




TURNING THE TIDE

AN OVERVIEW OF STRATEGIES USED BY TRADITIONALISTS AND PROGRESSIVES TO EMPOWER
BI-CUTURAL DUTCH PEOPLE IN THE NETHERLANDS

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Abstract

This research focuses on providing insight into the strategies used by interest groups, bi-cultural politicians and activists, who can be classified as progressive or traditional social actors, to improve the position of bi-cultural Dutch people (BCs). The strategies that are distinguished in this research are progressive (e.g. demonstration & militant movement) and traditional strategies (e.g. lobby & political involvement). The difference between traditionalists and progressives is that traditionalists focus on incorporation into current social, political and economic arrangements, while progressives believe that the socio-economic needs of people of color requires systemic change.

In total fifteen participants were interviewed of which six interest groups, five activists and four politicians. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to get an emic perspective on their insider's perspective regarding the marginalized position of BCs. The interviews show that they see the marginalized position of BCs as a result of stratified citizenship. They have formulated various goals to create an equal societal position a.k.a. "full citizenship". In addition to strategies and goals, this research also provides insight into the way social and symbolic boundaries and the Dutch ethnic system result in the marginalized position of BCs and the structural barriers they are faced with while doing this.

Keywords: Full Citizenship; Strategies; Boundaries; Power

Introduction

"In a racist society it is not enough not to be racist, one has to be anti-racist." –

Angela Davis.

44,5%. Almost half of all the discrimination incidents that were reported to the police and anti-discrimination facilities in the Netherlands in 2018 regarded unequal treatment based on origin (Walz, van Bon & Fiere, 2019). It is a reminder that equal treatment of people with different origins within the Dutch pluralistic society, a society which is divided in sub societies with distinct cultural traditions (Yinger, 1967) is still 'work in progress' (Schinkel, 2017). The marginalized position stretches from the labor market, where a white Dutch person has a 40% higher chance to receive an invitation for a job interview than a Dutch person of non-western origin (Lancee, Thijssen & Coenders, 2019), to the private housing market, where preference is given to white Dutch tenants (Radar, 2019) and many necessary elements in between, that one needs to be able to sustain a living.

However, it is not determining the marginalized position of bi-cultural Dutch people¹ (BCs) that is the focus of this thesis because many researchers have already done so (c.f. Vasta, 2007; Scholten & Holzacker, 2009; Schinkel, 2017), but what strategies, a plan of collective action intended to accomplish goals within a particular context (Maney & Kutz-Flamenbaum, 2012), can be used to create an equal societal position for BCs and who uses these strategies. The who in this paper is an (upcoming) social movement in the Netherlands that consists of groups and individuals of color who aim to address this inequality vis-à-vis the white Dutchman. Through political and/or cultural conflict the social movement actors aim to promote or oppose social change (Porta & Diani, 2006).

The marginalized position of BCs is a result of stratified citizenship which leads to a loss of access to rights (Guia, 2016). It occurs when power is not evenly distributed in society (Guia, 2016; Cohen, 1985). Citizenship functions not only to connect the individual to the sovereign state but acts to induce feelings of belonging to a certain society (Guia, 2016). Through empowerment, a transition from a state of powerlessness, the lack of ability, to a state of power by the enhancement

¹ Under a bi-cultural background, this study involves people from the former Dutch colonies, Morocco, Turkey and refugees.

of political and cultural democracy and the re-division of power (Al-Haj & Mielke, 2007), the social movement aims to overcome this stratification and create an equal societal position a.k.a. “full citizenship” for BCs. The re-distribution of power needed to create an equal position takes place within a so-called ethnic system in which the elements race identity, and nation are shaped, through the drawing of symbolic and social boundaries by using power and are expressed in cultural citizenship, a form of stratified citizenship (Spickard, 2004; Lamon & Molnár, 2002; Ong, 1996; Guia, 2016).

Symbolic boundaries separate people into groups and generate feelings of similarity and group membership and are an essential medium through which people acquire status and monopolize resources (Lamon & Molnár, 2002; Spickard, 2004). Social boundaries are objectified forms of differences that manifest in unequal access, distribution of resources and social opportunities (Lamon & Molnár, 2002; Spickard, 2004). Groups are continuously renegotiating their position and competing for membership (Spickard, 2004). Usually, it is the (ethnic) majority within an ethnic system that determines the social and symbolic boundaries (Bail, 2008; Lamont & Molnár, 2002). However, different social movement actors are committed to influencing the symbolic and social boundaries through different strategies and thereby strengthening the societal position of BCs.

Currently, there is no research available regarding which strategies are used by the various social movement actors in the Netherlands to achieve “full citizenship” for BCs. This research aims to provide this insight, to prevent a vicious negative circle for all future generations BCs. This is particularly of importance in a predominantly white society where white fragility, the discomfort white people experience when racism is addressed, and racial color blindness, blindness towards power structures linked to skin color, are hindering the progress of BCs (DiAngelo, 2011). Ignoring the differences in skin color and the associated power relations can lead to the denial of the negative experiences BCs in a society that is already highly polarized (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; DiAngelo, 2011; Vasta, 2007). Of course, the marginalized position of BCs not only relates to ethnicity, but intersectionality (e.g., class and gender) also plays an important role. However, given that in the Dutch context most reports of unequal treatment are based on origin, it was decided to take this as the focus for this thesis.

Social Movement and Strategies

A social movement process is in place when actors are engaged in conflict over political, cultural or economic power (Porta & Diani, 2006). These actors, both individual and organized, while keeping their autonomy and independence, engage in exchanges of resources in pursuit of common goals (Porta & Diani, 2006). However, it is not merely the sum of protest events, but a process where a collective identity develops which goes beyond specific events and identity (Porta & Diani, 2006). The focus of this research will be on the strategies that are used by three different types of social movement actors: interest organizations² established by BCs (e.g. Multicultural Network Foundation), politicians of color within established predominantly white political parties but also recently established political parties by people of color (e.g. BIJ1) and activists of color (e.g. Kick Out Black Pete). This research will show whether these social movement actors are part of an established social movement or an upcoming social movement that is still developing.

However, the main focus of this study is the strategies they use. A strategy entails defining, interpreting, communicating, and implementing a plan of collective action that is believed to be a way to achieve a desired alternative future (Maney & Kutz-Flamenbaum, 2012). According to Gamson (1992), the key elements of collective action frames that facilitate the development of political consciousness and support mobilization are injustice, agency, and identity. Injustice conveys a sense of burning moral indignation and awareness that specific others are doing wrong to members of the group. Agency reflects group members' understanding that they can take action and improve their situation. Identity is a collective consciousness of who the group is and how they are distinct from the rest of the world (Gamson, 1992). However, the success of mobilization by a movement also depends on the ability to require resources. Resources are primarily time and money, and the more of both, the greater the power of organized movements (McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

For many social movement actors, strategy is both a compass and the map. Without a clear and viable strategy, their dreams of reaching a better destination will never be fulfilled (Maney & Kutz-Flamenbaum, 2012). Political opportunities must be perceived, and people must be convinced to

² On the simplest level an interest group is an organization, with or without members, that tries to influence government (Berry & Wilcox, 2018)

take advantage of them. For example, women's suffrage organizations in the US in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century tailored their arguments for specific audiences based on assessments of organizational values, potential advocates, and the larger cultural environment (McCammon, Hewitt & Smith, 2004). Suffragists used a reform frame in discussions with social feminists and a justice frame with professional women, male lawmakers, and politicians.

When it comes to interest groups, politicians and activists, research has already shown that these three contribute to improving the position of people of color through, among other, *political representation, lobby, mobilization, and coalitions* as strategies (Berry & Wilcox, 2018; Jennings, 2000). Research shows that the interest organizations, politicians and activists can be classified as traditionalists or progressives through the different types of strategies they use (Berry & Wilcox, 2018; Jennings, 2000; Broockman 2013; Fisher, 2009). The main difference between the traditionalists and progressives relates to how they relate to the current power structure, how power is organized or shared, in society.

The ultimate goal of the traditional social movement actors is (political) incorporation into current social, political and economic arrangements. Traditionalists, seeking a piece of the pie, are sometimes satisfied with replacing white people in positions of power with people of color while leaving current social, political and economic structures intact (Jennings, 2000; Broockman 2013). They rely on the electoral arena through *coalitions* with liberal white people, (*political representation* and *lobby* as strategies to achieve their goals (Burden, 2007; Berry & Wilcox, 2018).

Progressive social movement actors believe that the socio-economic needs of people of color require systemic change rather than reformist approaches to transform wealth and reallocate its subsequent benefits (Jennings, 2000; Fisher, 2009). The system must change in terms of how money and power are accumulated, managed, and distributed. The progressives primarily focus on the *mobilization* and *political representation* of poor and working-class people of color as strategies to achieve their goals (Jennings, 2000; Broockman, 2013).

The Ethnic System & Boundaries

To understand the current marginalized societal position of BCs and why certain strategies are used and are not used by traditionalists and progressives, it is important to pay attention to the role of an ethnic system, social and symbolic boundaries play in this. The Dutch ethnic system and the boundaries function as a frame in which the Dutch pluralistic society is placed. Each nation has a different ethnic system (e.g. different power relations). Ethnic systems consist of four elements: nation, identity, power, and race. The social and symbolic boundaries within an ethnic system shape the elements identity, nation, and race. Power is used to draw both symbolic and social boundaries within the ethnic system in relation to identity, nation, and race (Spickard, 2004; Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Cohen, 1985). The positioning of these boundaries can differ per country.

Symbolic & Social Boundaries

Symbolic and social boundaries play an important role in a) the creation of ingroups and outgroups (identity); b) power relations (power) within the ethnic system; c) the way a nation is (institutionally) organized (nation); and d) the function of religion, ethnicity and skin color (race) within the ethnic system. It is in the interest of the traditionalists and progressives to influence these symbolic and social boundaries because the boundaries create in- and outgroups, determine access to opportunities and the distribution of resources (Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Spickard 2004).

Those with power within an ethnic system can dictate the positioning of the symbolic and social boundaries within the system (Spickard, 2004; Cohen, 1985). For social movement actors to influence these boundaries, and thereby strengthening the marginalized societal position BCs, they need power. By increasing the power of the BCs, and by doing so also their power through different strategies, they can achieve goals and reduce grievances (Cohen, 1985). This research will offer insight into which strategies the traditionalists and progressives use to gain more power so that they can influence the way social and symbolic boundaries are drawn in relation to the elements, nation, identity, and race.

Citizenship

This section will discuss the elements power, nation, identity, race, and the boundaries by using the concept “citizenship”. Citizenship is a dynamic (political, legal, social and cultural) institution of domination and empowerment that governs, through existing power relations translated in social and symbolic boundaries, who citizens (insiders), subjects (strangers and outsiders), and objects (aliens) are and how these actors govern themselves and each other in a given body politic (Isin, 2009). Ideas about belonging and not belonging, citizen and subject, in racial and cultural terms often converge in state and non-state institutional practices within an ethnic system through which subjects are shaped in ways that are at once specific and diffused (Spickard, 2004; Williams, 1991). There are the ideological fields within which different criteria of belonging based on civilized conduct by categorically distinguishable (dominant) others become entangled with culture, race, and class through the use of symbolic boundaries (Williams, 1991; Lamont & Molnár, 2002).

Since the 20th century a blurring of symbolic and social boundaries between human and civil, political and social rights is taking place and cultural citizenship, a form of stratified citizenship, and loss in access to resources for minority groups, is increasingly becoming the norm within Western democracies (Isin, 2009; Ong 1996; Guia, 2016). Cultural citizenship can be defined as a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society (Ong, 1996). Through these webs of power social and symbolic boundaries are drawn. Becoming a “full” citizen depends on how one is constituted as a subject who exercises or submits to power relations. One must develop what Foucault calls “the modern attitude”, an attitude of self-making in shifting fields of power that include the nation-state and the wider world (Foucault, 1989). The effectivity of self-making depends strongly on one's position within the existing power structure. By accumulating power, the traditionalists and progressives can shift the scale from being-made to self-making with “full citizenship” as a result.

Research Question

By answering the central research question and the sub-questions this research will place the concepts from the theoretical framework within the Dutch context and thereby contributing to insight into various ways that the position of BCs can be improved. This research will, therefore, focus on mapping the strategies used by the traditional and the progressives to improve this marginalized social position. The question that is central to this research is: **‘Which strategies are used by traditionalists and progressives to strengthen the societal position of bi-cultural Dutch people in the Netherlands’?**

Literature shows that traditionalists and progressives have a different position within an ethnic system (Berry & Wilcox, 2018; Broockman, 2013; Jennings, 2000). For this reason, the expectation is that it will translate into different strategies. The sub-questions that are derived from the central research question are:

1. What is the current position of BCs within Dutch society and what goals do the traditionalists and progressives want to achieve to reach “full citizenship”?

The expectation is that this research will show that the current position of the BCs is not equal to the position of white Dutch. For this reason, equality is the main goal that the traditionalists and progressives want to achieve to reach “full citizenship”.

2. In which way do traditionalists and progressives in the Netherlands aim to gain power to influence the symbolic and social boundaries within the Dutch ethnic system?

The expectation is that traditionalists in the Netherlands are trying to increase their power within the current Dutch ethnic system, while the progressives are aiming to increase their power by changing the Dutch ethnic system.

3. Which element(s) (race, nation, power & identity) within the Dutch ethnic system are the biggest barriers to the goals and the strategies of traditionalists and progressives?

The expectation is that all the elements (race, nation, identity & power) within the Dutch ethnic system are shaped will prove to be structural barriers.

Methods

Design

This research is exploratory qualitative research and was carried out in the Netherlands. The main advantages for qualitative methods stem from their sensitivity to context and they enable problems to be investigated in their natural settings (Whitfield & Strauss, 1998). Not much is known about the approach of traditionalists and progressives in the Netherlands, the strategies they use and to what extent they contribute to strengthening the position of BCs. For this reason, conducting explanatory qualitative research is most suitable to answer the research questions. In this study, explanatory qualitative methods offer the opportunity for respondents to describe the different factors that contribute to the marginalized societal position of BCs in their safe space (e.g. any location where they feel comfortable), in their words and on their conditions. This study is based on qualitative interviews, which is of particular value in research on people in potentially marginalized positions (Longhurst, 2013). Respondents have room during the interviews to express their views, experiences and encountered situations.

Participants

To gather as much information as possible to answer the research questions six representatives of interest groups, five activists and four politicians were interviewed (N=15). Participants for this research were recruited in two different ways. The six interest groups and one activist were approached, via e-mail or telephone, for an interview. The remaining activists and politicians were recruited through snowball sampling. The snowball sampling took place through a social media canal of one of the interviewed activists. This led to a huge number of interested parties (both activists and politicians) who wanted to participate in the research. When selecting from these applications, first come first served, also a good balance between activists, politicians and interest groups was taken into account. Snowball sampling can generate a unique type of social knowledge – knowledge which is emergent, political and interactional, and for this reason was very suitable for this research (Noy, 2008).

All participants are bi-cultural Dutch people³. Initially, when designing this study, there was no question of the exclusion of white Dutch participants. However, gradually and partly due to the snowball method, the preference for this study was for bi-cultural participants because of their perspective. The participants are also BCs who share the same experiences when it comes to a marginalized position as their target group. Because of their unique position, they could offer an insider's perspective because they also experience marginalization, but also about how they use agency to better their position and that of others. All participants were older than twenty-three and gender is not taken into account.

Instrument

The type of interview that has taken place is the semi-structured interview. In a semi-structured interview, predetermined questions allow room to unfold offering participants the chance to explore issues they find important (Longhurst, 2013). In order to maintain a certain consistency while conducting the fifteen interviews, the preference was given to a topic list based on literature research. Given the fact that little was known about the traditionalists and progressives and their strategies in the Netherlands sufficient space was left for digression. The topic list and related questions are added in appendix I. The peer, a fellow student⁴, critically assessed the topic list for this research, to increase reliability. The topic list contained all the concepts from the theoretical framework. Operationalization of the concepts took place based on the literature study, during the gathering of the data in which respondents had the space to give content to the concepts themselves, the first analyzation of the data, the inductive phase, but also during the, second analyzation of the data, the deductive phase. Due to the fact that the starting point of this thesis is an insider's perspective, as much space as possible was given to the participants during the interviews to give content to the concepts from the theoretical framework. Operationalization therefore took place as much as possible on the basis of their view of the concepts.

³ Under a bi-cultural background, this study involves people from the former Dutch colonies, Morocco, Turkey and refugees.

⁴ Part of a study group under the supervision of a thesis supervisor.

Procedure

The interviews were conducted by one researcher and were recorded. The audio recordings of the interviews are transcribed and anonymized. Both the transcript, the recording, and the informed consents are stored on the U-drive in separate files. After completion of the thesis, the newly collected data will be archived following the data storage protocol of the Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences at Utrecht University. The data will be stored for a minimum of ten years after publication.

The analysis of the data has taken place in the program Nvivo version 12. This research used a deductive, inductive and cross-sectional analysis. The code tree of this research is added in appendix II. The data of the different interest groups, activists and politicians were analyzed separately and cross-sectionally. By charting each perspective of each interest group, politician and activist and differences/similarities in their approach and perspectives on the empowerment of BCs are determined. Through the coding of the interviews, the information needed to answer the research question is filtered out.

Results

This result section will start with providing insight into the current position of BCs according to the interviewed participants and the short- and long-term goals they have formulated to improve this position. To understand the context of the quotes in the results section it is important to link the strategies that, according to this research, are used by interest groups, politicians and activists in the Netherlands to the literature on traditional and progressive social movement actors. Based on the strategies they rely on the most, the interest groups and politicians of color in predominantly white political parties can be classified as traditionalists. The activists and politicians from Dutch political parties that are established by people of color can be classified as progressives. However, the progressives also use two traditional strategies (lobby & political involvement and collaboration) in addition to their progressive strategies. This will be discussed further in the strategies section. The structural barriers that are experienced by the participants in reaching their goals will be discussed in the third and final part of the results.

The Current Position of BCs

The current position of BCs within Dutch society is seen as marginalized by both literature (c.f. Vasta, 2007; Guia, 2016) and the interviewed traditionalists and progressives. Their societal position in society is, according to the participants, not equal to the position of white Dutch people and they experience a loss of access to rights due to stratified citizenship.

“Well in general. Less good than the majority group. Fewer resources, less resilience, less visibility. It can be very tough; experience much more discrimination, much more exclusion, specific threats, cases of harassment, negative physical threats.” (Traditionalist)

This marginalized position of BCs is, according to the participants, embedded within structures in Dutch society and the way in which citizenship is implemented. This is in line with the way in which, according to the literature, the symbolic and social boundaries are expressed through cultural citizenship which is dominantly present within Western democracies (Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Ong, 1996).

Despite this negative image, the participants indicate that a change is taking place. More and more BCs, certainly newer generations, are making themselves heard and denouncing injustice. The participants define injustice, in accordance to literature (Gamson, 1992), as the indignation and awareness of wrong doing by other to members of the group.

“The younger generation has been very important. They have come to realize that something is not going well in this country. A whole new generation seems to have emerged. Yes, we grew up with that [racism], but the young people are done with it.”
(Traditionalist)

This younger generation (partly) identifies as a Dutch citizen and expects to benefit, in the same way as white Dutch citizens, from all the facilities, opportunities and possibilities that the Netherlands has to offer. Whereas previous generations may still have thought that they were guests or that they should be grateful to be in the Netherlands, these younger generations are breaking loose from this sentiment.

Participants indicate that although the position of BCs, in general, can be described as marginalized, there are differences within the current positions of the different ethnic groups within BCs. The differences they experience can, according to participants, be attributed to two elements of the ethnic system: identity and race. Identity, because earlier generations of minorities have chosen assimilation as a strategy to strengthen their position. Race because religion and skin color are two very determining factors according to the participants in determining someone's societal position.

“It has to do with colorism. The lighter your skin, the better off you are. In addition, some groups are very much targeted, specifically Muslims. BCs from the former Dutch Indies are very assimilated. They have a better social position. So yes, I think there is certainly a difference between the minority groups.” (Progressivist)

The quote above clearly describes how through symbolic boundaries, the separation of people into groups, in this case based on the color of their skin, social boundaries arise when these symbolic boundaries lead to differences in access to resources (Lamont & Molnár, 2002).

Finally, the attitude of the government also contributes to the positioning of BCs in the ethnic system.

“Belgium and the Netherlands are the only two countries in the world that make a distinction between citizens and they also have a first and second generation of Western and non-Western. From the second generation, you can no longer talk about immigrants.”
(Traditionalist)

During the interviews, both the traditionalists and the progressives formulated similar short-term and long-term goals they want to reach to achieve an equal societal position and “full citizenship”. Despite the fact that traditionalists and progressives have a different approach to achieving the goals, as is also confirmed by the literature (Berry & Wilcox, 2018; Jennings, 2000; Broockman 2013; Fisher, 2009), they agree on the goals that need to be achieved.

Short-Term Goals

Anti-Racism Policy

At the moment there is a lack of (good) anti-racism policy. Anti-racism policy means a set of measures that actively address and denounce racism. This is a goal that needs to be achieved in short term, according to participants, because of the undesirable situations it produces.

“There has to be anti-racism policy in schools, for example. That if things happen students feel safe to report, but also that sanctions can be expected. I now have to move my daughter from one school to another because of the racist climate in the school.” (Traditionalist)

By introducing anti-racism policies, schools and employers give a zero-tolerance signal with regard to racism. This makes, according to the participants, BCs feel empowered, racism is made visible and consequences are attached to racism.

Connecting People & Creating Awareness

Connecting people and creating awareness about the marginalized position of BCs are two goals that are intertwined. Connecting people is mainly about creating bridges between different cultures.

“If you can create a bridge there, people will want to get to know each other. They come closer to each other. They might also appreciate each other's parties and football club.”
(Traditionalist)

By connecting people participants state that one can achieve more awareness with regard to the current position of BCs among white Dutch people. According to the participants this, in combination with connecting people, will lead to a positive change for the BCs, because the white Dutch people are then willing to ‘make room’ for BCs.

Emancipation within the colored community

Participants indicate that some emancipatory topics need to be addressed within the Dutch colored community. Examples of this are women's emancipation and acceptance of homosexuality.

“We do not accept our people as they are. But we do expect others to do that. How should others accept our people if we push our people away?” (Progressivist)

According to the participants, the group as a whole cannot move forward without addressing these emancipatory issues. Both progressives and traditionalists state that when they speak of the empowerment of BCs, this is always in line with the democratic values of the Dutch constitutional state.

Representativity

Representativity is a goal that must be achieved in the short term to work towards political and cultural democracy, a long-term goal.

“Yes, representation at an administrative and political level. Then change could be brought about. If you are not in all places, how can you apply pressure? Not.” (Progressivist)

Both the traditionalists and progressives acknowledge the need for representativity on all levels. However, their approach, once represented, differs. During the interviews, the progressives state they want to apply pressure, a hard approach, while traditionalists talk more in terms of influencing the white majority, a soft approach.

Long- Term Goals

Acceptance

According to the participants, white Dutch people have to realize that BCs are full citizens and they have to be treated correspondingly. Participants state that they are done putting up with being considered as less.

“They [white Dutch people] must realize that they must accept me. I have already done enough for it. I live here, I work here, I contribute to this society, I pay taxes. That's more than enough. They must see that their way of thinking is no longer correct.” (Traditionalist)

The participants state that ‘acceptance’ of BCs also means acceptance of the differences by white Dutch people and BC. These differences should no longer be translated into a loss of access to rights as is the case now with cultural citizenship (Ong, 1996; Guia, 2016). Instead BCs should be able to receive “full citizenship” based on the fact that they also contribute and are a part of Dutch society.

Political & Cultural Democracy

Political and cultural democracy is aimed at political representativeness, but also democracy within norms, values, and meanings (Al-Haj & Mielke, 2007). This means that the political and cultural norms must be a reflection of Dutch society, according to participants.

“That is the norm. Everything in Dutch society is designed to accommodate white Dutch people. Something also has to change there.” (Progressivist)

The participants state that the current position of BCs gets little attention from the white majority because there is no political and cultural democracy at the moment.

“It feels like you are running a marathon, but you only move a few miles forward and they [white Dutch people] expect you to be happy with this little progress.” (Progressivist)

This goal is also related to the acceptance of BCs as citizens. According to the participants, once BCs are accepted and represented political and cultural democracy will be a natural consequence.

(Radical) Equality

The goal ‘equality’ was, during the interviews with the progressives, always accompanied by the term ‘radical’. Progressives feel that a ‘radical’ change is needed to establish equality. The term ‘radical’ therefore refers to the way that the progressives want to achieve the desired equality.

“A unique system is needed in which, for a change, white people are excluded so that non-white people can make the decisions that are needed then we can achieve full emancipation and radical equality.” (Progressivist)

The traditionalists are more nuanced in their formulation regarding achieving equality.

“Equal opportunities and access to facilities and resources. Of course, there is always the responsibility of the citizen himself, but not an outdated vision of integration in which one group must relate. Especially not the group who is born and raised here.” (Traditionalist)

Both traditionalists and progressives emphasize the need for an equal societal position through “full citizenship” for BCs, but they do differ in opinion with regard to how to achieve this equality. This is a very distinctive distinction between which is also confirmed by literature on progressives and traditionalists (Berry & Wilcox, 2018; Jennings, 2000; Broockman 2013; Fisher, 2009). Progressives believe that equality for BCs is not possible within the current Dutch ethnic system.

Social-Economical Progress

The current social-economical position of BCs also plays an important role in their marginalized position within society, according to the participants.

“There are more non-white people in poverty than white people. So even in that socio-economic position, you can see that non-white groups are marginalized.” (Progressivist)

Research has already shown that without power (e.g. resources and money) it is difficult to strengthen one's position (Cohen, 1985). For that reason, one of the goals of both progressives and traditionalists is to make an effort to improve the social-economical position of BCs.

Strategies

Even though similar goals were formulated by the traditionalists and progressives during the interviews, there, in line with the literature on traditionalists and progressives (Berry & Wilcox, 2018; Broockman, 2013; Jennings, 2000; Fisher, 2009), are differences in the strategies they use to achieve “full citizenship”. The interviewed traditionalists seek access to the existing power structure, whereas progressives seek power. This translates into traditional strategies that are aimed at strengthening the position of BCs within the existing power relations and progressive strategies that are aimed at changing the existing power relations. The literature on symbolic and social boundaries within ethnic systems, that lead to stratified citizenship, states that power allows one to influence these boundaries (Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Spickard, 2009; Guia, 2016). For this reason, it is not surprising that the strategies used by traditionalists and progressives have such a strong focus on access or appropriation of power. This research also shows that the mentioned strategies, both progressive and traditional, cannot be directly linked one-to-one to a specific goal. Instead, it is about the interaction between the different strategies that are used that leads to the achievement of both the short- and long-term goals.

Traditional Strategies

Twofold Strategies

Twofold strategies specifically focus on change among white Dutch. These strategies are aimed at for example companies and government. Traditionalists state that by achieving change among white Dutch people in positions of power this leads to a stronger position of BCs in Dutch society.

“We really focus on the integral embedding of diversity and inclusion as a theme. Then it's about organizational change. Both culture, business operations and processes. So, on a strategic tactical and operational level. If people are not interested in this, we do not accept the assignment.” (Traditionalist)

The interviews with traditionalists show that too little is currently being done by the government to contribute to this way of empowerment. This promotes the maintenance of injustice and stratified citizenship.

“Rewarding good behavior and punishing bad behavior. Sometimes you just need a horse's remedy to act as a catalyst to bring about change. The Dutch polder model when it comes to achieving equality and justice is too noncommittal. I sometimes call it polder racism.”
(Traditionalist)

Through this strategy, traditionalists believe that this will lead to indirect access to power, because of broader support, through behavioral change, among white Dutch people in positions of power.

- Limitations

The limitation of the two-fold strategy is that it is very dependent on the goodwill of the white Dutch people in positions of power. This is confirmed by the literature on traditional strategies where access to power depends on the goodwill of the dominant majority (Berry & Wilcox, 2018; Jennings, 2000). Traditionalists say in the interviews that you cannot force someone to cooperate. This ensures that it is mainly the group that is open to change that is reached and the group that is more resistant that remains difficult to reach for now.

Collaboration

Collaboration is a strategy that focuses on seeking cooperation between the different groups within the BCs and cooperation with the white Dutch. With regard to the collaboration between the different groups within the BCs, both traditionalists and progressives state that this is not optimal. However, according to them, collaboration is crucial to make a bigger impact. A positive trend is underway, but there is still room for improvement.

“We should connect all these people. Because at the moment everyone is stuck in their bubble. Whether you are Turkish or Moroccan or Surinamese or Afghan in my case. We are all dealing with racism. And the only way to do that is to listen to each other and work together.” (Progressivist)

Due to the lack of this cooperation, exchanging of resources, and collective identity, it is not yet possible to speak of an established social movement as described in the literature (Porta & Diani, 2006), but this is a social movement that is still in development.

The interviewed traditionalists also emphasize the importance of white allies. According to them, there is an ally in the white Dutch people who, together with many BCs, find themselves in the lower social class. Many of the socio-economic problems encountered are the same. Not only Dutch white people from the lower socio-economic classed can be considered allies according to the traditionalists:

“Our organization has very valuable [white] allies who help us immensely in what we are doing. The question is should that be as part of the organization or as a cooperation partner of that organization. That's why I think you should also define the roles well.”
(Traditionalist)

However, according to the interviewed traditionalists, an important condition for cooperation with white Dutch people is that there is no room for racist and xenophobic ideas.

- Limitations

There a few limitations to this strategy according to the participants. The first one is that the different groups within the BCs are too busy with a fight on their theme, for example, anti-black racism or Islamophobia. Some groups also appropriate a certain struggle, especially older generations, leaving little room for allies even allies of color. A side note regarding the collaboration with white Dutch allies is that a white Dutch person can only be an ally when racism and xenophobia are addressed.

Lobby and political involvement

This is a strategy that is both used by traditionalists and progressives which focuses on influencing politicians and policymakers, through lobby, and on political participation. The interviewed traditionalists and progressives state that politicians have a lot of power and that if they want to,

they can provide a positive change for BCs. This strategy, as also described in the literature (Jennings, 2000; Broockman, 2013) therefore focuses on influencing a select group that has a lot of power and thereby gaining indirect access to power.

“You need to use two tracks. I used the parliamentary way as a counselor, through politics, through the institutions, but you also have to change institutions from outside the institutions. That means demonstrating, that means radical measures. Precisely to stimulate that consciousness.” (Progressivist)

As research has already shown political representativeness is also important to improve the position of BCs (Burden 2007). According to both the progressives and the traditionalists the voice of many people is not heard at the moment because these groups are often not represented. Both traditionalists and progressives try to use their position as a megaphone to amplify the voice of these people and by doing so try to convert these voices into policies and ideas.

- Limitations

This strategy has its limitations according to the interviewed traditionalists. They state that white Dutch politicians are only open to hearing the ideas of the traditionalists when it comes to certain topics, for example, radicalization among Muslim youth, but that the door is closed when it comes to topics that need to be addressed to empower BCs which have no direct benefit for the predominantly white Dutch society, for example, labor market discrimination. Based on the literature regarding traditional strategies, this limitation is a result of trying to access power within the existing ethnic system (Spickard, 2004; Berry & Wilcox, 2018; Broockman, 2013; Jennings, 2000)

Strong Network

The strategy 'strong network' is all about the use of key figures within the white Dutch community but also among BCs to use their position to make a real impact when it comes to the strengthening of the position of other BCs. Examples of key figures within the white Dutch community are famous Dutch people. By convincing them to speak out against certain abuses, the traditionalists aim to cause a ripple effect among the rest of the white Dutch community. The mechanism here is the same as with influencing politicians (Jennings, 2000; Broockman, 2013). These key figures

have a podium because of their status or position. The traditionalists try to gain indirect access to the power that accompanies the status or position of the key figures.

The role of the key figures of color is slightly different. Not only do they function as a key figure with a certain position which they can use to the advantage of BCs, but they also function as a role model to empower BCs.

“It is also true that we focus on vulnerable groups, but we believe that, for example, the high potentials are also just as important as the driver of participation and acceptance. You can also use them as a role model. You need those people to get ahead as a community.”
(Traditionalist)

According to the traditionalists, the use of role models leads to BCs becoming more self-assured and claiming their legitimate position in society.

- Limitations

The limitation of this strategy, according to the traditionalists, is that it is not easy to find and convince these key figures to take a certain stand. That is why, according to them, you have to invest in creating a strong network and nurture these relationships.

Progressive Strategies

Confrontation and mobilization

Confrontation and mobilization are two strategies that go hand in hand and are used by the interviewed progressivists. Confrontation focusses on the confrontation of injustices and mobilization focusses on the mobilization of BCs and other allies to also confront injustices. Participants state that they no longer avoid confrontation, but instead speak out against abuses.

“Call racism by name every time. Don't shy away. Which also makes our position very precarious within the political climate. At the same time, we cannot resist not naming things. Call racism by name, call xenophobia by name and be transparent.” (Progressivist)

Confronting injustices such as racism and xenophobia is not easy according to the participants, because they face a lot of resistance from white Dutch people. Another obstacle that the interviewed progressives experience, next to resistance, is that many BCs do not have the energy to mobilize. The reason for this, according to the interviewed progressivists is that their socio-economic position is so tragic that they are busy surviving.

“Understandable, but the moment that they keep thinking that, it means that their children will have the same struggles. There must be a generation that says we are breaking with this now. When I started the fight to get my rights, I said this is not just for myself, but for my children. I also do it for all those other people who don't have a voice, because otherwise, nothing will ever change.” (Progressivist)

According to the resource mobilization theory however, the success of a movement depends on the ability to require resources and mobilize individuals (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Both the literature and the participants confirm that numbers are important when it comes to mobilization. Progressivists state that to mobilize BCs you have to listen to what their daily struggles are and also pay attention to those struggles on micro level instead of only focusing on the structural macro-level injustices.

“Especially in [city] we tried to improve their situation so that the BCs in this city start to feel it in their wallets.” (Progressivist)

Mobilization is according to participants also a strategy to appropriate power. The participants believe in a bottom-up approach to change because according to them the white majority is in a comfortable position that they by no means intend to give up. The mobilization of large numbers of BCs will lead to pressure. As a result, the status quo can no longer be maintained.

- Limitations

One of the limitations of this strategy is that is indicated by the interviewed progressives, is that is very difficult to achieve behavioral change among the white Dutch people even through confrontation. Another limitation, according to the progressives, is that it is very difficult to mobilize a large group who is surviving on a daily basis, while according to the participants and literature (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) this is necessary to have an impact.

Demonstrations & Militant Movements

Demonstrations are used by the progressivists to raise awareness or to speak out against certain issues in the Netherlands. Militant movements are also a strategy that is deployed by the interviewed progressivists. Whereas demonstrations are parades of people on the street who express dissatisfaction or objections to political or social abuse, militant movements are of a completely different level.

“Such a revolution is about to come, and it is also a matter of making sure that you are prepared for such a moment and that you then have good ideas about how society might look differently in a peaceful way.” (Progressivist)

This participant emphasizes the word peaceful, however not all the interviewed progressives share this opinion.

“There is no human being or any group in the history in this world who has ever been given their freedom by appealing to the moral sense of the person who oppressed them. We do not want to make any concessions for radical equality. History tells us that friction is necessary if we want to achieve that emancipation.” (Progressivist)

Through the use of militant movements, the interviewed progressivists state that they want to achieve change on a larger level, even global level, and bring down structures that cause people of color to be marginalized. This strategy focuses primarily on appropriating power.

- Limitations

The limitations of these strategies mainly relate to the militant movement. The progressivists indicate that a revolution is not going to start today or tomorrow, while the current position of BCs requires immediate attention. That is why they use other (traditional) strategies, such as lobby & political involvement to achieve faster results.

Use of (social) media

According to the progressivists, mainstream Dutch media is very white and in recent years has only contributed to the further polarization of society. With the increase in popularity of alternative

media such as social media, but also other alternative media, a platform has been created to make a different sound heard

“I think it's [social media] very good. Look, of course, you also have the negative effects of social media. But I think it is very good that it is visible that I no longer have to get my news from the NOS news and that I can search for my news. It is there [white media platforms] that institutional racism actually begins.” (Progressivist)

There are more and more initiatives within the world of media where, just like in politics, media platforms of people of color are being established. By using these alternative media platforms progressives state, they have the power to determine the message they send without conformation to the white perception. As the literature also confirms, this is about setting up one's power structures instead of conforming to the power structures that already exist (Jennings, 2000; Broockman, 2013, Fisher, 2009).

- Limitations

Participants express that one can reach many people with media. Unfortunately, according to them, the mainstream white media currently benefits from the negative framing of BCs. This means that it is difficult to use the mainstream media to strengthen the position of BCs. Alternative media set up by people of color is gaining popularity but does not yet have the same reach as white mainstream media.

Structural Barriers

The interviewed traditionalists and progressives identified several structural barriers, that undermine the impact of their strategies, which in general can be led back to the elements of the Dutch ethnic system (race, nation, power, and identity) and symbolic and social boundaries. These obstacles can be classified as barriers in the 'cultural sphere' (e.g. assimilation), 'public attitudes' (e.g. perceptions), 'structural and economic relations' (e.g. capitalism and) and 'politics' (e.g. shift to the right).

According to the interviewed traditionalists and progressives, and literature (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; DiAngelo, 2011; Lamont & Molnár, 2002), the color of one's skin plays a role in ones positioning

on the social ladder. This shows that symbolic and social boundaries play a major role in determining the social position of BCs and access to resources. Institutional and everyday racism are very much present in the Netherlands according to the progressives and traditionalists.

“There is a hierarchy in it. The Dutch white man from a good environment, born from higher educated parents, is number one. Just behind it is the higher educated Dutch white woman. Just behind them is the white LGBTI community. And afterwards, come the different ethnic communities. The Dutch white man and woman with a small wallet are in between the ethnic groups and the LGBTI community.” (Traditionalist)

Both the literature and the participants indicate that in a predominantly white society, the existing power relations are not in favor of people of color (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; DiAngelo, 2011). For this reason, the majority of the strategies used by both traditionalists and progressives are either focused on the appropriation of power or indirect access to power.

When asked about the mechanisms that underlie the marginalized position of BCs, it is not only skin color that emerges. Mainly progressives repeatedly mention the capitalist system and the associated power relationship as perhaps the biggest cause. Within the capitalist social and symbolic boundaries are drawn by white people, who according to the participants are the most powerful.

“You cannot ignore racism without thinking away from capitalism. Capitalism as a system has constantly promoted racism, imperialism, and colonialism. Capitalism is also a white system, which proves in practice that white people are constantly benefiting from it over non-white people. I think that something else has to be done radically if we want to achieve that emancipation.” (Progressivist)

Traditionalists and progressives also state that the (political) shift to the right, which has also shifted the position of both symbolic and social boundaries, has made it more difficult to achieve impact when it comes to strengthening the position of BCs in Dutch society.

“You also see that there is a huge polarization taking place in society which means that in particular Muslim women, black women, trans people, and refugees are treated as scapegoats within society by white Dutch people. That actually worries me even more.

Because you almost have no legitimacy for your right to exist in this country. You have to fight for that.” (Progressivist)

This last quote also provides a clear picture of how highly stratified citizenship is within Dutch society. Some groups feel they have to ‘fight’ for their right to exist.

Discussion

This research shows, as anticipated, that the current position of BCs in the Netherlands is marginalized. This position is a result of cultural citizenship, a form of stratified citizenship. As expected, the progressives and traditionalists' main focus is on an equal societal position a.k.a. "full citizenship" for BCs. They aim to achieve this overarching goal through various short-term (e.g. anti-racism policy) and long-term (e.g. acceptance) goals, by using various strategies. The strategies that they use can be identified as traditional and progressive strategies. The traditional strategies are: 'collaboration'; 'lobby & political involvement'; 'strong network'; and 'two-fold strategies'. The progressive strategies are: 'confrontation & mobilization'; 'demonstration & militant movement'; and 'use of social media'.

This research shows that traditionalists only rely on traditional strategies, while progressives, contrary to the expectation, use both traditional and progressive strategies to strengthen the position of BCs. Both types of strategies focus on accumulating power. However, as anticipated in the introduction, the traditionalists want to achieve power within the existing power structures while progressives want to achieve power by changing the existing power structures. Table 1 contains an overview of strategies, the executor, outcome and classification:

Strategy	Type	Executor	Outcome
Two-Fold Strategies	Traditional	Interest groups	(Indirect) access to power and broad support among Dutch white people in positions of power to address issues that affect DCs.
Collaboration	Traditional	Interest groups and politicians from EP ⁵ and activists	(Indirect) access to power and greater impact through collaboration.
Lobby & Political Involvement	Traditional	Interest groups, politicians from EP and politicians within NPP ⁶	(Indirect) access to power and political support for issues that affect DCs.

⁵ EP: Established pre-dominantly white Dutch political parties

⁶ NPP: New Political Parties such as DENK, Bij1 and NIDA that mainly consist out of Dutch politicians of color.

Strong Network	Traditional	Interest Groups	(Indirect) access to power and positive change within public opinion towards issues that negatively affect DCs.
Confrontation & Mobilization	Progressive	Activists and politicians within NPP	Power (direct access) to address issues that affect DCs.
Demonstrations & Militant Movements	Progressive	Activists and politicians from NPP	Power (direct access) to address issues that affect DCs.
Use of (social) media	Progressive	Activists	Power (direct access) to address issues that affect DCs.

Table 1. Overview of traditional and progressive strategies, executor and outcome

Table 1 shows that while the progressives and traditionalists use various strategies to strengthen the position of BCs, the strategies are mostly aimed at direct or indirect access to power. However, it is unlikely that there will be a change in the existing power structures in the (short) term, while the current position of BCs requires immediate attention. The reason for this is that traditionalists try to gain access to power within the current power structures, with a dominant white majority and institutions that do not want to give up any or little power (Jennings, 2000; Broockman, 2013). The progressives, on the other hand, try to bring about change with a combination of more “radical” strategies, where there is little room for dialogue, and traditional strategies (Fisher, 2009; Jennings, 2000). This research also shows that both traditionalists and progressives are faced with structural barriers that influence the amount of impact the strategies have that are used by the progressives and traditionalists.

Progress is also hampered by the fact that the white Dutch majority is difficult to take into account in this emancipation battle and that the development is therefore mainly one-sided. During the interviews, the participants also formulated various limitations on the strategies they use. The success of the strategies depends in general on the goodwill of white Dutch people (in positions of power) and more collaboration between BCs with different ethnic backgrounds. When both conditions are not present which is the case at the moment, it becomes very difficult to generate impact within the Dutch ethnic system with both the progressive and traditional strategies.

Alternative explanations

This study aimed to map the strategies used by progressives and traditionalists in the Netherlands to improve the position of BCs. The interviews with the participants provided the information needed and more. Although the Dutch ethnic system functioned more as a context during the interviews, it provided information regarding the structural barriers that is worthy of a follow-up study. In this way insight in how the strategies can be improved to still achieve impact within the current ethnic system can be provided. This follow-up research can also offer alternative explanations for the limitations of the strategies, which is needed to improve the strategies.

Strengths and Limitations

Initially, when designing this study, there was no question of the exclusion of white Dutch participants. However, gradually the preference for this study became for participants of color, because of their insiders' position. The fact that the participants are also BCs, who use agency to contribute to the improvement of the position of fellow BCs, gives this research an extra dimension.

Although the use of the snowball method offered access to participants that are normally not easy to reach (e.g. progressives), it has its limitations. It turns out that the progressives recruited through the snowball method move within the same network. Most of them knew each other from demonstrations for example. This is however compensated as much as possible in this study because the traditionalists were recruited in a different way, which benefits the internal validity of this research.

Recommendations

The interviews show that it is very difficult to bring about change in a society that is currently very polarized. For this reason, the use of traditional strategies alone is not sufficient. Little room is made from the dominant majority to strengthen the position of BCs. The solution to this problem, however, does not lie in the progressive strategies, although the progressivists are on the right track. There should be more balanced between the use of progressive and traditional strategies. The progressive strategies ensure that the issues that BCs deal with are put on the map and the traditional strategies with their moderate tone can provide a dialogue to address these issues. In

addition, the focus of both traditional and progressive strategies is now primarily on power of which one is dependent on the goodwill of the majority or complete system change. Both conditions are difficult to achieve. That is why, in addition to power, the proposal is to deploy the strategies in such a way that they offer tangible results for the BCs in the short term. Further research should be done into how the strategies can best be designed to achieve this.

Highlights

As James Baldwin stated, "not everything that is faced can be changed, but nothing can be changed until it is faced." In this message lies a truth that is very relevant for this study and its participants. Both the traditionalists and the progressives commit, each in their way, on a daily basis, to strengthening the position of BCs. This research made it clear that a change is underway that cannot be stopped until "full citizenship" is reached.

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Appendix I – Topic list

Diepte-interview met belangenorganisaties, activisten en politici die via verschillende strategieën trachten de positie van DCs te verbeteren.			
	Wat te doen	Extra info	Duur
Introductie	1. Uitzetten telefoon. 2. Mezelf voorstellen 3. Duur van het interview benoemen. 4. Uitleg geven over het onderzoek, anonimiteit en het verslag. 5. Uitleg geven over band opname. 6. Doornemen en ondertekenen toestemmingsformulier. Indien dit niet getekend wordt, gaat het interview niet door. 6. Uitleg over onderzoeksdesign 7. Uitleg geven over rechten van de deelnemer. Deze kan elk moment stoppen en data terug trekken voor het afronden van het onderzoek. 8. Vragen of de deelnemer vragen heeft.		10 minuten
Afnemen van het interview	1. Strategieën - Wat doet jouw organisatie? - Wat is jouw rol binnen de organisatie? - Hoe zou je de groep die jouw organisatie vertegenwoordigt of wil vertegenwoordigen omschrijven? - Wat wil jullie organisatie bereiken voor deze groep? - Hoe zouden jullie de huidige positie of situatie van jullie doelgroep op dit moment willen omschrijven? - Welke strategieën gebruikt jullie organisatie om de huidige positie/situatie te verbeteren? - Wat is het uitgangspunt van deze strategieën? - Waarom is er gekozen voor juist deze strategieën? - Op welke manier dragen jullie strategieën bij, volgens jullie organisatie, aan het versterken van de positie van		45 minuten

	<p>jullie doelgroep binnen de Nederlandse samenleving?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bij wat voor soort uitkomst zou je de strategieën evalueren als succesvol? <p>2. Nederland/Context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Op welke manier beïnvloedt het klimaat in Nederland de aanpak die jullie organisatie gebruikt om de positie van jullie doelgroep te versterken? <p>3. Denkbeeldige ‘lijnen’</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In hoeverre vind je dat jouw doelgroep op dit moment gelijke toegang heeft tot middelen en mogelijkheden? - Welke groepen in Nederland hebben betere toegang tot middelen en mogelijkheden dan jouw doelgroep? - Zijn er ook minderheidsgroepen die slechter af zijn dan jouw doelgroep? - Waar heeft het verschil in toegang tot middelen en mogelijkheden volgens jouw organisatie mee te maken? - Hoe ziet volgens jouw organisatie gelijkwaardigheid voor jullie doelgroep eruit? <p>4. Invloed</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wat zou er volgens jouw organisatie moeten veranderen om meer gelijkwaardigheid te bereiken voor jullie doelgroep (vb. op politiek of sociaal niveau)? - Wie speelt nog meer in rol of moet een rol gaan spelen om deze verandering voor elkaar te krijgen? - Wie (persoon/organisatie) heeft de meeste macht/middelen om deze verandering in gang te zetten. - Hoe willen jullie deze personen/organisaties beïnvloeden om mee te werken? - Hoe denkt jouw organisatie (meer) invloed te kunnen verwerven om verandering 		
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	<p>voor jullie doelgroep teweeg te brengen?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is er een specifieke aanpak die jullie organisatie gebruikt om jullie invloed te vergroten? <p>5. 'Race' en Identity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wat is de rol van huidskleur/religie/ethniciteit binnen jullie organisatie en in de aanpak richting jullie doelgroep? - Op welke manier beïnvloeden huidskleur/religie/ethniciteit de strategieën die jullie gebruiken? - Op welke manier speelt de (bi-culturele) identiteit van jullie doelgroep een rol binnen jouw organisatie (vb. strategieën, missie, visie, empoweren of juist assimilatie, etc.). 		
Afsluiting Interview	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aangeven waar en wanneer eventuele vragen gesteld of klachten ingediend kunnen worden over het onderzoek en dit op papier meegeven. 2. Bedanken voor de tijd. 		5 minuten

Appendix II – Code Tree

Name	Description	Files	References
Access		6	7
Group differences color-color		14	48
Group differences white-color		0	0
LHBTQI+ vs people of color		6	17
White vs Color		15	40
Group silimilarities white-color		0	0
LHBTQI+ vs people of color		0	0
White vs Color		6	6
Concequences of Discrimination		3	7
Current Position		14	32
Ethnic system		0	0
Identity		0	0
Adaptable Identity		8	16
Assimilation		7	22
Bi-Cultural Identity		13	28
Mono-Cultural Identity		3	5
White Privilege		7	16
Nation		0	0
Black Pete		8	27
Capitalist System		7	39
Colonial History		9	35
Everyday Racism		7	9
Institutional Racism		12	83
Lack of representativity		10	35
Media		6	13
Perception		12	49
Politics		13	72
Poverty		6	15
Public Opinion		5	11
Shift to the Right		15	65

Name	Description	Files	References
White Dutch Cultural Heritage		5	9
Power		0	0
Bottom-Up		8	14
Compagnies & Institutions		4	7
Diaspora		3	3
Elite		2	3
Media		6	10
Ministries		1	1
Politicians		8	11
White Dutchies		7	12
White Men (Hetero)		5	6
Race		0	0
Ethnicity		4	5
Religion		9	18
Skincolor		11	40
Intersectionality		9	20
Limitations Strategies		10	39
Long-term goals		0	0
(Radical) equality		7	27
Acceptance		7	18
Political & Cultural Democracy		12	33
Social-Economical Progress		7	14
Progressive Strategies		0	0
Confrontation		4	9
Demonstration		4	7
Militant Movement		8	13
Mobilize ao Activate the DBs		10	32
Use of (social) media		7	11
Short-term goals		0	0
Anti-Racism Policy		2	5
Awareness		10	21
Connecting People		6	8
Emancipation within the colored community		9	32

Name	Description	Files	References
Representativity		9	22
Solidarity		0	0
Between groups (color-color)		9	16
Between groups (white-color)		3	9
Lack of solidarity		3	21
Traditional Strategies		0	0
Collaboration		14	55
Lobby and political involvement		8	30
Strong Network		9	31
Two-Fold Strategies		5	14