caribbean. Black. 'Cause I knew I had black in me. But also I had Latino through my mother. But in my DNA it didn't show.

Interviewer Oh okay, well we will get there in a minute. But first how important was it to you to do... for you, ethnicity, knowing or thinking about that your Caribbean.

Participant E Because as you know, I don't know if my wife told you, but I was born in the United States.

Interviewer Yeah.

Participant E So my culture is way different than somebody else's, you know, like was raised on an island. Like, for example, like a slave island. That would hold onto more of the stuff back there. Then what I, you know, experienced. I only had a small (()) of what I know about my culture. Because of my American, you know, my American upbringing. You know? So I was way different than other people, you know, way different than somebody that comes from an island. You know, that actually can say, "okay, you know, my ancestors... this and that". You know, for me, I was, how can I say. When it came to that, at racism and things like that. For me. I did not know the difference. Because I was all multicultural to a lot of people. Going to school, living. So, you know, basically with me, my identity would have just been more American.

Interviewer Right.

Participant E And knowing now that, you know, I have Nigerian in me. That's it, you know. For me it was Dominican Republic. Through my dad and my grandma. It's taken from there, so my wife started going further in. You know, they went from Saint Thomas, you know, (()), lots of slaves. You know, things like that. How they received their last name. So, you know, for me all that was like...you know...

Interviewer Okay, we will talk about that more in a bit. But... Okay, so we have the things in this... What your wife wrote down. So, the concepts. So, could you please put them in order

for me, what you think is most important, the first one, and the last one is least important. So to you, when you think about yourself and describing yourself, for example.

Participant E Okay. Then for me would be ethnicity.

Interviewer First?

Participant E Yeah, for the first.

Interviewer Okay and why?

Participant E Because you know, it's what I said before, it's who you are. Where you come from. Who are your descendants? Now my race also, I will put a second because before I did it, I was more like Hispanic. You know, so a whole different type of... You know. Hispanic. And now it's a little bit confusing because of Nigerian.

Interviewer Mm-hmm.

Participant E So, you know.

Interviewer Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Participant E I feel tossed within me, right now.

Interviewer Yeah, I can imagine that. But then it's still also this race part. So is that race part more related to the Caribbean part or more related to the Nigerian part? That you put it on the second place?

Participant E Well, like I said, I gotta feel it more now, with my Nigerian descent, you know. I would like to know what tribe or, you know, where exactly, you know, my birth (()), let's say my, how I'm gonna say, I ain't gonna say forefathers but my grandparents parents and things like that. You know. So that would put me like a little bit iffy now. Like okay. You got it?

Interviewer Alright, perfect. And then what do you have on the third place?

Participant E I would say religion. Because I was raised believing in religion. You know, I was raised believing in religion and things like that. And I believe in God. You know, it's a higher power there. It's happening for a reason. It's like that. And basically, I can't really say too much, you know like, on the social class and that's a whole different matter. You know, the social class nowadays it depends on basically your background and where you went to, how you fit in and things like that. So I don't really care too much about it, you know?

Interviewer Yeah. So is that fourth place or lower?

Participant E Yeah. I'd put that lower. Because social class is not basically...is not... For me, it shouldn't exist. Because your upbringing is your upbringing. It comes down to your culture, that is going to be different, so every upbringing is different. So what I might find normal for me, you might find strange. It doesn't mean that it's wrong. You understand?

Interviewer Yeah, I do. Yeah, okay.

Participant E That is the way we were just brought up. And, you know, most people classify that as you being less or more. And not knowing the big picture. Everybody is having their own culture going on, you know. Some... some people like eating meat, some people like eating vegetables, you know. I prefer meat [laughs].

Interviewer [laughs] Okay. Alright. Okay, so would that be the last place or...?

Participant E Yeah, I'm gonna put that last place.

Interviewer Okay.

Participant E And then, with... they say nationality, is basically given to you wherever you are born. But I think DNA doesn't define where your roots come from. You know. So, you know, I was born American, my wife, Dutch. So it doesn't really, you know, where you're born is not really where you come from. Your origin, you know. It's not your origin. You know. So that I would put like four or so.

Interviewer Okay.

Participant E Gender.

Interviewer Gender, yeah. So that's the fifth place?

Participant E Yeah.

Interviewer Okay and why?

Participant E Because... I really don't have no issues. I mean, depending, you know, were talking about homosexuals or trans. I mean, I don't have any... No issues. I'm pretty open for everybody's person as long as they keep me out of it. [laughs] you know. That's it. It's... it's... I believe in people just being able to do their own thing. You know. And be happy and that's it. So gender for me doesn't have no big meaning. It doesn't no.

Interviewer Okay, alright. And what made you decide to do a DNA test?

Participant E Well, my wife pushed me into it.

Interviewer Ah okay. And were you also interested in it?

Participant E Yeah, I was because my dad's side... because it's a mix between Spaniards and Black (()). You see, on my grandfather's side we were able to track it down. Through Andalusia, Spain.

Interviewer Okay, alright.

Participant E And also knowing that my last name is basically unique. It doesn't branch off to no other part, you know. Just two brothers, who came down to the Americas, they branched off into different places. And had a lot of babies [laughs]. So they started a lot of branches there. It was (()). Some went to South, one went to South America and two landed in Dominican Republic. So, my last name is totally unique, so basically with the DNA I could actually follow it through my grandfather's side. Because it's an only last name. So were related somehow, someway, our blood is flowing through our veins. That's kinda easy but my grandmother's side is pretty hard. Because of all the steps they went through. Taken from, let's say, Nigeria and taken into Britain. And from Britain taken into the Islands. You know.

Interviewer So many places?

Participant E Yeah, exactly. And for all we know... like... I don't know if my ancestors were one of the escapees. Escaped to Haiti. And still free. So you know, Haiti and Dominican, I mean, they're the same thing. They're about the same island. We really don't know what happened between Britain and getting to the island. If the name was given because they released them or because they adapted it when they escaped? So those are the things we're still checking on.

Interviewer Yeah. Sounds really interesting. Nice. Alright. Just, I forgot to ask you a couple of questions in the beginning, that were some factual questions. So that's what I'm going to do now. And... so what is your age?

[asks Participant D, who is in the background] How old am I?

Interviewer Or you can also say a range?

Participant E No, I don't... What's it? [Participant D says 46] 46? Yeah, 46.

Interviewer What is your nationality? US citizen?

Participant E Yeah. US citizen, that's about it.

Interviewer Okay, alright. And what is your educational background?

Participant E I finished high school in Dominican republic... I finished high school and that's about it.

Interviewer Okay, alright. And your occupation?

Participant E Right now I'm doing deliveries. The newspaper and stuff.

Interviewer Alright. That was supposed to be at the beginning but I forgot about this. That's why it came now. Okay, so just still before you did the test, so you already said about... about your ethnic background so where they based on... so what's that? Family stories?

Participant E Yeah, family stories, and also on the research that my wife did.

Interviewer Okay, so already from this family tree?

Participant E Yes, that.

Interviewer And... so in describing yourself, before the test still, how would you describe yourself ethnically?

Participant E Well, I hold myself Hispanic. You know, I mean, basically... Okay. Like Hispanics... Well, we're from the higher *Antillias*. So basically, Hispanics would be Mexicans... Yeah, Caribbean and things like that. You know. From the *Hispaniola*. [laughs]. So, basically, we have the Spaniards Spanish but more vulgar.

Interviewer Sorry, what?

Participant E More vulgar. It's not like the proper Span-... to us it's proper, you know. But for the Spanish it's not proper. You got only like... But maybe two or three countries in South America that actually still speak the proper Spanish. And that's the *Argentina* and I do believe that one of them is Colombia. That still speak proper, you know, like the Spaniards. The proper Spanish. Like the Spanish that we have is basically from the... taught by the slaves... well by the Spaniards that had black slaves. So that's how we got our Spanish language coming in.

Interviewer So did that change over the years?

Participant E Right. Curacao still uses... still the original way of writing back then, with the Spanish. You know. We still use like... Over there they still use the 'k' for a 'c'. But we were not taught by... how to do it. Caribbean slaves were... most of them were educated because the Spaniards, you know, educated them. It converted a lot of things... a lot of things they

converted. You know. From the Spaniards. That's why Spaniards and Hispanics, we do not understand each other when we talk.

Interviewer Ooh.

Participant E Because we still carry in our Spanish, like what I was saying, the old like slave-taught Spanish. And *jugo*, they call *zumo* over there in Spain.

Interviewer Aah, that's the word for...

Participant E Yeah, 'juice'. *Jugo*.

Interviewer Oh really?

Yeah, you know, In Spanish, for like Hispanics, *jugo* it's juice.

Interviewer Ooh okay.

Participant E You know, we call *carón* (cf Spaniards Spanish *cara ancha*; 'broad-faced' in English), we call (()), we call, you know, *coche*. But yeah, *coche* for Hispanics is a stroller.

Interviewer Aaah okay. So not a car [cf Spaniards Spanish]?

Participant E No, not a car. It's you know...

Interviewer [laughs] Okay. It's a different word.

Participant E Yeah, words change.

Interviewer And different meanings. Oh okay. And... So, you already said something about how other people maybe viewed you, how you were different... living in the US. So have you ever been labelled by other people, like, something ethnically different?

Participant E Yeah, yeah, yeah. I mean even here [in the Netherlands]. Here a lot of people... let's say, what happened here, I was working and some guy goes "ooh nigger go home"

Interviewer Oh really? Oh wow.

Participant E Yeah. You know. So, things like that doesn't bother me too much because it's just words. It's just ignorance from the person that is saying it. So, in reality, if you're getting into an argument the only thing that you have to say is "the only nigger that is here is you because you're the one acting ignorant". You understand?

Interviewer Yeah.

Participant E Like I said, those are words that would get you really touchy about by using the N-word. Things like that. You know, over there in America, it's kind of empty to use the N-word. You know. And I've been in Chinese stores over there because of my colour.

Interviewer Oh really? Okay.

Participant E Yeah! Because of my colour, I mean, they value that you're gonna steal something or you know... right away you will see them walking around, really close, paying attention to what you're doing.

Interviewer Is that then also that you're then quite aware of your ethnicity?

Participant E Yeah, yeah. It doesn't bother me because it's who I am. You see, If I let it bother me than I become what they want me to be. Ignorant.

Interviewer And they're the ones than being ignorant?

Participant E They're the ones being ignorant. You know, I bet if you ask most of them, after they have used the word, if they know what it means. Most of them don't know. They don't know what it means. An ignorant person. That's what a nigger means, an ignorant person. It doesn't mean you being black.

Interviewer No, oh I didn't know that actually. Okay.

Participant E Yeah. It doesn't mean that you're black because somebody says nigger but because of being ignorant. We got labelled like that by the British because we were ignorant.

Interviewer Because that's how they saw you... I mean black people then?

Participant E They were ignorant. You understand?

Interviewer Yeah, yeah.

Participant E We were not as civilised as we are today.

Interviewer Yeah, I understand.

Participant E Yeah because you're gonna better, for sure, remember to see someone pull out a whip now and try to whip somebody. (()) You'll kinda get a problem, you understand?

Interviewer Yeah, yeah. Okay.

Participant E So, you know, a lot of people don't even know the meaning but they are very eager to use it. Now, you give it meaning if you let it bother you. Because you let those words, determine your colour. While it shouldn't. That is not your colour. You understand?

Interviewer Yeah.

Participant E Because that's what determines... you know, when somebody uses it, the best thing to do is just ignore them because they're not talking to me. It's when you react, right away, it's your colour.

Interviewer Then you give it meaning, yeah.

Participant E You give it meaning. That makes a lot of sense. I mean, you know. It makes a lot of sense. So whatever you think can bother you, then you give meaning to a word. If it doesn't bother you, it doesn't have a meaning.

Interviewer No.

Participant E Yeah?

Interviewer Yeah. And have you ever had with any other... that people labelled you differently with any other things? I mean then based on ethnicity?

Participant E Oh yeah! Yeah! The way I used to dress. The baggy clothes and things like that, you know. By the way, getting the baddest thing in the whole world, but it's just that I liked the style.

Interviewer And then, what they were categorising you as then?

Participant E (())

Interviewer As what, sorry?

Participant E (())

Interviewer What's that?

Participant E The (()) would just be project people. You know, like very low class. You know, not really low class but you know. Yeah, different social class.

Interviewer Yeah, alright. So often when they labelled you it would be more in that kind of sense? Black in more kind of social class kind of thing.

Participant E Yeah, that.

Interviewer Not really...And would they also say Afro-American? Is that the only thing they would say?

Participant E No, they would say black. Sometimes you would find someone on that slip and do you the N-word. You know, and like I said, like a lot of people don't understand it, but,

you know, it's kinda annoying. Like even being around black people. Because we used to live in The States in an all-black neighbourhood. You know, Afro-Americans, an all-black neighbourhood. And people would get on the bus... we would get on the bus. And the bus could be packed but nobody would sit next to me.

Interviewer Oh really? Why? Even in a black neighbourhood?

Participant E Yeah. So, we knew our boundaries. They knew that okay, I'm f, they're not gonna mess with me, I ain't gonna mess with them. You know, with my wife, they didn't know what she was, they couldn't tell. If she was Hispanic. You know, but most likely, they must have thought she was Hispanic before they thought she was white. But even with her over there, I mean, they wouldn't even say that to her. You know what I'm saying?

Interviewer Yeah. Wow.

Participant E And sometimes here people speak French to me.

Interviewer Oh really [laughs]. Because they think you are from those parts in Africa where they speak French?

Participant E Yeah. Exactly. Exactly.

Interviewer Oh okay [laughs].

Participant E And I'll be like, "I don't speak French".

Interviewer [laughs] I can imagine that.

Participant E You see, but the thing is, they don't know. They think that every black person is born in Africa. You understand?

Interviewer Yeah.

Participant E So right away, they don't believe in "oh are you an American?" or bother and ask. Come talk to me. My culture is way different than an African person. But there are similarities, don't get me wrong. We have similarities. But the culture is way off. You know what I mean? Like I said, like I can't say... I lived in Dominican for like five years and I adapted to the culture but it's not my culture. My culture is the American culture. That is a mixed culture. About everything, I mean from Chinese food to Pizza. You know, so...

Interviewer [laughs] Everything.

Participant E There's still rice and beans.

Interviewer Yeah as well. Okay, I understand. Are there any ethnicities that you most identify as?

Participant E Like what you mean by...?

Interviewer So you said, well you thought you were...this is still before the test, so how you saw yourself... what kind of ethnicity did you think you really are, like the most you see yourself as?

Participant E Oh, Caribbean.

Interviewer Caribbean. Alright.

Participant E Yeah, that's because as being small, I was introduced to it by my grandmother to the Puerto Rican side. And also introduced through my father and grandmother to the Dominican side. So... like when I lived in the Dominican, I was in Haiti so much and a lot of people would think... we had other stuff. When it came down to... I wasn't (()). I know what's working, you know. I know when you gotta, you know, put your own or hold your own. Actually, you know. You did, they teach you. I know how people teach you how to do your thing. So, I could understand myself being more Caribbean.

Interviewer Okay, so then would you really say Caribbean, or would you really say Puerto-Rican/ Dominican.

Participant E Well, Puerto-Rican Dominican. Yeah, because my mother had a very big influence in it and my dad had also a really big influence in it. The culture, like I said, the culture between Puerto Rican and Dominican is like basically the same thing. We only change foods, you know.

Interviewer Alright, okay. Perfect. So, you already said a moment when you're aware of your ethnicity and you already said something about when people use certain names, for example. Are there any other moments when you are aware of your ethnicity?

Participant E Not really. I mean, I don't really think about it too much. I actually feel like, you know... It's hard for me to put in words. I don't really think about it too much.

Interviewer Okay, that's alright. That's fine.

Participant E Unless somebody is gonna confront you with it and still like that. You still try to, how can I say, try to find another way around it. Without it getting too personal. You know what I mean? When I say too personal with it, like I said, it's a waste of energy, a waste of

time. I mean there are bigger issues in this world to be worrying about my colour. Or where I've come from. You understand.

Interviewer Yeah, I do. Okay. When is your ethnicity, so for yourself, when is it meaningful to you? Are there any moments that you maybe feel proud of being Caribbean?

Participant E Yeah, of course! I mean, I'm always feeling proud of where I come from and where my family comes from and things like that. Like over there in The States you got a lot of... like a Puerto Rican parade. Dominican parade. You know, things like that and you get together and it feels almost like Carnival.

Interviewer And that's the moment when you're like "yes!"?

Participant E Exactly. But that is also the moment when I feel as Hispanic... I also go to Colombian parade. You know, things like that. I mean, like I said, I come from a place where everybody's mixed. And that racist stuff when I was growing up wasn't that hard, it was kept at... behind doors. You know what I mean? Nobody would dare to come out and tell you a thing like that in your face or anything they just gotten loose with it now. You know what I mean? They just gotten their feelings hurt and now they just get loose. Now they're using the words and things like that, but when I was growing up, I mean, like I said, having a Chinese friend or having... I even had Jewish friends. I mean, real Jewish. With the curls! Now, the ones with the white t-shirt. I not too sure with the white shirt and the shoes and the blue pants. I would get the pants like that, you know. And we had (()) and there was no issue, I mean, about any type of... Even I don't even believe that religion was even brought up. You know. Like I said, I had friends from all over. Chinese friends. And it was nothing. I mean, it was nothing about... they look at it like it's wrong.

Interviewer Yeah, everybody was mixed.

Participant E Yeah, exactly. That is normal. It's not about oh you're Jewish, or you're this or that. At the end of the day, that is only your nationality. But, you know, who you are and what you do, that's on you basically. You know what I mean? Like I said, like my environment over there I wasn't around like to be so racist or so, you know, different. Because the public schools, I mean, are mixed. We have white kids, Puerto Ricans, Indians. We are all mixed. There is no such thing about... oh what did I do? We were joking. To some Indian guy or messing around the same thing they like would do to us. Like basically, to me or whoever of the Hispanic race. You know, we were playing and we were like "oh Indian" or they were

playing around and say something funny about the Spanish people. You know, we never looked at something like racism. As it is today.

Interviewer So, it really changed?

Participant E Yes exactly, I mean, it changed a lot. And I mean, really a lot. I came down here (()). And it was as if I stopped the street. Like they've never seen a black person before. You know, like those things they can hurt you only if you let it bother you. If you don't cancel things like that out. Like I said, if that's the case, then you won't be able to leave your house.

Interviewer Yeah. No then you can't really do anything.

Participant E No, the sociable can't be doing nothing, I mean, you know. Like I said, don't get me wrong. There are certain things they, yeah, that touch a nerve and sometimes you do have to say something. To set somebody straight. If they get their facts wrong. You know, they get their facts very wrong. And they get their facts wrong and you confront them, then they (()) stupid. That's the best thing to do, I mean...

Interviewer To let them know.

Participant E Yeah, yeah. Like I said, you teach 'em. You teach 'em. I mean, ignorance got to be taught. They got to learn. Why there words coming out of your mouth you can't say? So, when you speak, you speak with fact.

Interviewer Yeah. Okay. Do you feel you act a certain way that relates to your ethnicity? You were naming some cultural things that you...

Participant E Yeah, I know I differ from certain people. You know, I'm quite, can I just say, with my tolerance level, is very short. Compared to a Dutch person. Like basically to European people. You know, I'm more of a, my wife says, aggressive. But like I said it's also where I come from.

Interviewer So, would you say that you're Caribbean part is where that comes from? Or US?

Participant E New York. That's where the other culture comes from.

Interviewer The New York culture? The big city culture?

Right. I mean, the city. If you lived in a city before, you know, you get there as the nicest person in the whole world, but the moment when you get into the swimming pool, you're swimming with sharks. The whole attitude changes. I mean, the way of thinking changes. You

got to be ahead of the game. I mean, you know, lots of watching over your shoulder 'cause knowing your surroundings of what's going on. You know? So what's going on. So it's way different when I got over here. For me, I find it relaxed.

Interviewer So that, you could leave that behind, would you say?

Participant E Yeah, exactly. That's why we were looking at moving to The Hague. I told my wife I don't wanna live in a city. I don't wanna be up in a city. I liked a big city, I'm not going to a smaller city. That was that. Then we came to Delft and I like it. Not lots of people, but everybody tolerates everybody and (()) depending how you present yourself. For example, my neighbours, they would not talk to me.

Interviewer Oh really? Okay.

Participant E But also... I also have to understand the why. They had a confrontation with black people before. They were seeing me as the same. You see? The way to break, like I said before, the way to break that is you teach them that it's not the same. They would not say 'hi' to me, I would say 'hi' to them. In the morning in the yard, "hey, how you doing?". They are old people too, you know. "Oh I can help you with that". And I'm sweeping my front, I sweep their front too. Yeah, things like that are breaking the ice. This is like the thing we were talking about, that is when you bring in the social part.

Interviewer Yeah, because it's at the same level.

Participant E Exactly. And if I would stay quiet and let it be, then that's what it is. For them that's what it always will be.

Interviewer Then they won't know anything else.

Participant E Exactly. And like I said, sometimes you have to teach people. About you. You understand? And like that people gonna understand where you're coming from. People like that, when they look, they can't judge. You understand? They can't judge you. You know, so I mean, I get along with them very well, and they get a long with me very well now. We talk. My Dutch is all broken up in half, but hey, I give it a shot. You know.

Interviewer [laughs] They already like that you're trying, I guess.

Participant E Yeah, exactly. That's it. Just a normal person like they are. Like you know, just because you have problems with some other people, doesn't mean that I'm coming the same way. You just got to teach, like I said, a lot of people are just ignorant because most of them don't know half of the words they use, the meaning.

Interviewer Yeah, they don't know.

Participant E They don't, I swear to you. You ask most of the people what's that word, and no lies, what that word means? And I bet they're gonna say it's a black person.

Interviewer Yeah, yeah.

Participant E But no, it's not. If you look it up in the dictionary.

Interviewer No, it's just the way it's been used. People make...

Participant E Yeah, just look it up in the dictionary. The right spelling with the *er* at the end. Not with the *a* but with the *er*, at the end. Okay. It's gonna say, "ignorant person". It doesn't say black person, it doesn't say yellow person, it doesn't say blue person. Nah, if you take it that way, then you're giving it a meaning. And the meaning that you give it by the way you act, is the way they gonna take it.

Interviewer No true.

Participant E I mean, it's just stupid.

Interviewer Yeah, not knowing.

Participant E Yeah, that's the whole thing. A lot of people just don't know. Like I said, no one understands my culture. You know. Even to Dutch culture, it's fine, I respect that. But you also got to respect my culture. You know what I mean. My kids are being raised with two cultures. Or three with the American. You know, so, you know that the culture also has to do a lot. For people to understand where everybody is coming from.

Interviewer Do you have a feeling that with all those cultures that... is the world more of like a mixed place? Does it make it easier to see the world, how to say...

Participant E With better eyes?

Interviewer Yeah, something just more like we're all mixed, we all have more cultures.

Participant E Yeah, of course, But what makes it... what makes it look... let's just put it like this, for you to see it with better eyes, or for the whole world to see it with better eyes, it's for everybody to learn about where they come from. Once you know their culture and how they are, there is no way in hell you could judge. Because it is not wrong, not at all. It's like colours. You may like brown, I like blue. Doesn't mean I'm wrong. You know what I mean? So, you know, once people learn how to really understand where they're coming from. Like when me and my wife started dating, I used to see weird stuff that she used to do. I started to

think, like weird stuff. And I used to think, “what are you doing?”. “No, no, no. I gotta go do this, go do that, *bababa*”. I said “no, no, no, no. You should know how to kick that. Okay. You put in your hours. Monday till Friday. (()) Weekend coming around. This is for you. This is not for you to think what’s going on and what on Friday? No, no, no. This is your time to relax”.

Interviewer And that’s different for you?

Participant E Yeah, for us over there it’s more like, “it’s Friday? That’s what’s up. Let’s go”. Oh, the boss called you up? “Can you come into work?” “Oh, is it mandatory?” “Nope”. I ain’t coming in.

Interviewer [laughs] nope.

Participant E That’s it. While you’re waiting there. You leave at 5. **Interviewer** [pm] and at 4.59 [pm] you’re in front of the clock puncher, waiting. Just waiting to punch out. You know what I mean? But over here people actually are putting extra time in. “Oh yeah, I can still do this”.

Interviewer Yeah, that’s true. I know.

Participant E There everything is like, the culture, everything is like, relaxed. Here you wanna speed up. You know. Hey, I like rice and beans, and chicken. I like Oxtail. I like (()), *Chicharrón*, I mean, *Yuca*, *Plátano*. My wife only eats *plátano*.

Interviewer Okay. So now I will ask you some questions about after the test. You already said somethings. So, you had discovered that you have Nigerian DNA. Was this the only result that you were surprised about?

Participant E Well, it was Nigerian and one... Kenyan. I know, West African and East African, and Asian. Okay. Yeah, and Jewish.

Interviewer A lot of things.

Participant E Yeah. Jewish and central America, that could be my mother. That’s only like 12%. Irish, Scottish and Welsh. There’s a lot of things here that I’m like, wow, Italian, Iberian. I mean... [laughs].

Interviewer So very different. When you saw this, does it change how you see yourself... like how you describe yourself ethnically? Before it was Caribbean. Does this change how you talk about yourself now? Ethnically?

Participant E Well, one way it does. Because not to talk about basically, not pinpoint, but I actually have an origin. That was not just the Caribbean. You know, and The States. Now I have an origin where I can actually say, okay, my ancestors came from Nigeria to my grandmother's side or from the West African side. Somewhere there. You know. So, yeah, it changes that now. I can't pinpoint it, but we're coming out to Africa.

Interviewer [laughs] You're gonna search and you're gonna see...

Participant E Yeah, exactly. It would be nice to be able to find somebody that might just have a close DNA to you. And you can pinpoint the tribe. I mean, that would just be like awesome. You know. What you are, if you're Zulu, if you're, you know, (()). It's just knowing the origin, you know. My wife is scared about it because she's scared that if I do know it that I will switch up the décor of the house.

Interviewer [laughs] Okay. You're gonna have lots of African decoration. Because do you have the feeling now... now that you know a bit more... So, you say, your African side, I think is the biggest side. Which you find important, I think? Or interesting? Is it like that? Interesting?

Participant E Well, interesting. I find it interesting. Important I can't say it's important because I don't know if I had culture like that. So, I can't say it's important because I really don't know the culture. Now, if you tell me about my Hispanic culture, yeah, I find that important. But that's because what I know, you know. Now I try to learn somethings about Nigeria.

Interviewer Right. Okay. So, it does have this impact for you. It got you more interested? Because before this, were you interested in Nigeria?

Participant E Nah, I mean, I was interested not specifically in Nigeria. You know, I was interested in Africa and, you know, one day maybe go see Egypt or something like that, you know. But like I said, I was not really pulled to that side, like that. And like I said, now I'm just learning about it now. You know, so I can't really say it's important to me because I really don't know nothing about it. You know.

Interviewer Okay. And so what does this information really mean to you, seeing it all mapped out? I mean, it's more than African as well, so what does it... seeing this about your ethnicity and ethnic background? What does that mean to you?

Participant E Well, to me, it just means, like we have a little of everybody in it. You know. Because there was no way I would think that I have Jewish. 'Cause my family that I know, they haven't been that Jewish. You know. Yeah, the Spanish part yeah. But the Irish, Scottish and Welsh, that I find like really shocking because I don't have no family members, that I know of, out there. You know. I can't even try to relate. You know.

Interviewer Do you feel like... I mean, do you have a feeling... do you trust the results? Do you think they are true?

Participant E Well, like I said, it's basically like something for me to trust this. Like what we are trying to do in getting my grandmother's family tree and maybe be able to swipe my grandmother's sister. 'Cause that would be the closest to the parent, the full parent. And then there we might be able to determine, you know, if this is true or not. You know. [asks Participant E] But I think that my uncle had the same thing, Nigeria? Yeah, okay. My uncle also came back from Nigeria also. So that's two. But like I said, it would be great to try and get it from my aunt. That would be the closest... Yeah, my great aunt. That would be the closest to the line, yeah. And then there we can determine if we came from Nigeria or if we migrated maybe from more west of Africa into Nigeria. You know. Like I said there is a lot of (()).

Interviewer Many things could have happened?

Participant E Exactly.

Interviewer Yeah. Okay. So with these test results, are there any ethnicities you identify as but which does not appear or very little in the test. I mean, you have a little Dominican, I think?

Participant E Yeah, Dominican. It says Central America is about, like 12% of that, yeah, 12%. Like I said, that for me, from, yeah, my mother's side.

Interviewer But does that do anything? Seeing this little percentage?

Participant E Not really. Like I said, it's something that I really did not know and the only way I can really figure this out is like, basically, getting my mother also swiped. And my great aunt swiped. So, if we could get them too, then I can do a comparison of what is really going on. You know. Because... like this... Because I mean, 12% could be anything. It could be Mayan, because I got Peru there. Brazil, Colombia, all the way up to Argentina and Mexico. But that also could mean, from those brothers that I told you, that one of them did go

down into Venezuela. So that might be that branch from there. Because I do have family members in those places. So, you know. It could go from there. My grandfather or my mother, I mean. I know my grandmother side, Antillean, that's really strong up there because I had her stories. From my grandma and my aunt, that their father had been from Saint Thomas. And went there. So, you know. Like there, one plus one, automatically, it's already telling me, okay that means that he could have been a slave. Because of the British last name, Johnson. 'Cause that's a British last name and they were given when they were being released. And he knew how to write. So, you know, things that makes you wonder, okay he must have worked in the stable. But he had most contact with the people. Of how to be able to learn how to write. So, you know, things like that. So, you know. It's just putting the pieces together of the puzzle.

Interviewer Okay. Yeah, that's very interesting 'cause there's enough to puzzle, puzzle around with.

Participant E Yeah, exactly.

Interviewer So, now the last couple of questions. So, you already said something about if you're, you know, with Nigeria, that you'd like to see Nigeria probably. But did you have with any of the other ethnicities or maybe with Nigerian even. Did you have any positive or negative feelings towards any of these ethnicities?

Participant E No, not at all. Maybe because of having all these different DNA in me has made me less racist. Yeah.

Interviewer Would you say that before that you were a bit racist? Would you say this?

Participant E No, not at all. Like I said, I was brought up with a mix of people. So, a black person to me was like being like a normal person like without bringing up the black, grey, purple or Puerto Rican or... you know, that's my boy, that's it. [laughs].

Interviewer So how did you feel about seeing your ethnicity.

Participant E I mean, I feel pretty great. A little bit confused, like I said. There is a lot of stuff here that I cannot see where it came from. Unless something happened between Nigeria and yeah, British, yeah UK. To be able to find the Irish and Scottish. I mean, something must have happened there. Maybe even my great great grandparents, you know. That could have been also. It's been so long. It could have been a descendant from way back. That maybe lived there and maybe had children with Scottish or Irish. You know. That could have been it.

Interviewer So just knowing this, does this makes you like happy or more interested?

Participant E More interested, like I said, it's more interested... more interesting. Right now, like talking with you. You saw I was trying to put up the puzzle. Something happened from Nigeria to the UK. So, it just makes the puzzle more interesting.

Interviewer Your wife said that she likes to puzzle a lot. Do you have this as well? Do you really like to find out how are things?

Participant E Yeah, I mean, it's contagious. Because I like history. I like history a lot. So being able to track the family members down, gives you an understanding of the things they went through. The journeys they took. How easy we have it now, like we jump on a plane and we just there in a couple of hours. Them people had to get on freaky little boats and being scared like shit. Be out there for two/ three months.

Interviewer It's true, such a different story.

Participant E Yeah, exactly. You're start seeing, you're like wow, you know. From taken, 'cause basically, they didn't leave, they took them from Nigeria... from Africa and shift them all around the world. (()) Who knows, we could go back to the cavemen.

Interviewer Too bad that you can't find that out.

Participant E Yeah, yeah. Not yet.

Interviewer Maybe, in a couple of years [laughs].

Participant E Yes, see my cavemen ancestors [laughs].

Interviewer Yeah [laughs]. Who knows? Alright. That's great. That were all my questions. Thank you very much. Is there anything else that you would like to say? Something I didn't ask you about that you'd maybe still like to get off your chest?

Participant E No, not really. Like there is only one thing that people, such as, learn about each other like then it will open up their eyes much better.

Interviewer With this kind of test? Knowing this?

Participant E Yeah because they will understand each other. You know. Because... like I said, a lot of upbringing and a lot of cultures are involved. You know, that got to be in the social environment. Basically, with your friends. That they understand also where you're coming from, the same way you understand where they're coming from. Unless you're born

in that culture. Now if you're born in that culture, that's all you know. So, for them it's gonna be right.

Interviewer If you have the same culture?

Participant E Yeah, exactly. If you have the same culture, you're good. You know, we can... being black, we come from a lot of different, you know, cultures. I mean, we come from a rich culture already. You know what I mean? [laughs]

Interviewer Yeah, and people don't really know that you mean?

Participant E Yeah, a lot of people don't know. I mean, they don't know that the influence of an upbringing in any type of culture, okay, is always right. There's no wrong.

Interviewer No true.

Participant E Yeah.

Interviewer Okay, well, thank you again. It was very nice to have this chat with you.

Participant E You're welcome.

Interviewer I will stop the recording now.

Interview 6: Participant Participant F (Dutch)

Interviewer Even kijken hoor. Dan ga ik nu eerst even wat vragen over jezelf vragen. Dus hoe oud ben je?

Participant F 24.

Interviewer En wat is je nationaliteit?

Participant F Nederlands.

Interviewer Wat is je educatie achtergrond?

Participant F Ik heb MBO 2 beveiliging gedaan, VMBO en ik ben nu bezig met MBO 4.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. En wat doe je voor werk daarnaast nog?

Participant F Ik werk in de jeugdzorg. Bij de cliëntenregistratie.

Interviewer Helemaal goed, prima. Oké. De eerste vraag is die ik je wil vragen... [gehoest op de achtergrond] Ik ga eerst even de deur dicht doen, één moment [doet deur dicht]. Wat is jouw idee over etniciteit? Dit is meer om te kijken... etniciteit wordt in de literatuur niet

helemaal goed beschreven of is een beetje een vaag concept. Daarom wil ik graag weten hoe jij... wat jij denkt wat etniciteit is?

Participant F Ja, je achtergrond. Waar je officieel vandaan komt, zeg maar.

Interviewer Oké en is dat dan een plek? Gebonden aan een plek of locatie?

Participant F Nee, dat niet zozeer, maar meer de delen waar je vandaan komt, zeg maar. Het is niet echt één plek.

Interviewer Oké, goed. En heb je het gevoel... je hebt cultuur en je hebt etniciteit. Heb je ook het gevoel dat dit verbonden is?

Participant F Nee, eigenlijk niet.

Interviewer Het zijn twee verschillende dingen?

Participant F Ja. Ja.

Interviewer En wat is dan cultuur voor jou?

Participant F Dat is waar jezelf vandaan komt en hoe je dan opgegroeid bent en de normen en waarden die je hebt meegekregen van huis. Dat is voor mij dan cultuur.

Interviewer Oké, dankjewel. Nou dan met dat idee dat je hebt van etniciteit is in jouw hoofd, daar gaan we verder mee in het interview.

Participant F Ja.

Interviewer Dus in het begin is het meer... nog steeds over etniciteit en hoe jezelf naar etniciteit kijkt. Waarom... Dus hoe belangrijk vind jij je etnische achtergrond? Je etniciteit?

Participant F Nou, ik vind het niet heel belangrijk omdat ik voor mezelf toch wel weet, oké, ik ben geboren in Purmerend, ik ben officieel Nederlands. Dus ik vind het niet heel belangrijk en het doet niet zoveel voor mij. Maar ik vind het gewoon heel leuk om te weten, zeg maar. Oké, met dat idee heb ik het [de DNA test] gedaan. Maar het is voor mijzelf niet heel belangrijk.

Interviewer En dan om een beetje te gaan kijken hoe... Je hebt, etniciteit, in een rijtje van een aantal andere concepten in dezelfde categorie, dus heb je een pen en papier? Dan ga ik even die woorden noemen. Of misschien op de laptop?

Participant F Ik doe het wel even op de telefoon.

Interviewer Ok, ja is goed. Dus dan zijn het de woorden, gender.

Participant F Ja.

Interviewer Ras. Etniciteit.

Participant F Ja.

Interviewer Religie. Sociale klasse.

Participant F Ja.

Interviewer En dan het laatste nationaliteit.

Participant F Ja.

Interviewer Oké. Dus zou jij voor mij dit op een rijtje willen zetten voor wat voor jou, als jij jouzelf omschrijft of als je naar jezelf kijkt, welke het belangrijkste is in het begin, en dan in volgorde zetten, en het laatste wat je het minst belangrijk vindt.

Participant F Oké. Even kijken hoor. Als eerste denk ik sociale klasse.

Interviewer En waarom?

Participant F Omdat je gender of ras, het maakt niet uit wie of wat je bent, als je maar gewoon normaal doet. [lacht].

Interviewer [lacht].

Participant F Daarna toch wel gender.

Interviewer En waarom gender op de tweede plek?

Participant F Ja. Dan moet ik even goed nadenken hoor. Omdat dit toch ook wel heel veel over mezelf zegt. Ben je een man of een vrouw, of weet je het nog niet zo goed wat je bent. Ja, daarom eigenlijk.

Interviewer Dus dat is wel een belangrijk stukje, zal je dan zeggen, van jezelf, of niet?

Participant F Ja. Daarna je ras en etniciteit. Die horen bij elkaar, hè?

Interviewer Nou hier zijn het eigenlijk twee verschillende concepten.

Participant F En daarna ras en daarna etniciteit.

Interviewer Dus wat is de...?

Participant F Ras, waarschijnlijk omdat je met cultuur de normen en waarden meekrijgt. En etniciteit, ja dat is dan waar je gedeeltelijk vandaan komt, zeg maar. En het kan met elkaar te

maken hebben, maar voor mij niet dan. Ja, met minder normen en waarden. Ik denk dat dat met elkaar te maken heeft.

Interviewer Oké. Dus... En met ras dat het gevoel er meer is?

Participant F Ja.

Interviewer Oké. Ja.

Participant F En effen kijken. Wat had ik hierna. Nee, daarna nationaliteit.

Interviewer Ja, nationaliteit.

Participant F En daarna religie.

Interviewer Oké en waarom religie als laatst?

Participant F Omdat ik helemaal niets met religie heb [lacht].

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. En waarom nationaliteit als één na laatste?

Participant F Omdat het op zich niet moet uitmaken waar je vandaan komt. Ja, het enige is dat het handig is dat het op je paspoort staat dat je ergens wel of niet naar binnen mag, maar eigenlijk anders ook niet.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. Nog even naar... Ja, dat was sociale klasse, waar je het over had. Daar had je gezegd, doe maar gewoon normaal, daar gaat het om, zeg maar.

Participant F Ja.

Interviewer Dus wat bedoel je daar precies mee? In relatie tot sociale klasse.

Participant F Dat iedereen met een goede en normale manier met elkaar omgaat. En dat was het.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. Dus het hangt er niet vanaf waar je zit in de sociale klasse, maar meer dat iedereen met elkaar...

Participant F Ja.

Interviewer Dus dat eigenlijk een soort van... Dat je met iedereen van verschillende klassen ook normaal mee omgaat?

Participant F Ja, precies.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. Dankjewel. En wat was de reden dat je een DNA test ging doen?

Participant F Nou ik was ik gewoon vreselijk nieuwsgierig. Ik dacht altijd, nou Hollandser dan dat ik ben wordt het niet. Maar ja, nee ik dacht ik ben gewoon benieuwd wat daar uitkomt. En daarmee ben ik het eigenlijk gaan doen. Samen met m'n nichtje, die wilde het ook wel weten. En daarom zijn we dat eigenlijk gaan doen.

Interviewer Oké, helemaal goed. En welke DNA test heb je gedaan?

Participant F Bij My Heritage.

Interviewer Ja, oké. En...oké, dus dit was...Nu komt het gedeelte van hoe je naar jezelf kijkt, naar je eigen identiteit. Etnisch gezien. Van voordat je de test had gedaan. Dus wat wist jij over je etnische achtergrond? Je zei net al dat je dacht heel Nederlands.

Participant F Ja, inderdaad. Dat dacht ik dus. Ik dacht ik ben hartstikke Nederlands. De oma's van allebei de kanten komen allebei uit Amsterdam. De andere opa uit Naarden en de andere opa uit Leiden. Dus ik denk, nou dat is redelijk Nederlands wel. Maar verder kende ik niets of wist ik niet hoe het zat. En vandaar dat ik echt zo dacht, nou dat zit wel goed, dat is wel Nederlands.

Interviewer Ja, dus dat is echt gebaseerd op... van je grootouders.

Participant F Ja, ja.

Interviewer Oké. En heb je ooit gehad dat je er iets van andere mensen over hoorde? Of familieleden die wat zeiden?

Participant F Nee, nee. Eigenlijk nooit, nee.

Interviewer Oké. En als je jezelf zou beschrijven, etnisch gezien. Wat zou dat dan zijn? Zou je dan zeggen etnisch gezien Nederlands? Dit is nog voor de test.

Participant F Ja, ja. Ik moet wel zeggen ik weet niet echt hoe een basic Nederlander echt is, zeg maar, maar ik zou me wel gewoon Nederlands omschrijven.

Interviewer Oké, heel goed. En hebben andere mensen die, als ze jou zagen, in het buitenland of waar het ook was, jou een andere etniciteit gegeven?

Participant F Nee. Nee, ook niet echt. Nee, nee.

Interviewer Oké. En zijn er etniciteiten of misschien de Nederlandse etniciteit, waar je het meest mee identificeert? Bijvoorbeeld dat je daarbij ook op die manier doet. Dat het past bij je etniciteit?

Participant F Nee, eigenlijk niet. Ik zou niet zeggen van oh dat is bijvoorbeeld iemand... een andere etniciteit. Dat je dat echt ziet, zeg maar, maar dat heb ik helemaal niet. Dat ik echt denk, dit is zo iemand anders, nou zo ben ik ook. Nee, dat heb ik niet.

Interviewer Dat heb je niet, oké. En wanneer ben je bewust van je etniciteit? Wanneer merk je dat? Misschien in een bepaalde situatie, dat je ergens bent of met familie bent?

Participant F Ja, ja, ik denk dat het wel is wanneer ik met mijn familie ben, hoor. Dan zijn we... Echt die Hollandse verjaardagen bijvoorbeeld, weet je wel. Lekker in een kringetje, kaas, worst en cake. Ja dat vind ik wel...oh ja, dat vind ik wel Hollands, hoor.

Interviewer En heb je daar ook een gevoel bij dat je dat heel fijn vindt? Dat dit voor jou thuis voelen is?

Participant F Ja hoor. Ja, dat heb ik wel echt.

Interviewer Ja, heel goed. En wanneer... Mijn volgende vraag zou zijn, wanneer is je etniciteit betekenisvol voor jou? Is dat dan in die momenten? Dat het echt betekenisvol is?

Participant F Ja, wanneer ik met mijn familie ben.

Interviewer Ja, oké.

Participant F Dan is het wel, oké, dat is wel belangrijk voor mij.

Interviewer Oké. En heb je dat ook nog bij andere momenten? Of alleen dan?

Participant F Nee, eigenlijk alleen dan. Ja.

Interviewer Oké. En heb je het gevoel dat je dus ook... We hadden het er net over, hè, je hebt cultuur, je hebt etniciteit. Heb je het gevoel dan als je naar etniciteit kijkt, als je de Nederlandse etniciteit hebt, doe je dan bepaalde dingen, die met je etniciteit te maken hebben?

Participant F Nee, nee. Ik denk het niet. Nee dat denk ik niet.

Interviewer En dan cultureel gezien?

Participant F Ja, jeetje. Misschien toch echt dat familie gebonden dan. Dat je daar heel veel mee doet en daar heel veel mee bent, zeg maar. Dat.

Interviewer Dat vanuit de familie. Dat je vanuit daar de dingen doet die... Dat het, zeg maar, jouw cultuur...

Participant F Dat is, zeg maar, mijn basis.

Interviewer Oké, ja. Helemaal goed. En... Nou dan komen we nu aan bij het deel na de test. Dus toen je de resultaten kreeg, waren er enige resultaten die... waar je heel erg door verrast was?

Participant F Allemaal eigenlijk wel.

Interviewer Oké.

Participant F Ja, wacht ik ga het er even bij pakken hoor.

Interviewer Oké. Ja.

Participant F Ja, nou ja, omdat ik dus dacht ik dacht echt wel 100% Nederlands was en er geen rare dingen uit zouden komen. Ik ben wel echt 99% Europees. En...Maar daarvan ben ik 26% Engels. En dat had ik niet verwacht. 3.5% Fins. Nou, dat had ik ook helemaal niet verwacht. En een stuk uit de Balkan. En een heel klein gedeelte uit het Midden-Oosten. Dus ik had het echt allemaal niet verwacht.

Interviewer Nee, dit is heel anders dan Nederland alleen.

Participant F Hele rare resultaten kwam eruit.

Interviewer Ja [lacht]. En als je nu naar jezelf kijkt etnisch gezien, omschrijf je je nu dan anders? We zeiden eerder van hoe zou je je etnisch omschrijven voor de test, toen zei je, nou ja, Nederlands. Is dat nu veranderd?

Participant F Nee, helemaal niet. Nee, ik ben gewoon... Met dezelfde normen en waarden blijf ik gewoon bezig, maar nee zit er helemaal niet dat ik denk: ik ben er echt mee bezig want ik ben zoveel procent Engels, dus dan ga ik me ook zo gedragen. Nee.

Interviewer Maar ben je dan wel eens in Engeland geweest? Ik zag je laatst in Londen met je moeder, volgens mij?

Participant F Ja, mijn moeder is die is vorig weekend in Londen geweest.

Interviewer Ooh oké! Ja, ja. Oké.

Participant F Nee, ik vorig jaar. En het jaar daarvoor was ik in Schotland,

Interviewer En heb je daar nu, nu je daar bent geweest, zo achteraf, dat je daar toch een ander gevoel bij hebt?

Participant F Nee eigenlijk niet. Het is wel een beetje gek, dat je denkt, oké, ze komen hier eigenlijk allemaal vandaan. Maar verder, nee hoor. Nee.

Interviewer Nee. Oké, helemaal goed. En... Even kijken hoor. Heb je het gevoel dat je verder wilt uitzoeken hoe het precies zit?

Participant F Nou, aan de ene kant denk ik, van nou ja, ik vind het leuk om het zo te weten omdat ik weet wie mijn familie is, het is niet zo dat ik opzoek ben naar iemand. Dus helemaal niet weet waar ik vandaan kom. Maar aan de andere kant denk ik, nou, ik vind het eigenlijk best wel interessant en wie komt er dan vandaan en hoelang hebben ze daar gezeten. Het is best wel een mengelmoes, zeg maar.

Participant F Jazeker.

Interviewer Dus dat vind ik wel heel erg interessant.

Participant F Jazeker. Dat lijkt me heel interessant. En nu je dit zo weet, zijn er etniciteiten waar je je meer mee identificeert? Of... Dat je daar wat meer... We hadden het net over Engeland, maar misschien nog met anderen?

Interviewer Nou ik moest laatst wel lachen, ik zag laatst een vrouw in de Lidl en qua etniciteit was het een beetje Midden-Oosten. En ik zag een vrouw met een hoofddoek lopen en toen zag ik echt dat ze de huidskleur van mijn Oma had en de donkere ogen van mijn oma had. En dat vond ik wel heel erg grappig. Maar het is echt maar 0.8% ofzo, dus het slaat echt helemaal nergens op. Maar daar moest ik toch wel om lachen.

Participant F Ja, dat je er toch even bij stil staat, ofzo?

Interviewer Ja, ja.

Participant F Ja, oké. En heb je het gevoel, ja, we hadden het er net al een beetje over, maar dat de resultaten enige invloed hebben op hoe je je nu... misschien hoe je naar de wereld kijkt of hoe je naar jezelf kijkt?

Interviewer Nee, eigenlijk helemaal niet.

Participant F Beide niet? Ook niet de wereld of...?

Interviewer Nee, omdat het ook maar een heel klein gedeelte is. Ik blijf toch wel doorgaan met dezelfde normen en waarden. Ja, nee. Ik kijk er helemaal niet anders tegenaan.

Participant F Oké. En voordat je de test deed... hè, je hebt nu die bepaalde landen gezien of bepaalde plekken gezien /eticiteiten gezien, die dus wat meer naar voren komen. Hoe dacht je over deze etniciteiten? Over deze landen, zeg maar, hoe dacht je hierover na? Had je daar positieve gevoelens naar? Negatieve gevoelens? Neutraal?

Interviewer Ik dacht er wel positief over. Het is niet dat ik er heel veel over nadacht, maar ik was met Engeland, oh het is leuk om daarheen te gaan en de mensen zijn netjes. En ja, dat dacht ik wel. Finland ben ik eigenlijk nog nooit geweest dus ik weet niet hoe het daar is. En... Ja, ik dacht er niet heel veel over na, maar ook niet dat ik er heel negatief over nadacht.

Participant F Ja, ja, ja, Dus daar is niet iets in veranderd?

Interviewer Nee, nee.

Participant F En hoe voelde je je toen je deze resultaten zag?

Interviewer Ik vond het heel spannend. Want ik kreeg een mail met “je resultaten zijn binnen” en ik had er echt zes weken op gewacht en ik vond het echt heel spannend.

Participant F Want waarom vond je het spannend?

Interviewer Nou omdat je dan denkt dat je echt wel Nederlands bent, maar goed, niemand is 100% van wat ie is, zeg maar. Iedereen komt overal wel vandaan, allemaal wel een mengelmoes van alles. Ik vond het spannend omdat ik gewoon heel nieuwsgierig was. Oké, wat komt er dan uit en bij wie van mijn ouders komt het dan vandaan? Ja, daarom vond ik het wel spannend.

Participant F Want heb je nu een beetje een idee waar het vandaan kan komen? Welke kant?

Interviewer Ja, omdat mijn nichtje het ook heeft gedaan. Dus we wisten van, oké, als mijn tante dat heeft... of mijn nichtje dat heeft, dan komt het bij onze moeders vandaan. Als mijn nichtje het niet heeft dan komt het bij mijn vader vandaan. Dus het komt dan bij mijn moeder vandaan. Fins komt bij mijn vader vandaan. En Balkans ook. Dus dat is wel grappig.

Participant F Jazeker. Oké. Nou dat waren eigenlijk al mijn vragen. We zijn er snel doorheen.

Interviewer Nou, oké.

Participant F Even kijken hoor. Is er nog iets dat jijzelf zou willen zeggen? Iets wat ik niet heb gevraagd, waar je nog iets kwijt over zou willen?

Interviewer Nee, eigenlijk niet. Nee, nee.

Participant F Oké, helemaal goed. Dankjewel. Nou dan ga ik de recording stoppen.

Interview 6: Participant Participant F (English)

Interviewer Let's see. I will first ask you a few questions about yourself. So how old are you?

Participant F 24.

Interviewer And what is your nationality?

Participant F Dutch.

Interviewer What is your educational background?

Participant F I have done MBO 2 Security⁵, VMBO⁶ and now I'm doing MBO 4⁷.

Interviewer Okay, alright. And what else do you do for work?

Participant F I work at a youth care organisation. As a registration employee.

Interviewer Good, great. Alright. The first question that I want to ask you is... [coughing on background]. First, I will close the door, one moment [closes door]. What is your idea about ethnicity? This is more to look at ... ethnicity is not fully explained in the literature or is a bit of a vague concept. That is why I would like to what you think ethnicity is?

Participant F Yes, your background. Where you officially come from, so to speak.

Interviewer Okay and is that a place? Is it tied to a place or a location?

Participant F No, not so much, but more the areas where you come from, say. It is not really one place.

Interviewer Okay. And there's culture and ethnicity. Do you also feel that this is connected?

Participant F No, not really.

Interviewer They are two different things?

Participant F Yes. Yes.

Interviewer And what is culture then for you?

Participant F That is where you come from and how you've grown up and the norms and values that you received from home. or me, that is culture.

Interviewer Okay, thank you. Well with the idea that you have of ethnicity, we will continue with that for during the interview.

⁵ College

⁶ O-Levels

⁷ College

Participant F Yes.

Interviewer So, in the beginning it's more ... still about ethnicity and how you look at ethnicity. So how important do you think your ethnic background is? Your ethnicity?

Participant F Well, I don't think it's very important because I know for myself anyways that I was born in Purmerend, I am officially Dutch. So I don't think it's very important and it doesn't do much for me. But I just really like to know. Okay, I did it [the DNA test] with that idea. But it is not very important to me.

Interviewer Ethnicity is in a row of a number of other concepts in the same category, so do you have a pen and paper? Then I'll tell you all these words. Or maybe on the laptop?

Participant F I'll just do it on the phone.

Interviewer Okay, yes, that's fine. So, then it's the words, 'gender'.

Participant F Yes.

Interviewer 'Race'. 'Ethnicity'.

Participant F Yes.

Interviewer 'Religion'. 'Social class'.

Participant F Yes.

Interviewer And then the last one is 'nationality'.

Participant F Yes.

Interviewer Alright. So could you put this in order for me, if you describe yourself or if you look at yourself, which is the most important at the beginning and the last thing that you find least important .

Participant F Okay. Let's see. First, I have social class.

Interviewer And why?

Participant F Because your gender or race, it doesn't matter who or what you are, as long as you just act normal [laughs].

Interviewer [laughs].

Participant F Then gender.

Interviewer And why gender comes second?

Participant F Yes. Then I have to think carefully. Because this also says a lot about myself. Are you a man or a woman, or do you not yet know what you are? Yes, that's why.

Interviewer So that is an important part, would you say, of yourself or not?

Participant F Yes. Then your race and ethnicity. They belong together, don't they?

Interviewer Well, here they are actually two different concepts.

Participant F And then race and then ethnicity.

Interviewer So what's the ...?

Participant F Race, probably because you get the norms and values with culture. And ethnicity, yes, that's where you partly come from. And it may have something to do with each other, but not for me. Yes, with fewer norms and values. I think that it is related to each other.

Interviewer Alright. And with race that the feeling is more?

Participant F Yes.

Interviewer Alright. Yes.

Participant F Let's see. What did I have after this. No, then nationality.

Interviewer Yes, nationality.

Participant F And then religion.

Interviewer Okay and why religion last?

Participant F Because I have nothing with religion [laughs].

Interviewer Okay, alright. And why nationality as second last?

Participant F Because it doesn't have to matter where you come from. Yes, the only thing is that it is handy to have it on your passport that you may or may not enter, but other than that no.

Interviewer Okay, alright. Yes, that was social class you were talking about. You said there, just act normal, that's what it's about.

Participant F Yes.

Interviewer So, what exactly do you mean by that? In relation to social class.

Participant F That everyone treats each other in a proper and normal way. And that was it.

Interviewer Okay, alright. So, it does not depend on what your position is in the social class, but more that everyone is together ...

Participant F Yes.

Interviewer That you deal with everyone normally from different classes?

Participant F Yes, exactly.

Interviewer Okay, good. Thank you. And what was the reason that you went to do a DNA test?

Participant F Well I was just terribly curious. I always thought, more Dutch than me doesn't exist. But I was just curious what would come out of it. And that's why I did it. Together with my cousin, she also wanted to know. And that's why we did it.

Interviewer Okay, alright. And which DNA test did you do?

Participant F At My Heritage.

Interviewer Yes. Now we've arrived at the part of how you look at yourself, your own identity. Ethnically speaking. Before you did the test. So, what did you know about your ethnic background? You just said you thought [it was] very Dutch.

Participant F Yes indeed. I thought so. I thought I was very Dutch. The grandmothers from both sides are both from Amsterdam. The other grandfather is from Naarden and the other grandfather is from Leiden. So, I think, well, that's pretty Dutch. But I knew nothing further or I didn't know what happened. And that is why I really thought that, well that is fine, that is Dutch.

Interviewer Yes, so that's really based on ... your grandparents.

Participant F Yes, yes.

Interviewer Alright. And have you ever heard anything from other people about it? Or relatives who said something?

Participant F No, no. Never really.

Interviewer Alright. And if you would describe yourself ethnically. What would that be? Would you ethnically say Dutch? This is before the test.

Participant F Yes, yes. I have to say I don't really know what a basic Dutch person really is, but I would just describe myself as Dutch.

Interviewer Okay, very good. And have other people who, when they saw you, abroad or wherever they were, given you a different ethnicity?

Participant F No. No, not really. No, no.

Interviewer Alright. And are there any ethnicities or perhaps the Dutch ethnicity, with which you identify the most? For example, you also do that in the same way. That it fits with your ethnicity?

Participant F No, not really. I would not say oh, for example, that is someone ... a different ethnicity. That you see that, but I don't see that at all. That I really think this is someone else, the same as how I am. No, I don't have that.

Interviewer You don't have that, okay. And when are you aware of your ethnicity? When will you notice that? Maybe in a certain situation, that you are somewhere or with family?

Participant F Yes, yes, I think it is when I am with my family. Then we are ... You really know those Dutch birthdays, for example. Sitting in a circle, cheese, sausage and cake. Yes, I think so... oh yes, I think that's very Dutch.

Interviewer And do you really like that? That this makes you feel at home?

Participant F Yes of course. Yes, I really do.

Interviewer Yes, very good. My next question would be, when is your ethnicity meaningful to you? Is that in those moments? That it's really meaningful?

Participant F Yes, when I am with my family.

Interviewer Yes.

Participant F Then it is, okay, that's important to me.

Interviewer Alright. And do you also have that at other times? Or only then?

Participant F No, only then. Yes.

Interviewer Alright. And do you feel that you are also... We were just talking about it, there's culture, there's ethnicity. Do you feel then when you look at ethnicity, when you have Dutch ethnicity, do you do certain things that align with your ethnicity?

Participant F No, no. I don't think so. No, I don't think so.

Interviewer And then culturally?

Participant F Yes gosh. Perhaps that family connection. That you do a lot with them and that you are with them a lot.

Interviewer That from family. From there you're doing things that ... That, say, your culture ...

Participant F That is, my base, so to speak.

Interviewer Okay, yes. Very good. And ... well now we've come to the part about after the test. So, when you got the results, were there some results that really surprised you?

Participant F All of them, actually.

Interviewer Okay.

Participant F Yes, wait I'm going to get it.

Interviewer Alright. Yes.

Participant F Yes, well, because I thought I was mainly Dutch, and I thought no strange things would come out. I am really 99% European. But I am 26% English. And I didn't expect that. 3.5% Finnish. Well, I didn't expect that at all. And a part Balkan. And a very small part of the Middle East. So, I really didn't expect it all.

Interviewer No, this is very different from [having] the Netherlands alone.

Participant F Very odd results.

Interviewer Yes [laughs]. And if you look at yourself now from an ethnic point of view, do you describe yourself differently now? You said earlier how you would describe yourself ethnically before the test, you said then Dutch. Has that changed now?

Participant F No, not at all. No, I am just... I keep the same norms and values, I'm not thinking: I have such a high percentage of English, so then I start to behave that way. No.

Interviewer But have you ever been to England? I've recently seen you were in London with your mother, I think?

Participant F Yes, my mother was in London last weekend.

Interviewer Ooh okay! Yes, yes. Alright.

Participant F No, I went last year. And the year before that I was in Scotland,

Interviewer And do you have, now that you have been there, a different feeling about it, in retrospect?

Participant F No, not really. It is kind of crazy that you think, okay, they all come from here. But otherwise, no.

Interviewer No. Okay, all right. Do you feel you want to find out more about why it's like this exactly?

Participant F Well, on the one hand, I think, well, I just like to know it because I know who my family is, it's not like I'm looking for someone. So, not knowing where I come from. But on the other hand, I think, well, I actually find it quite interesting and who comes from where and how long have they been there? It is quite a mishmash, so to speak.

Interviewer Quite.

Participant F So, I find that very interesting.

Interviewer Certainly. It seems very interesting. And now that you know this, are there ethnicities that you identify with more? Or ... That you there... We were just talking about England, but maybe with others?

Participant F Well I had to laugh recently, I recently saw a woman in the Lidl and in terms of ethnicity she was a bit Middle Eastern. And I saw a woman with a headscarf walking and then I saw that she had the skin colour of my Grandma and the dark eyes of my grandma. And I thought that was very funny. But it is really only 0.8% or so, it really makes no sense at all. But I had to laugh about that.

Interviewer Yes, that you think about it for a moment?

Participant F Yes, yes.

Interviewer Yes. And do you have the feeling, yes, we were just talking about it, but that the results have some influence on how you feel now... maybe how you look at the world or how you look at yourself?

Participant F No, not at all.

Interviewer Neither the world nor ...?

Participant F No, because it is only a very small part. I will continue to use the same norms and values. No. I don't look at it differently.

Interviewer Alright. And before you did the test ..., you have now seen those specific countries or seen certain places / ethnicities, which emerged. What did you think about these

ethnicities? About these countries, what did you think about this? Did you have any positive feelings about that? Negative feelings? Neutral?

Participant F I thought positively about it. It's not that I thought a lot about it, but with England, I thought "oh, it's nice to go there and people there are nice". And yes, that's what I thought. I have never been to Finland, so I don't know what it's like there. And ... Yes, I didn't think about it very much, but also that I didn't think about it very negatively.

Interviewer Yes, yes, yes, so nothing has changed?

Participant F No, no.

Interviewer And how did you feel when you saw these results?

Participant F I found it very exciting. Because I received an email with "your results are in" and I really waited six weeks for it and I found it really exciting.

Interviewer Why did you find it exciting?

Participant F Well because then you think that you really are Dutch, but anyway, nobody is 100% of what he is, so to speak. Everyone comes from everywhere, everybody is a mishmash of everything. I found it exciting because I was just very curious. Okay, then what comes out of it and which of my parents does it come from? Yes, that's why I thought it was exciting.

Interviewer Do you have a bit of an idea where it can come from? Which side?

Participant F Yes, because my cousin did it too. So we knew, okay, if my cousin has that, then it comes from our mothers. If my cousin doesn't have it, it comes from my father. So it [English ethnicity] comes from my mother. Finnish comes from my father. And the Balkans too. So that's funny.

Interviewer Certainly. Alright. Well those were all my questions. We got through it quickly.

Participant F Well okay.

Interviewer Let's see. Is there anything else you would like to say? Something I didn't ask you would like to say something about?

Participant F No actually not. No.

Interviewer Okay, all right. Thank you. Well then, I will stop the recording.

Written Interview 1: Participant G

Factual questions**What is your gender?**

Male

What is your age?

31

What is your nationality?

Turkish

What is your educational background?

University (Engineering)

Beginning questions**What is ethnicity according to you?**

Basically it is Pre-Nationality

What do you mean with pre-nationality?

I wanted to say post-nationality, My pardon. The only difference between nationality and ethnicity is genetic structure for me. Azeri and Anatolian Turks were same ethnicity Oghuz when they were in Iran, but after that, they lived in different countries as different nations, so two different ethnicity comes around Azeri and Turk, now even Anatolian Turks are closer to Armenian than Azeris now in genetic way.

After nationality period is ethnicity. Many different nations even different ethnic groups or race are coming to Britain. Then they become British. In USA many people forget own ethnicity or very mix for to me in one spesific ethnic group, so they become American as ethnicity not just nationality.

Do the two concepts ethnicity and culture differ to you?

There is clear relation between them and even maybe in the past, they were same. Culture creates ethnicity. But now, culture changes rapidly, ethnicity doesn't. There is still common points but with globalization, there are also to much external culture factors which have effect on culture of person.

US is good example about it. I didn't see any different act of ex-president Obama form any white leftiest president.

First female imam in Germany is Turkish, but she is against Turkey's influence on German Mosques etc.

But sometimes there is also clear similarity. Culture is way to live. nationality and ethnicity is people. If you give enough time to a nation which involves different ethnicity. With marriages and living together, they will become a new ethnicity or one of them will disappear in other ethnicity.

General

How important is your ethnicity and/or ethnic background to you?

Ethnicity mean mother tonue for me and important at first. However, when you spend enough time with other people who has different ethnicity, it looses its condition.

Language is the important point not genetic.

So would you say that it's mother tongue is for everyone their ethnicity, or for you in this case? What you mean exactly with ethnicity losing it's condition? Can you explain this a bit more or give an example, perhaps?

There is no mean to be in one ethnic group, if you can't speak its language. Just two weeks ago, I watched a vidoe on DW website(German site). It was about Turk migrants. They spoke first, second and third generations. You can see how they are loosing their language.

Could you please place these categories in order of importance according to you? The first one is what you find most important, the last one is the least important

Gender, Race, Ethnicity, Religion, Class, Nationality

Class, Nationality, Ethnicity, Gender , Religion, Race

Could you explain why you chose this order? So, for example, I chose class first because

....

Actually, it is very complex order. If you put me in an island with 100 different people.

Firstly, I will try to find Turkish speakers then English. Others will be nothing in first step.

Also if you include Aliens as well, I will prefer Christian Human(Race) more then Agnostic Green skinned Native Marsian.

In the order, I ignored these extra situations and just look in culture. As a mixed one, race is the least important thing. Religion is second. I don't do any practicing, it is more personal thing for me instead of community/organisation. But I have knowledge so at least some shared thing. Then gender, I hate all kind of sports and team supports, even national teams but still I can find a easy way to talk with male instead of female. Ethnicity comes later. It based on old shared culture. Then nationality, it is more important then ethnicity. Example, I will vote with Kurds in Turkey in this March not with Uyghur Turks, or Bulgarian Turks.

What made you decide to do a DNA test?

To get a proof about how mix I am. As a Turk in Turkey, I can get that I am mixed but seeing Turks who pretend they are 100% Central Asian, made be sick.

Why this makes you sick?

Because it is a lie. Similar with Flat-Earth Society.

Before the Test

What did you know/think about your ethnic background prior to the DNA test(s)?

All family history from Mother and Father side, is related with Karamanlides: the biggest Anatolian Turk state after Ottoman. So Turkish is my first guess but a few foreign marriage could be. I have already accept that part because of fair haired and blue eyed my fathers and his some relatives

Of course even before the test I knew that Turkic/Central Asian parts in modern Turks less then 20-25%, so when I said Turkish. I meant that I thought I was average Modern Turkish; Native Anatolian with Turkic

How did you know/ why did you think this (e.g. family history, based on appearance)?

Mostly family history and I don't have a special appearance than an average Turk. There is no reason to think differently.

In describing yourself, how did you prior to the DNA test(s) say who you are ethnically?

Native Anatolian with mix Turkic

Have others labelled you ethnically different from this?

Majority and popular culture is different, even in Europe. Turks comes from Central Asia etc.

So based on this, have people thought you had a different ethnic background? If yes, what did they think you were?

The point is popular culture is supporting false statements. I am looking like a ordinary Turk from West or Central Turkey, so people are labelling me and themselves wrong. Example, in forum when I say I am r1a⁸, he said that I should be z93⁹(central asian r1a), but I am not.

When are you aware of your ethnicity/ies? à e.g. with family members? Or others making comments?

I didn't face any ethnic breaking moment. But there was religion one. In high school, one of my friend confessed that he was an Alevi (a kind of islamic branch, but not well-come by sunni). For me, it was not important. The main point was that, he felt that it needed to speak silently like it should stay between us and this suprised me.

So were you then aware of also your own religious background?

I guess, yes. Because of living with metaralist parents (this is how they call themselves) you don't look from religious perspective. Religious influence has very weak power on you. That's why, I hadn't think to much about religion till I was 15.

Are ethnicity and religion concepts that can be combined?

In the basic yes, Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian genetic, language etc, are very similar, very close. But they are different ethnic groups, but there are lost of expectation. Are ethnic Germans Protestan or Catholic? 15-20% people in Turkey Alevi, which can be seen part of Shia Islam but has great difference. My roommate in university was Arab Christian etc...

When is your ethnicity meaningful to you? à e.g. Are there moments you feel proud?

Having mix structure makes me a proud. I feel like a giant tree whose root goes far away.

Do you feel you act a certain way which relates to your ethnicity?

It is not about ethnicity, it is about culture. Culture has effect on act, not ethnicity

Is this different from how you see yourself culturally?

I divide Turks as Homo Turcus Levantini and Homo Turcus Orientalis

Could you explain what you mean with this? So what you mean with Turcus Levantini and Homo Turcus Orientalis?

⁸ Origin in Eurasia

⁹ Origin in Asia

Levant word comes for light, it is enlightened. The other one is conservative one. The culture difference is high to be separated.

After the test

Were there any new discoveries in the DNA test results in relation to your ethnic background?

Yes: Having Slavic Y-Dna was odd for me and I was hoping to be more East Med then Balkans

Why you were hoping this?

My Mom is from West Coastal Turkey and My look at least skin and hair colour are close to her instead of blue eyed, dark fair haired father. That was simple logic.

However there is also about genetic company factor. I made all this view base on my first result. Then I used my raw dna in other site as well. Even my heritage said more then 55% Greek for me, so I got my hoped East Med result in there.

Having Slavic Y-DNA is odd for patriarchal society. It is kind of betray, if you are racist. I guess Hitler was E haplogroup. What would be if he had a special subhaplogroup which was just seen in Askenazi Jews and he knew it.

Has this new information changed how you would describe who you ethnically are?

No because the most parts of my results belong where my family history in, where I live

If ideas were confirmed:

What does this information mean to you?

It is not something I do or there is no big surprise for me, so just give me confidence that I was right

Will you continue your search to find out the truth/ more?

Firstly science should go forward, more analys on ancient samples etc. There is no meaning to make deep tests now for middle class people.

Are there any ethnicities you identify yourself as but which does not appear or meagrely appears in your DNA test results?

No

Have the results impacted how you feel about the ethnicity/ies you most identify as? Give a positive impact. A proof against EU who believes Turks are mongol and don't belong Anatolia and against Turks who believe they are pure Turkic. If I am mixed, so probably too.

After test: View on ethnicity

Before the DNA test, had you had any positive/negative feelings toward the ethnicities shown in the test?

No, ethnicity doesn't define character.

Have these feelings changed? (perhaps increased or decreased)

No

How did it make you feel seeing these ethnicities?

I already had a guess about my mixed structure and I was in peace with that so not much changes, only approval about same ideas, but having it is a positive thing.

Written Interview 2: Participant H

Thank you again that I can interview you for my research project. You will be anonymous in the paper, only your answers will be used. The aim is to find out more about how you view your ethnicity before and after the test and whether it has had any impact.

Could you please answer the following factual questions:

What is your age?

I am 43

What is your nationality?

Welsh/Greek

What is your educational background?

I have a degree, a BA hons in Welsh, and a postgraduate diploma in social work

What is your occupation?

I currently work as an independent reviewing officer, chairing reviews for looked after children and child protection case conferences

Ok, thank you. I would like to know what your view is of ethnicity. People sometimes have different ideas and therefore, I'd like to know what your idea is.

What is ethnicity according to you?

Do the two concepts 'ethnicity' and 'culture' differ to you?

I think they're different. Ethnicity is part of our dna, whereas anyone can embrace a culture, without having been born into it. My husband is from Yorkshire, but joins in with things like eisteddfods and so on.

General sense of ethnicity: Participant First part of the interview

How important is your ethnicity and/or ethnic background to you?

It's really important that I grew up knowing that I was Cypriot, having the food, and hearing the language etc it was important to me as a child/teen, and is important my children know this is their heritage

And what is ethnicity then exactly?

What made you decide to do a DNA test?

Ethnicity is where we come from, no matter how far back, this is not necessarily where we are born, or grow up. This is quite personal and can be very regional, ie, Greek Cypriot, rather than Greek.. I wanted to do the dna to see if I could broaden some of my understanding. My father was Cypriot, and therefore, likely to be a bit of a mix, there were also family rumours in my maternal side, about being Roma, and my gran was raised Jewish, so I wanted to see if anything was thrown up into the mix to add to, or dispel those myths...

Could you please place these categories in order of importance according to you? The first one is what you find most important, the last one is the least important. So in terms of how you would describe yourself?

Gender, Race, Ethnicity, Religion, Class, Nationality

Could you also explain why did you put it into this order?

Gender/nationality/race/ethnicity/religion/class

This is the order that I think probably defines my and my identity most... religion and class are not significant, I experience discrimination as a Result of my gender and my language (welsh) the race/ethnicity is not immediately obvious, as I am fairer than my more olive skinned cousins.

You have race first and then ethnicity, could you explain this more?

Why are religion and class not significant?

I think I put race first, as I am welsh first, because my day to day life is welsh, language, and culture, whereas my ethnicity was always going to be more complicated... I hope that makes sense. I am not religious, and I think class is a social construct, I work with people from all 'classes' and see good and bad in all types. I just don't consider them significant in my identity.

The second part is about your ethnic identity

In describing yourself, how did you prior to the DNA test(s) say who you are ethnically?

Have others labelled you ethnically different from this? Based on your appearance, for example?

I would say that I was Greek Cypriot, or Greek and welsh, or British. People are sometime surprised, as I have fair skin and freckles, and my children are fair, so they don't expect me to be greek,

Ok thank you, very clear!

The following questions are in relation to your view of your ethnicity before the test

Are there any ethnicities you most identify yourself as? Why? How?

When are you aware of your ethnicity/ies? e.g. With family members? Or others making comments?

When is your ethnicity meaningful to you? e.g. Are there moments you feel proud?

Do you feel you act a certain way which relates to your ethnicity?

Is this different from how you see yourself culturally?

I definitely identify and welsh Greek. This is to with the culture, and food etc. My dad encouraged us to wear Cypriot costume, as well as welsh and we ate Greek food, as a normal part of our life. We spoke welsh in the community, and dad learnt welsh, with a Greek accent, so our life, growing up, was definitely a mix of culture, and everything else. It was normal through, was just us, and how we were. There's no particular moment that makes me proud, it's just how it is, when people ask about my name, I am proud to say that it's greek, I am named after my yiayia, grandmother, and great grandmother. I blame my talking with my hands, and being loud on the Greek side of me... when it suits me, whereas I blame me being uncomfortable about displays of physical affection as being British! I think my cultural behaviour/ beliefs are enmeshed in what I perceived my ethnicity to be.

Ok! Yes, very interesting.

You said earlier that people don't expect you to be Greek. Is it because they think you are only British/Welsh? Or do they sometimes think some other ethnicity?

I think they assume I am just British. They will say things like "oh I can see it now" once I say, but I think they assume I am a Brit.

Then I'd like to talk to you about after you did the test.

Were there any new discoveries in the DNA test results in relation to your ethnic background?

The DNA initially said I was 42% Southern European, 12% caucases, and some Middle Eastern and British. This was a bit of a surprise, that there was so much Mediterranean etc, but one I liked! Recently my ethnicity estimate has been updated, and now as 42% Italian! There is still a lot of a mixture, but not necessarily the one I thought.

Okay, wow yeah, that is quite a lot!

Does this have any impact on how you would now ethnically describe yourself? After the test?

What does this information mean to you? Also seeing this Italian being quite high later?

Also in relation to what you identify as:

Are there any ethnicities you identify yourself as but which does not appear or meagrely appears in your DNA test results?

Have the results impacted how you feel about the ethnicity/ies you most identify as?

It's not changed how I refer to myself, or how I perceive myself. I was raised a Greek Cypriot, and I still am. I had hoped to see something To confirm or not, the Roma and Jewish rumours, but I know that the dna estimate is just that, an estimate. It caused some amusement between my sister and I, and my mother has done a test, at my request, to try and see if some of the non British genes come from her side.

Is your mother still waiting for her results at this moment?

Yeah, it's being processed. Will be interesting to see what this shows.

Why was it amusing for your sister and you to see these results?

My dad's best friend was Italian, we used to joke about how alike the two cultures were, and my sister has a close friend who is Italian and she reckons we're all alike. When I had the

update, we laughed, as maybe the two groups are closer than we realised!

How did it make you feel seeing these ethnicities?

Before the DNA test, had you had any positive/negative feelings toward the ethnicities shown in the results?

Have these feelings changed? (perhaps increased or decreased)

I didn't have negative feelings, we go to Italy every couple of years to visit some of my in-laws who are out there, and I love it there. I feel even more ready to go on my holiday now, knowing my DNA estimate suggests that this could be where my family history hails from.

So would you say you have become more positive towards Italy? Or is it still the same?

Has the test had any influence on how you now look at the world and ethnicity?

I think it is more positive. I still feel Greek Cypriot and Welsh, but I also feel like I belong in Italy now, it's not just somewhere to visit. I think the test has just confirmed that no one really knows what their background is, and I would love to see some white supremacists take a test to prove that ultimately people are people!

Those were all my questions! Is there anything I haven't asked you that you still want to say something about?

I don't think there was anything else to say... I know this is still in its infancy, and my estimates may change further, but I do find it fascinating!

Written Interview 3: Participant I

Hi Maria,

Here are my answers. If you need any more clarification or if I have not given enough detail in my answers, let me know and I will try again. :) I have had to send the answers in more than one message because it exceeds the maximum length.

What is your gender?

Female

What is your age?

62

What is your nationality?

Australian

What is your educational background?

Tertiary - Diploma in Fine Art

What is ethnicity according to you?

Nationalities/origins of earlier generations of your family.

Do the two concepts ethnicity and culture differ to you?

Ethnicity relates to ancient origins, birth and forebears, and culture is related to how you live and whether you follow any specific traditions related to your heritage.

General sense of ethnicity

How important is your ethnicity and/or ethnic background to you?

Of little importance.

Could you please place these categories in order of importance according to you? The first one is what you find most important, the last one is the least important : Gender, Race, Ethnicity, Religion, Class, Nationality.

This is difficult because I don't think any of them are particularly important to me, but if I had

to put them in order I would choose Nationality, Ethnicity, Class, Race, Gender, Religion

What made you decide to do a DNA test?

Curiosity. I had already organized for my partner and father to take a y-DNA test so I took an autosomal test to see if that was more useful than the y-DNA test. I did not take the autosomal test for ethnicity purposes. This is the angle that Ancestry has taken in their marketing push and advertising, but it is not to be relied upon and results can and have already changed for many testing companies. It depends how big their same population is.

Before the test

What did you know/think about your ethnic background prior to the DNA test(s)?

I had researched my family history and had a good idea about the origins of nearly all branches of my family. I had always known where they came from and family history research confirmed this.

How did you know/ why did you think this? (e.g. family history, based on appearance)

Family history

In describing yourself, how did you prior to the DNA test(s) say who you are ethnically? I never had to define my ethnicity, but I knew my family were English, Irish, Russian, and Polish.

Have others labelled you ethnically different from this?

No. I have never been labelled.

Are there any ethnicities you most identify yourself as? Why? How?

No, not at all. It is not something I ever think about and I think it can be divisive for people to define themselves like this.

When are you aware of your ethnicity/ies? e.g. -With family members?

- Others making comments?

I never think about this and do not have any specific awareness of my ethnicity. No one ever makes comments about my ethnicity.

When is your ethnicity meaningful to you? e.g. Are there moments you feel proud?

It means very little to me and it is something I never really think about unless I am working on my family history.

Do you feel you act a certain way which relates to your ethnicity?

No, not at all.

Is this different from how you see yourself culturally?

No.

After the test

Were there any new discoveries in the DNA test results in relation to your ethnic background?

Yes:

My results were more or less as I anticipated.

Has this new information changed how you would describe who you ethnically are?

No

If ideas were confirmed:**What does this information mean to you?**

I do not take it too seriously. It does not mean very much to me.

If results are deemed inaccurate/false/disappointing:**Why?**

Results are more or less as expected and largely tally with known family history. I do not believe my results show any ethnicity related to my grandfather. I do not know anything about the origins of his family but I was expecting to see some Siberian (Russian) which is where he was born.

Will you continue your search to find out the truth/ more?

Perhaps, but as my search relates to a different country with a language I do not speak I do not think I will be successful.

Are there any ethnicities you identify yourself as but which does not appear or meagrely appears in your DNA test results?

I definitely do not identify with being Siberian, but I thought I might have more Siberian in my results. Currently I only have a trace, which I think might be inaccurate.

Have the results impacted how you feel about the ethnicity/ies you most identify as?

No. I did not really expect to see any Siberian because I believe my grandfather had no or very few family members who survived the wars and conflicts in that country, hence no one to take the DNA test, hence, no matches and no percentages of Siberian ethnicity. DNA tests are also not very popular in Siberia, so unless previous generations moved to America and took tests, I do not really expect to see any Siberian percentages.

View on ethnicity after the test**Before the DNA test, had you had any positive/negative feelings toward the ethnicities shown in the test?**

No. I did have 7% Ashkenazi Jew but I knew that my grandmother's grandmother was a Polish Jew, so that percentage is about what I would expect to see.

Have these feelings changed? (perhaps increased or decreased)

No

How did it make you feel seeing these ethnicities?

There were no surprises, so I had no strong feelings – perhaps a little disappointed I had no Siberian so I am still a bit curious about my Grandfather's origins.

Thank you very much for your answers. Very interesting to read your responses :)

I have only a couple follow-up questions. Could you please answer these questions below. Thank you in advance!

You had put the following concepts in this order: Nationality, Ethnicity, Class, Race, Gender, Religion

Could you explain why you have it in this order?

Could you please place these categories in order of importance according to you? The first one is what you find most important, the last one is the least important : Gender, Race, Ethnicity, Religion, Class, Nationality

This is difficult because I don't think any of them are particularly important to me, but if I had to put them in order I would choose Nationality, Ethnicity, Class, Race, Gender, Religion

Your response to the question "When is your ethnicity meaningful to you?":

It means very little to me and it is something I never really think about unless I am working on my family history.

Why do you want to know more about your family history?

Last question, not part of the interview: would you like me to send you the paper when it is finalised? I could then send it to you by email? In case it's a yes, what is your email?

Best wishes,

Maria

Hi Maria.

I will try to answer your follow up questions.

Question 1:

Regarding the first one asking me to put the categories in order of importance, as I said I think this is very difficult because I do not find any of these more or less important than the other. It is like asking someone who does not like dogs to put in order a list of dogs from their most favourite breed to their least favourite breed.

I will try to briefly explain why I chose that order, though if you ask me the same question in a month or two, my order is likely to be different.

Nationality – I think the country where you are born defines you and depending on which country can give you opportunities and privileges, or not.

Ethnicity – I think your background/heritage is important in how you perceive yourself and how to think you are perceived by others.

Class – I think whether you are born rich or poor makes your life easier or harder.

Race – I think these days there is a shift and being a racial minority can sometimes have benefits.

Gender – I think whether you are male or female can define you depending on where you were born and the culture you were born into.

Religion – I am not religious at all and don't think it is important. It is the only thing on the list that someone can change if they wish.

Question 2:

Why do I want to know more about my family history. It is curiosity, but I am not just interested in my own family history, I am interested in anyone's fh. I have worked on the trees of several friends and family members. I do not do family history to find out about ethnicity, I do it because I see it as a big puzzle to solve to see if I can get all the pieces to fit. I also think it is interesting to learn about the lives of people who lived in the past.

