Urgenda's approach to intersectionality

An assessment of intersectionality considerations in Urgenda's projects for a sustainable future.

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Table of contents

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Summary

This thesis looks at the ways in which intersectionality is incorporated in the projects of the climate movement Urgenda. Urgenda is a Dutch climate movement whose main goal is to facilitate the transition towards a sustainable future in the Netherlands. If Urgenda wants to achieve this goal, its projects should target the entire Dutch society. In this thesis, it was researched whether the projects hold an intersectional design.

Intersectionality recognizes that different forms of discrimination, whether it is classism, racism, sexism, etc. form a unique kind of discrimination when combined. This kind of discrimination differs per individual and their unique social status. Intersectionality can also be applied to climate change and shows that every individual relates to climate change differently because of their unique social status.

If Urgenda's projects effectively take intersectionality into account, Urgenda would meet its main goal to make the entire Dutch society more sustainable. Urgenda's sustainability projects were evaluated based on the five criteria for intersectionality by Elliot et al. (2017). It was found that the projects often met two or three criteria and only one out of nine projects complied with all five criteria of intersectionality. This concluded that the projects hold an intersectional design to some account, but there is still room for improvement.

Four different recommendations are given that might help Urgenda design its projects in a way that all the projects meet all criteria of intersectionality. These recommendations are based on conducted interviews with Urgenda members and members from the climate action group 'Code Rood' and the climate research institute 'DRIFT'. First of all, I recommend Urgenda to create awareness of the concept of intersectionality among its members. Secondly, Urgenda could establish a more diverse board of leaders which represent the Dutch population. Thirdly, these leaders should engage in trainings about the privileges that exist in relation to climate change. And finally, Urgenda should form alliances with other social movements to establish a broader platform to recruit participants.

The thesis ends with a few points of discussion and recommendations for further research.

Introduction

According to the Dutch climate movement Urgenda, climate change will damage our modern ways of living. To limit the impacts of climate change, Urgenda's mission is to facilitate the transition of the Netherlands towards a sustainable future, by focusing on a circular economy fueled by renewable energy (Urgenda, n.d. -a).

In 2007 Jan Rotmans and Marjan Minnesma founded the non-profit Dutch climate movement Urgenda at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam and the Dutch Research Institute for Transition (DRIFT). In 2019 Urgenda became the first-ever climate movement to successfully sue the state (Urgenda, n.d. -b). In order to fight climate change, the Dutch State targeted to cut greenhouse gas emissions by 20% in 2020 compared to the 1990 levels. However, Urgenda sued the Dutch State by saying that this target was insufficient, and if the state were not to increase it, they would fail to protect the lives of all Dutch citizens. To adequately protect its citizens, the Dutch State should cut greenhouse gas emissions by 25% by 2020, according to Urgenda (Hoge Raad, 2019). The highest court in the Netherlands, the Dutch Supreme Court, agreed with Urgenda and ruled that the Dutch State was fighting climate change insufficiently and was, therefore, restraining from its obligations to hold on to the European Convention of the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (Hoge Raad, 2019). The case gained support from hundreds of Dutch citizens and the victory brought Urgenda national and international attention (Urgenda, n.d. -b.; Schwartz, 2019; Van Santen & van der Walle, 2019).

Besides this Climate Case, Urgenda has been offering different projects which aim to create a sustainable future. Dutch citizens can participate in these projects. The developed projects focus on constructions, mobility, production processes in the industry, and agriculture & food diversity (Urgenda, n.d. -c).

The example of Urgenda's Climate Case showed the urgency Urgenda feels to protect the entire Dutch society against the effects of climate change. The various projects that are developed are, according to Urgenda, similarly focused on the whole Dutch society (Urgenda, n.d. -c). As mentioned, the projects have a diverse focus, but they all aim to create a sustainable future.

It is important that every Dutch individual is equally able to apply to and benefit from these projects, so a sustainable future is guaranteed for all.
To create projects which are applicable for every Dutch individual, Urgenda should take into account all aspects and specific problems that Dutch individuals face regarding climate change.

Intersectionality is the theory that various forms of discrimination ranging from class, gender, race, sexuality, disability, etc. do not operate independently but interact to create a specific form of social oppression (Oxford Reference, n.d.). In the context of this thesis, this means that every Dutch individual faces the impacts of climate change in their unique way. For example, discrimination based on income regarding climate change can be found in the fact that sustainable solutions tend to focus on people with a high income, which means that

people with a lower income are less likely to be able to afford such solutions (Jhagroe, 2018). A different relationship between discrimination and climate change shows how people with a migration background are often 'ignored' when sustainable solutions are created. This makes it difficult for people with a migration background to make a sustainable transition (Jhagroe, 2016). Put together, people with both a migration background and a low income, face different and unique challenges regarding climate change.

This example shows how different forms of discrimination can create a unique oppression in relation to climate change. Additionally, this concrete example is relevant to different forms of oppression such as sexism, racism, and ageism (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014).

The theory of intersectionality acknowledges these combined, unique challenges and stresses that social movements should take them into account at all stages of their working processes: at the time of movement building, problem identification, and the development of adequate solutions.

In general, a climate movement like Urgenda, which claims to offer projects that work towards a sustainable future for all, needs to work intersectional. By applying the theory of intersectionality, it can be guaranteed that projects take into account all the unique problems people face because of climate change. If this is guaranteed, then the projects effectively live up to their ambition to aim for a sustainable society for *all* individuals.

A lot of research on intersectionality in climate movements has been conducted (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014.; Tuana, 2008; Osborne, 2013). However, to date, there has not been an assessment of Urgenda's view and approaches to intersectionality. In this thesis, I will tackle this knowledge gap.

More specifically, I will research if the projects of Urgenda are created through an intersectional lens to become sustainable solutions for every Dutch individual.

My research question is:

'How is the Dutch climate movement Urgenda embracing intersectionality in its projects for a sustainable future?'

To be able to answer this question the following steps will be taken.

First of all, definitions of intersectionality, sustainability and equality will be further defined. The relationship between the theories and concepts will be described in the conceptual framework. The analytical framework will describe how Urgenda's intersectional approach will be assessed empirically. In the methodology section, it is shown how data was assessed and evaluated. Afterward, the results are represented. And lastly, the discussion and conclusion answer to the research question and advice on further research.

Theory and concepts

In this thesis, I will be using the following concepts: sustainability, equality, and the theory of intersectionality. I will further elaborate on these concepts and this theory.

Sustainability and equality

In the fight against climate change, an often-mentioned concept is sustainability. In the description of its vision, Urgenda even uses the concept in the very first sentence: 'The Dutch Urgenda Foundation aims for a fast transition towards a sustainable society…' (Urgenda, n.d. -a).

In 1987 Brown, Hanson, Liverman, and Merideth Jr. performed research on the definition of sustainability. Even back then they noticed how many different disciplines were using the word sustainability, but did not establish one concrete, overarching definition of the term. In their research, they compared the different uses and definitions of the term sustainability (Brown et al., 1987). They concluded that the definition of sustainability lies within the context it is applied to, and whether its use is based on an ecological, social, or economic perspective (Shearman, 1990). Only when a clear, context-specific definition is stated, actions and decisions that need to be taken to achieve sustainability, can be formulated (Brown et al., 1987). In this thesis, the argument made by Brown et al. will be applied. It is important to know how Urgenda uses the term and to state how the term will be used in this thesis.

To understand Urgenda's use of sustainability, a closer look at the website is necessary. In the introduction, Urgenda states:

> "The Dutch Urgenda Foundation aims for a fast transition towards a sustainable society, with a focus on the transition towards a circular economy using only renewable energy (….) Urgenda views climate change as one of the biggest challenges of our times and looks for solutions to ensure that the earth will continue to be a safe place to live for future generations" (Urgenda, n.d. -a).

The first conclusion that can be made based of this quote, is that Urgenda does not explicitly explain how they define sustainability. Urgenda aims for a sustainable society by focusing on a circular economy and using renewable energy. Furthermore, Urgenda's goals are focused on a safe planet for future generations, it seems that these future generations are limited to humans only. A safe future for non-humans is not explicitly defined.
It appears that Urgenda sees sustainability as a goal provided by a circular economy and renewable energy.

The decisions and actions made to achieve this sustainable society are diverse. Apart from the famous Climate Case, Urgenda has different projects that focus on climate change causes and impacts. If Urgenda coherently uses its definition of sustainability, these projects should be focused on circular economy and renewable energy.
A term that is not mentioned explicitly in Urgenda's use of sustainability is equality. Equality is 'the fact of being equal in rights, status, advantages, etc.' (Oxford Dictionary, n.d.).

In their paper, Wilkinson, Picket, and De Vogli (2010) show that if projects focus on establishing equality, sustainability will often follow:

> "…greater equality offers not only the possibility of a reduction in consumerism and status competition, but also the development of a more cohesive, sociable, and sustainable society, which may be essential for our future health and wellbeing" (Wilkinson et al., 2010).

Their research shows that an equal society could lead to a sustainable society. Another scholar who advocates the use of equality in the concept of sustainability is Dr. Shivant Jhagroe. In his Ph.D. Dr. Jhagroe pleads for a more inclusive form of sustainable transitions in cities. According to Dr. Jhagroe sustainable transitions should not center around greening the city but around equality (Jhagroe, 2018; Jhagroe, 2019). Only this way, it can be guaranteed that the complete society will be included in the social transition towards a sustainable society.

In the context of Urgenda, this means that the projects need to be available and applicable to every Dutch citizen. If every Dutch citizen can apply to and benefit from these projects, a sustainable society could be faster achieved than if only a select number of individuals can apply to the projects. Thus, if Urgenda extends its sustainability focus to include equality, Urgenda could indeed quicker transition the Netherlands towards a sustainable future.

To end this part, Brown et al. (1987) noted that it is important to give a context-specific definition of the term sustainability, to be able to achieve it. In this thesis, it is stated that Urgenda should extend its definition of sustainability to include equality. This means that the projects for a sustainable future should be equally applicable for every Dutch citizen. Urgenda's introduction would then be:

> "The Dutch Urgenda Foundation aims for a fast and *equal* transition towards a sustainable society (...) to ensure that the earth will continue to be a safe place to live for *all* future generations."

Still, how can Urgenda make sure that its sustainability projects are equally applicable to every Dutch citizen? This can be achieved by embracing the theory of intersectionality (Jhagroe, 2018).

The theory of intersectionality

Intersectionality finds its roots in the black feminist movement, with the American legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw coining the term (Cooper, 2016).

Intersectionality recognizes that different forms of oppression, whether it is classism, racism, sexism, etc. form a unique kind of discrimination when combined. This kind of discrimination differs per individual and their unique social status. According to Crenshaw, every analysis or movement which does not take these specific intersectional experiences into account is addressing the problem insufficiently (Crenshaw, 1989).

After Crenshaw's first remarks, the theory of intersectionality became widely known and used in all different kinds of social movements. Crenshaw set the stage to criticize movements that used the limitations of a single-axis framework; a framework where certain

anti-discrimination discourses are favored above others (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays, & Tomlinson, 2013). Intersectionality was being applied to social identities, legal and political systems, power dynamics, and discursive structures in the United States and beyond (Carbado et al., 2013). Research by Roberts and Jesudason (2013) showed the importance of including intersectionality in social movements. They demonstrated how a focus on intersectionality in movements does not create division but rather has the potential to create both solidarity and cohesion (Roberts & Jesudason, 2013).

Multiple studies began showing the importance of an intersectional approach in the fight against climate change. These studies showed that the way individuals relate to climate change depends on their position in the context-specific power structures based on social categorization (O'Brien Sygna, and Haugen., 2004; Räty and Carlsson-Kanyama, 2010; Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014; Rooijers, 2016; Vergeer, 2017). Intersectionality could also help understand the intersecting causes of human-environment interactions to obtain solutions for sustainability (Malin and Ryder, 2018).

Two different studies on the benefits of including intersectionality in companies and climate change organizations also concluded that intersectionality will encourage a deeper understanding on how problems are influenced by different processes (Zander, Zander, Gaffney & Olsson, 2010) and makes sure that specific climate change experiences are seen, without erasing the experiences from others (Osborne, 2013).

When the intersectional differences of individuals are considered, Urgenda might be able to design projects that meet every unique individual sustainable need in society and are equally accessible for all. Thus, if Urgenda considers the theory of intersectionality, the projects could live up to Urgenda's ambition to aim for a sustainable society for *all* individuals.

Conceptual framework

To conclude the theoretical part of this research proposal, I would like to explain why Urgenda should embrace intersectionality by describing the conceptual framework:

Urgenda's main goal is to facilitate the transition of the entire Netherlands toward a sustainable future. To achieve this ambition, Urgenda should broaden its definition of sustainability to include equality. This could guarantee that the entire Dutch society can equally participate in and benefit from the projects for a sustainable future. Equality in this sense can be achieved through the use of intersectionality. Intersectionality acknowledges the different ways individuals relate to climate change and stresses the importance of considering these different individual relations when creating e.g. projects for a sustainable future.
Through the use of intersectionality, Urgenda will hopefully create projects that apply to every Dutch individual. This way, Urgenda could pursue its ambition to make the entire Dutch society more sustainable.

Analytical framework for approaching intersectionality

The question then remains, how can climate movements become intersectional?

The implementation of intersectionality in climate movements is not about blindly including every single social category. A climate movement cannot call itself intersectional when it simply works with a black woman, a homosexual white woman, and a disabled white man for example (Flanders, 2017). Professor Crenshaw stated that movements should think for themselves how intersectionality is shaping the issues at hand to make sure there are no holes in how the issue is presented (Flanders, 2017). Movements should create 'a language that points into the direction of the problem, not the representation or the person' (Flanders, 2017).

There is relatively little research on how intersectionality in social movements can be assessed. When searching for evaluation criteria, only two studies came to light.

The first study that was found, was done by Kaijser and Kronsell in 2014. This study focuses on the benefits of intersectionality when fighting climate change. The study ends by providing overall questions that can help analyze the use of intersectionality, such as 'are any other aspects of identity neglected or deemed insufficient?' and 'how is nature represented?'. The questions are intended as a tool to help maintain awareness of intersecting structures (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014). However, these questions are to be used when a certain movement or project is being formed. As Urgenda's projects are already made and being carried out, the questions from this study cannot be used as an analytical framework in this thesis.

A 2017 study by Elliott, Earl, and Maher recognized the importance of intersectionality in social movements but found that little research focused on the internal approach to intersectionality in social movements and the ways movements can recruit participants in an intersectional way. In response, they developed five criteria a movement should adopt, to guarantee an intersectional approach. These criteria are based on different studies from multiple disciplines, which makes the framework broad and applicable to many different social movements, including climate movements like Urgenda (Elliot et al., 2017).

Furthermore, the framework is focused on the external representation of the movement, such as the online description or social media platforms. The external representation can reflect the internal commitment to intersectionality in a movement or can strike an inconsistency between the movements internal approach to intersectionality and the actual outcome of this approach (Elliot et al., 2017). This is fitting to this thesis, as the projects will be evaluated based on the online description, which is the external representation of Urgenda. The design of Urgenda's projects are indeed considered as a reflection of Urgenda's internal policy to facilitate the sustainable transition in the Netherlands.

Lastly, the framework by Elliot et al. is explicitly designed to evaluate the online material of social movements. This is also highly suitable to this thesis, as Urgenda's projects will, to most extent, be evaluated based on the online description.

Because of these reasons, this thesis will use the analytical framework developed by Elliott et al (2017). By analyzing Urgenda's projects according to this framework, we will be able to gain insights into Urgenda's approach to intersectionality.

As mentioned, the framework by Elliot et al. (2017) consists of five criteria. These criteria are explained and discussed in the following section:

Firstly, they argue for a coalitional approach: this acknowledges the different experiences individuals have concerning a social problem and tries to form coalitions between individuals instead of privileging one over the other. By recognizing different intersectional identities, a movement can consciously work to create equal participation among its participants (Elliott et al., 2017). It is important that movements actively work to maintain these coalitions.

Secondly, regarding the recruitment of participants, movements should directly engage with participants. And while doing so, movements should recognize the participants' unique combination of identities instead of primarily focusing on one's specific identity that eclipses over all other aspects of one's identity (Elliott et al., 2017).

Thirdly, to gain mobilization, a collective identity needs to be formed. A collective identity builds a shared sense of efficiency among participants (Elliott et al., 2017). To maintain an intersectional approach, the collective identity needs to acknowledge the different intersectional identities of participants. To do this, the authors pledge for a focus on identity bridging (Elliott et al., 2017). Identity bridging sees the convergence of multiple identities critical to mobilization, instead of trying to form one non-intersectional identity (Elliott et al., 2017). Identity bridging is done by linking two or more elements of intersectional identities in the struggle of the specific problem.

In the case of climate movements, this means that, for an effective mobilization, climate movements must acknowledge the inseparable, intersectional connections people face because of climate change (Elliott et al., 2017). The use of identity bridging can be measured by looking at websites, social media platforms, the description of participants, photographs, and identity-specific content. These are good measurements because social movements frequently use online tools to recruit participants. And movements choose what to portray on these tools themselves; making these tools representative to the intended goals of the movement and not biased by how other media platforms or surrogates portray them. Additionally, web-addressable spaces can be searched for outside of social networks, making them heterogenous to the participants (Elliott et al., 2017).

Fourthly, they advocate diversifying the entrance points from the movement activities. The authors show that potential participants can be withheld from a movement due to personal reasons. Thresholds such as costs, time, and commitment could be a reason for people not to participate, even though they agree with the movement goals. When the only people that participate are the ones that can meet the thresholds, intersectionality might not be guaranteed (Elliott et al., 2017). The thresholds should be diversified to a relatively low participation cost and the option to opt-in and opt-out freely (Elliott et al., 2017). This way, a movement does not privilege people who can comply with all entrance points over people who are not able to meet all the entrance points.

Lastly, they advise movements to build political interest in its concern amongst a wide range of people; this can be done using the internet and television (Elliott et al., 2017). Political

interest is key for engaging potential participants who are not in direct contact with the movements' network. Political interest is measured by looking if and how a movement advertises itself in any way. However, in the context of this thesis, this aspect will be analyzed differently. Instead of looking at political interest, a focus will be made on building social interest. This is done because this thesis does not look at the overall political interests built by Urgenda but is focused on the individual projects. These projects do not require so much political interest but rather social interests to gain participants. Therefore, in the analytical framework, this criterium is described as building social interest. This will be measured according to the fact whether Urgenda advertises the project in any way.

These five different criteria to build intersectionality in a social movement will be used as the analytical framework of this thesis. Urgenda's projects will be assessed according to these criteria. The table used for the assessments of the projects can be found in Annex A.

Methodology

The qualitative data that was needed for the evaluation of the projects along the criteria for intersectionality, have been collected in two ways. Firstly, by conducting interviews with multiple people working for Urgenda, and secondly by analyzing the detailed online description of Urgenda's different projects.

First of all, I had reached out to members of Urgenda to do interviews on their view on and approach to intersectionality. I have interviewed one member of Urgenda, who gave me an overall view of Urgenda's projects and its goals. Furthermore, I interviewed a member of Urgenda's project ThuisBaas. ThuisBaas is one of Urgenda's biggest projects and therefore it was useful for this study to collect more in-depth information on this project in particular. These two interviews were conducted for two reasons; to gain an in-depth knowledge of Urgenda's views and to further obtain information on the projects.

Additionally, I interviewed a member of the climate activist movement 'Code Rood'. Code Rood organizes demonstrations against the current use of fossil fuels by big companies and demonstrates against the Dutch government who tolerates these companies' continued extraction of fossil fuels. This climate action group is highly focused on activism but also focuses greatly on being accessible for all and being intersectional. The interview with a Code Rood member gave me information on how to establish intersectionality in the organization of a climate movement and showed me how to reach out to citizens in an intersectional way.

Lastly, I interviewed a member of the research institute 'DRIFT'. Urgenda was founded in 2007 in cooperation with DRIFT, before Urgenda decided to start working on its own (Urgenda, n.d. -n). DRIFT conducts research for and on organizations, cities, and people to transition towards more sustainable ways of working. Helping organizations, cities, and people take into account the ecological, social, and economic impacts of their actions (DRIFT, n.d.). The interview with one of the researchers of DRIFT provided me again with further information on the importance of intersectionality in climate movements and ways in which to successfully apply the theory intersectionality in a climate movement.

All the interviews were semi-structured, which provided the flexibility to let the interviewee guide the interview while at the same time making sure I could cover all the topics I wanted. In all of the interviews, I started with questioning the movements or institutions definitions of sustainability. Thereafter, questions related to the threshold for participating in projects or actions were asked. Indeed, certain limitations for participating regarding age, basic income, gender, location, etc. could say something about intersectionality. Lastly, I specifically asked the movement's or institution's knowledge of intersectionality and its potential approach towards intersectionally.

The interviews with the members for Urgenda and ThuisBaas did not only provide me with in-depth information on Urgenda's goals and work style but also gave me extra information on the content of and motivation behind certain specific projects. Information and quotes from these interviews are integrated in the evaluation of the projects.

The structure of each interview was developed to hold a 'reasonable flow' (Leech, 2002); starting with basic questions, following with questions on the concepts of this thesis, and ending with the option for the interviewee to add anything they would like to note.

Likewise, it is important not to ask leading questions, which aim for a certain answer from the interviewee (Legard, Keegan & Ward, 2003). The questions were constructed in such a way that they prevent being leading, and during the interview probing and prompting were avoided (Legard, Keegan & Ward, 2003).

In Annex B, the interview guide for the interview with the Urgenda member can be found. The interviews with the members from ThuisBaas, Code Rood, and DRIFT are almost identical with the interview in Annex B but have been adjusted to fit to the selected movement or institute. All the interview guides and the transcriptions are placed in an extra document called 'transcription document'. This document is available on request.

After conducting the interviews, I transcribed all the interviews. The information from these interviews is later used in the evaluation, the conclusion and discussion of this thesis. Whenever an interviewee is mentioned or quoted, they are referenced by I1, I2, I3, or I4, referring to interviewee 1, interviewee 2, interviewee 3, and interviewee 4 respectively. In Annex D, all the interviews are further referenced to the extra document named 'transcription document'.

Apart from information on the projects gained from the interviews, I analyzed the projects based on the shared online content. The projects are evaluated according to the criteria for intersectionality, which can be found in the table in Annex A. The information of the projects comes from Urgenda's website: every running project has its own page which describes the selected project (Urgenda, n.d. -c). The names of the projects are translated into English to fit this thesis. I only looked at currently running projects, as the finished projects are not described extensively on Urgenda's website, resulting in too little information to satisfactorily evaluate these projects.

The project description of the running projects shows the goals, already established outcomes, successes, thresholds, and participants of the project. This information is used to assess whether the project is meeting the criteria for intersectionality by Elliot et al (2017).

The type of data obtained from the interviews and the analysis of Urgenda's projects are qualitative.

Finally, the following should be noted regarding the language, location, and ethics of the interviews. Because all the interviewees are Dutch-speaking citizens, these interviews were conducted and transcribed in Dutch. Specific citations from the interviews that are used in the thesis are translated into English. Moreover, due to the current situation concerning the Covid-19 virus, interviews were not held physically but online (on the platforms Skype and Zoom). The choice of the specific platform was based on the interviewee's preference.

Interviews were only held when there was full consent from the interviewee. The interviews were recorded with agreement from all the interviewees. To protect the privacy of the interviewees, all the interviewees will stay anonymous in this thesis. Beforehand, I explained what the interview was going to be about, I also mentioned that the interviewee was

always allowed not to answer a question or to withdraw from the interview at any given time. Lastly, I stored the interviews on a password safe laptop to secure the privacy of the interviewees.

Results

All of Urgenda's projects were evaluated based on the five criteria of intersectionality by Elliot et al. (2017). Each evaluation was done based on the information on Urgenda's website and occasionally information from the interviews was used to create a stronger argued evaluation.

Whenever a criterium was achieved by Urgenda, it is marked with a green dot, whenever it was not achieved, a red was placed. The orange dot shows that the criterium was partly achieved; this means that in theory, Urgenda projects considers this criterium, but in reality, there is no evidence that the criterium is achieved. Whenever there was too little information available to make a valid evaluation, the criterium was noted with an **X**. An overview of all the results can be found in figure 2 on page 17.

Multiple points can be made based on figure 2 on page 17. First of all, twenty-five of the forty-five evaluated criteria were achieved, whereas five were not achieved and seven were partly achieved. Eight criteria could not be evaluated because of the limited amount of information on these projects. These findings are illustrated in figure 1.
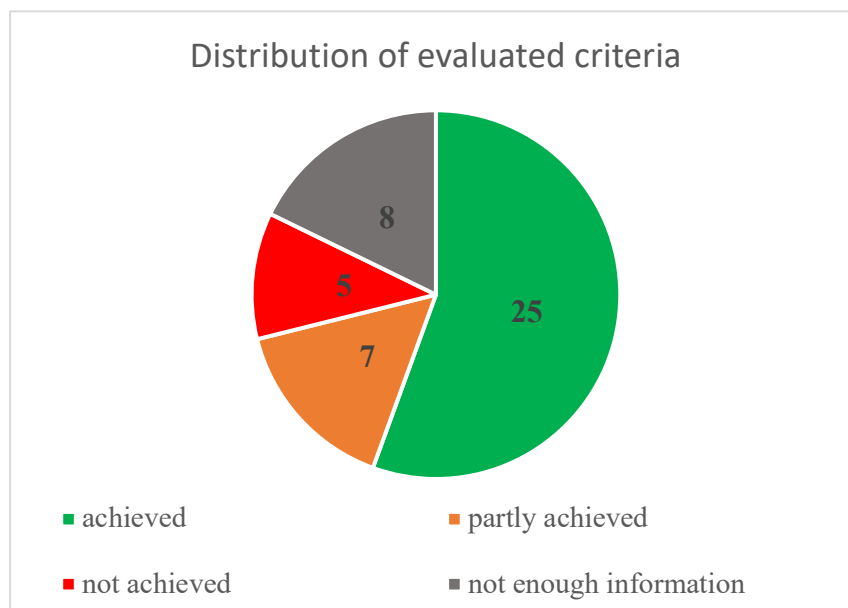

Figure 1. Distribution of the evaluated criteria to assess Urgenda's projects

The table with the results also shows that from all the nine projects, only one project complied with all the aspects of intersectionality, namely the project *energy competition nursing homes.* Additionally, the only project which complied with four of the five aspects was the 'Elfwegentocht' and four projects fulfilled three of the five criteria. Lastly, it should also be highlighted that three projects did not have a single **X** in the evaluation. Meaning that for only three projects, enough information was available to assess all five criteria.

The research by Elliot et al. (2017) mentions that a project can only be called intersectional when it complies with all the criteria of intersectionality. Concluding that only one of the nine projects could be called intersectional.

Focusing on the criteria, it can be seen that the criteria 'coalitional approach' was met by seven of the nine projects, which is the most achieved criteria of all. The criterium 'Direct engagement with participants', was met by six of the nine projects. The criteria 'use of identity bridging' and 'diverse entrance points' were both met by five projects. The last criterium, 'building social interests' was only met by two of the nine projects.

To provide an example of how each project was evaluated, the evaluation of the project *Sun on healthcare* (which places solar panels on nursing homes) will be briefly described here:

The first criterium 'coalitional approach' was evaluated as 'partly achieved'. This conclusion was drawn because the information on Urgenda's website showed that every nursing home can apply to the project, but in reality, not all nursing homes are chosen. Thus, Urgenda privileged one type of nursing home over the other. Because every nursing home can apply, but eventually not every nursing home can participate, this criterium is partly met.

The second criterium, direct engagement with participants, was evaluated as achieved. This evaluation was primarily based on the following quote on Urgenda's website:

> The nursing home will be guided by Urgenda and ZonnepanelenDelen throughout the entire process (Urgenda, n.d. -f, my translation).

The criterium for identity bridging was again evaluated as achieved. The project *Sun on healthcare* requires a crowdfunding process, to gain the money necessary for the solar panels. This crowdfunding process focused on how different kinds of people can help fight climate change by investing in solar panels, thus identities were bridged together.

The criterium diverse entrance points was partly met, as Urgenda's website showed that every nursing home can participate. However, in reality, not every nursing home gets selected.

The last criterium, was noted with an **X**. This was done because the website only mentioned that Urgenda is trying to reach out to more nursing homes, but nothing is said about how this is done in practice. Furthermore, a quote from interviewee 1 was used, which mentioned that Urgenda does not advertise at all. However, the information for this criterium was too limited to draw a grounded evaluation, so the criterium was met with an **X**.

All of the other projects were evaluated according to the same practice, mostly based on the online information and sometimes using data from the interviewees. Annex C provides a short overview of each evaluation. The extensive version of all the evaluations is available on request.

Figure 2. Evaluation of Urgenda's projects.

Overarching theme projects	Specific projects (names translated to English)	Criteria for intersectionality Not achieved: 🔴 Partly achieved: 🟠 Achieved: 🟢 Not enough info. **X**				
		Coalitional approach	Direct engagement with participants	Use of identity bridging	Diverse entrance points	Building social interest
Construction	Energy-neutral houses	🟢	🟢	🟠	🟢	🟠
	Sun on health care	🟠	🟢	🟢	🟠	**X**
	Energy competition nursing homes	🟢	🟢	🟢	🟢	🟢
	School roof revolution	🔴	🟢	🔴	🟢	**X**
	Sustainability in nursing homes	🟢	🟢	**X**	🟠	🔴
Mobility	'Elfwegentocht'	🟢	🟠	🟢	🟢	🟢
Production processes in industry	Sustainable Wadden Islands	🟢	🟠	**X**	**X**	**X**
	Circular Fryslân	🟢	🟢	🟢	🔴	**X**
Agriculture and diversity	Agriculture	🟢	**X**	🟢	🟢	🔴

Discussion and conclusion

Interpretations of the results

Based on the evaluation of Urgenda's projects presented in the results section, something can be said about the ways in which Urgenda's projects embrace the theory of intersectionality.

First of all, it should be noted that the project *energy competition nursery homes* was the only project that complied with all the criteria of intersectionality and can thus, according to Elliot et al. (2017), be called intersectional. The reason for this could lie in the fact that this project focuses simultaneously on a high variety of people and places. For the project to be successful, it needed to be designed in a way that as many people as possible could participate. The same thing seems to count for the project 'Elfwegentocht', which met four of the five criteria. This project was likewise focused on many different people and the ways these people relate to climate change and, in this case, mobility.

We could then consider that projects which focus on a broad variety of people and the different problems these people face because of climate change, are designed in a way that they meet the theory of intersectionality.

However, looking at the project *energy-neutral houses,* a different conclusion can be drawn. This project portrays itself as being applicable for everybody who owns or rents a house in the Netherlands. However, in reality, we see that only three criteria were met (see table 2) and interviewee 2 from ThuisBaas said:

"The customer group that is overrepresented, is that over 55 years old with a Dutch nationality and of which the children just moved out" (I2).

This shows that even though the project is designed to fit every house owner or renter in the Netherlands, in practice only a very specific group of people apply to the project, making the project design fail to be intersectional. A reason for this lack of intersectionality can be found in the cost of the project *energy-neutral houses*. To participate in the projects 'Elfwegentocht' and *energy competition nursery homes* there is no threshold regarding money. The project *energy-neutral houses,* on the other hand, does offer governmental subsidies, but still expects participants to make very high investments in their houses. Interviewee 2 said that:

"The problem is that those people (people without money) do not want to get into debts" (I2).

This quote indicates that even though this project is designed to be applicable for every citizen, those without money will mostly likely not participate in the project. These results conclude that money could be a factor that holds back the achievement of intersectionality.

Another point can be made about the distribution of the achieved criteria. The results show that some criteria were more often met than other criteria. For example, seven projects met the criterium for a coalitional approach whereas only two projects met the criterium for

building social interest. Both the assessment of the projects and the interviews with the Urgenda members did not explain why certain criteria were more often met than others.

It was said that only one of Urgenda projects has an intersectional design because the research by Elliot et al. (2017) mentioned that a project can only be called intersectional when it complies with all five criteria. However, based on my interpretation, I do not think it is fair to say that the other projects do not embrace intersectionality at all. The findings presented in figure 2 show that 25 of the 45 aspects *did* meet the intersectional criteria. Furthermore, most of the projects met more than two or three criteria. These positive findings must not be neglected, and I think that it is unjust to conclude that because the other eight projects did not meet all the criteria, they cannot be called intersectional at all. The projects can be improved in multiple ways, but in my opinion, it is too precipitative to conclude that all the other eight projects are not intersectional at all.

Drawing on the findings and personal interpretation, an overall conclusion on the results can be made. Based on the research by Elliot et al., only one of Urgenda's projects has a complete intersectional design, however, the other projects did meet al lot of criteria for intersectionality as well, which should not be ignored. More than half of the aspects were met, which means that Urgenda is embracing intersectionality in some way, but improvement can still be made. By improving the design of the projects, more Dutch citizens might be able to participate in the projects which helps Urgenda better comply with its goal to facilitate the transition of a more sustainable future in the Netherlands. To increase the implementation of intersectionality in Urgenda's projects, a few recommendations for improvement are presented. These recommendations are based on the information assessed during multiple interviews.

Recommendations for Urgenda

Earlier in this thesis, it was shown how intersectionality can improve a climate movement in multiple ways (Osborne, 2013; Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014;). This was also confirmed by interviewee 4, from the research institution DRIFT. I asked whether the interviewee agreed if a sustainable project needs to take on intersectionality in order to be sustainable, to which the following answer was given:

'yes, if you want to have sustainable systems, then this cannot be done without a focus on intersectionality, so to say (…) Something can in no way be sustainable when it sustains social-economic or social-cultural exclusion' (I4).

The first step to include intersectionality is to create awareness of the concept of intersectionality at Urgenda.

The results indicate that Urgenda's projects do meet the criteria to a large extent, however, the interviews show that Urgenda members were completely unfamiliar with the concept of intersectionality (I1; I2). This could also be a reason that Urgenda's projects fail to be applicable for every Dutch citizen; Urgenda's members are simply unaware of the exclusiveness of the projects and unintendedly design the projects this way. To improve

intersectionality in the design of Urgenda's projects, I advise Urgenda to start by making its members familiar with the concept.

I also asked interviewee 4 how projects or movements like Urgenda can establish intersectionality, to which the interviewee replied that intersectionality can be achieved in movements like Urgenda when the people who design the policy, are receptive for intersectionality. Because, according to interviewee 4, if a movement starts with a group of, for example, primary white old men, it will become very hard to incorporate intersectionality in a movement from the beginning (I4).

Urgenda's website shows that all of Urgenda's members are white and all had higher education levels (Urgenda, n.d. -n). This claim was also confirmed by interviewee 1 who mentioned that Urgenda's teams consist of only highly educated people (I1).

Based on the information from interview 4, the one-sidedness of Urgenda's team will make it very hard to design and develop projects that take into account the many different intersectional ways Dutch citizens experience climate change. This can result in the problem that only a select group of people will be able to participate in projects that guarantee a sustainable future. Therefore, my second piece of advice for Urgenda is to establish a more diverse team with people who all experience climate change in a different way.

However, simply changing the diversity of the members of Urgenda is not enough, as Crenshaw mentioned that the implementation of intersectionality in climate movements is not about blindly including every single social category (Flanders, 2017). Interviewee 3 from Code Rood mentioned that they experienced this problem. Code Rood has a very diverse set of entry points, with which it tries to gain a group of participants as diverse as possible. However, in reality, they notice, just like Urgenda, that their participants do not reflect the diversity of the Dutch society. The interviewee mentioned two different solutions for this problem; Code Rood establishes alliances with other social movements, and they try to make their members actively aware of the different intersectional problems people face because of climate change (I3). This awareness is created by, for example, participating in a privilege training (I3). This privilege training took three days and tried to make the Code Rood members aware of the privileges that exist in relation to climate change. Thus thirdly, I advise Urgenda to let its members participate in these kinds of trainings, as it could hopefully result in a better understanding of the different ways people relate to climate change and so could result in the design of projects that are more equally applicable for Dutch citizens.

Additionally, I recommend Urgenda to establish alliances with other social movements. This recommendation is based on interview 3, where it was mentioned that Code Rood established alliances with other social movements. Through these alliances, they show their support for social movements that fight for example against racism or other social injustices in the Netherlands (I3). The importance of establishing alliances was also mentioned by interviewee 4, from DRIFT.

I would suggest Urgenda to create connections with social movements that might not fight for a sustainable future like Urgenda but do fight for social equality. By establishing these

connections, Urgenda will hopefully be able to reach out to a broader and more diverse group of people outside of Urgenda's circle. Furthermore, by creating alliances, Urgenda might design its projects in an intersectional way more consciously, to fit the participants of its alliances (I3).

Conclusion

Urgenda aims to transition the entire Netherlands towards a more sustainable future. To achieve this goal, Urgenda's projects for a sustainable future should be equally applicable to every Dutch citizen. Intersectionality, as argued, could help guarantee an equal approach to these sustainable projects. The research question of this thesis was: 'How is the Dutch climate movement Urgenda embracing intersectionality in its projects for a sustainable future?' An assessment was made to see whether the projects of Urgenda hold an intersectional approach.

Urgenda's nine currently running projects were assessed on intersectionality according to the five criteria presented in the research by Elliot et al. (2017).

It was found that a lot of projects did meet multiple criteria of intersectionality and one project complied with all criteria of intersectionality. However, there is still room for improvement. If Urgenda wants to live up to its goal and transition the entire Netherlands towards a sustainable future, all of the criteria should be met by every single project. Therefore, four recommendations were given which might help the approach to intersectionality in Urgenda's projects. These recommendations were based on information assessed during interviews with members of Urgenda, other climate movements, and research institutes.

First of all, Urgenda's members should be made aware of the concept of intersectionality, as they are unfamiliar with this concept at the moment.

Secondly, Urgenda needs to try and make its team members more diverse and intersectional. Urgenda's members should reflect the Dutch society for which the projects are designed.

Thirdly, the established team of members should participate in trainings and lectures which would make them aware of the intersectional problems and privileges that exist among climate change. When this awareness is created among Urgenda's members, they might hopefully design projects that do not try to hold these problems and privileges in place but are open to every Dutch citizen.

Lastly, I would advise Urgenda to establish alliances with social movements outside the sustainability discourse. This could lead to different positive changes: primarily, they will establish a broader platform, which makes it easier for Urgenda to reach out for participants outside its own circle. Secondly, by creating alliances, Urgenda will hopefully design projects in an intersectional way more automatically to fit the participants of its alliances.

All these recommendations could hopefully help Urgenda design its projects to be more equally applicable for all Dutch citizens and so help Urgenda reach its goal to transition the entire Netherlands towards a more sustainable future.

Overall, this thesis showed the importance of including intersectionality in climate change and sustainability research. It was found that even though projects and solutions might be aimed to apply to everybody, in practice, this is often not the case. It is important to bring

intersectionality in the debate about a sustainable future, to make sure that not a select group of people can guarantee a sustainable future, but that everybody can participate in and benefit from a sustainable future.

Points of discussion

To end this thesis, a few points of discussion need to be mentioned. First of all, the evaluation of all the projects was done primarily by looking at the online description of each project. This was done as said by Elliot et al. (2017), the external representation of the movement reflects the internal commitment to intersectionality of this movement or can strike an inconsistency between the movements' internal approach to intersectionality and the outcome of this approach.

However, a recommendation for further research is not only to assess the online description but to collect and evaluate more information. For example, interviews with participants of the projects could also be conducted. Furthermore, conducting more interviews with members from Urgenda is recommended, to establish a more detailed view of Urgenda's goals and projects. I have reached out to Urgenda multiple times to do more interviews, but unfortunately, I never received an answer to this question. Further research is recommended to establish an even more detailed view of Urgenda's goals and projects.

Another point of discussion for this thesis concerns non-Dutch citizens living in the Netherlands. This thesis only looks if Dutch citizens can participate in Urgenda's project. This narrow focus was made because Urgenda limits its focus on Dutch citizens itself. However, Urgenda's goal is to transition the entire Netherlands towards a sustainable future, which should include non-Dutch citizens as well. An aspect for further research is to evaluate if and how Urgenda tries to target non-Dutch citizens, such as immigrants and undocumented refugees, to participate in Urgenda's projects.

Additionally, a concern could be raised about the fact that only three projects did not have a single X in the evaluation, meaning that only these three projects were described extensively enough to evaluate them according to all the five criteria. For example, the project *Sustainable Wadden Island* was so limited described that only two criteria could be evaluated. The finished projects are described even less on Urgenda's website. In further research, I would question the members of Urgenda why Urgenda's website does not provide more information about the projects, especially the projects that are finished. It could be informative to know why the finished projects and the successes and failures, are not more extensively described on the website.

Finally, something can be said about the unequal distribution of the achieved criteria. As mentioned, certain criteria are more often met than other criteria. However, during the assessment and the interviews, it did not become clear what the reason for this unequal distribution was. I recommend further research to look into this finding as it might provide insights on how and why certain criteria are more often or easily met than others.

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Annex A.

Table criteria intersectionality

Overarching theme projects	Specific projects (names translated to English)	Criteria for intersectionality Not achieved: 🔴 Partly achieved: 🟠 Achieved: 🟢 Not enough info. **X**				
		Coalitional approach	Direct engagement with participants	Use of identity bridging	Diverse entrance points	Building social interest
Construction	Energy-neutral houses					
	Sun on health care					
	Energy competition nursing homes					
	School roof revolution					
	Sustainability in nursing homes					
Mobility	'Elfwegentocht'					
Production processes in industry	Sustainable Wadden Islands					
	Circular Fryslân					
Agriculture and diversity	Agriculture					

Annex B.

Interview guide member Urgenda

First of all, thank you very much for participating in this interview. As said before, I am writing my bachelor thesis on intersectionality in the climate movement Urgenda. To be able to do so, I need more in-depth information about Urgenda and its projects. Before we can start the interview, I need you to know you can withdraw from the interview anytime, and you always have the right not to answer a question. Furthermore, only with your permission, I will record the interview and of course, both the interview and the recording will be stored on my personal, password-safe computer.

If I have your full consent, I will be starting the interview now.

Question 1.
What is your personal view on climate change and its impacts on the planet?

Question 2.
What is your function at Urgenda and how long have you been fulfilling this function?

Question 3.
In your opinion what is the main goal of Urgenda, how does the Urgenda Foundation reach this goal?

Question 4.
How does Urgenda define the concept of sustainability?

Question 5.
What is the main focus of the projects for sustainable solutions of Urgenda?

Question 6.
What are the certain thresholds for people to participate in the projects? (money, age, certain income, housing). Are the thresholds different regarding different projects?

Question 7.
Is there direct contact with participants of projects, and if so, how is this established?

Question 8.
How are you advertising your projects? Is Urgenda trying to advertise on a broad platform or are they focusing on target audience?

Question 9.
How familiar are you with the concept of intersectionality? familiar⇒ question 10. Unfamiliar ⇒ question 11.

Question 10.
How is, in your opinion, Urgenda embracing intersectionality in their sustainability projects?

Question 11.
In your opinion, are Urgenda's projects focused on the different problems people face regarding climate change? Or are they focused on targeting one single issue and if so, why?

Question 12.
In your opinion, is Urgenda working to gain a political interest, and if so, is this done in a way to include a diverse range of individuals?

Question 13.
Is there anything else you would like to say or stress at the end of this interview?

Question 14.
Lastly, is there anybody else you think I should talk to?

We have come to the end of this interview. Again, thank you very much for taking a part in this interview and by doing so, helping me with the development of my thesis.

Annex C.

Energy neutral houses

Energy-neutral houses is a project which focuses on making houses energy neutral and gas-free. Urgenda started this project with its own initiative 'ThuisBaas' (translated as 'HomeBoss') (Urgenda, n.d. -e). Urgenda's main goal is to facilitate the transition towards a sustainable future in the Netherlands. ThuisBaas contributes to this goal by transforming Dutch houses to become energy neutral and gas-free. ThuisBaas is a social enterprise that works independently from product appliers and stays in close contact with its participants (ThuisBaas, n.d.- a).

Individuals or households can apply to the project by contacting ThuisBaas. From that moment on ThuisBaas will design a transition plan together with the participants, to make the selected house energy neutral and gas-free. If everything is agreed, ThuisBaas will transition the selected house to become energy neutral and gas-free, by the use of solar panels and heat boilers for example (ThuisBaas, n.d. -b). The cost of this transition is around €35.000; this is what an average household spends on energy in 15 years (Urgenda, n.d. -e). After the transition, a house is completely self-sufficient and does not have any energy bills (Urgenda, n.d. -e).

Criteria for intersectionality	Assessment
Coalitional approach 🟢	- ThuisBaas highlights that every house and household differs (ThuisBaas, n.d. -b): "Every house and every owner is different, so it is always customizing. We do not believe in ready-made packages, but in listening to the wishes of the owners and to scan every possibility. This way we come to the solution which fits best to you" (ThuisBaas, n.d. -b, my translation). - Urgenda also helps participants receive funding when they cannot pay for the transition. (ThuisBaas, n.d. -b).
Direct engagement with participants 🟢	- ThuisBaas stays in direct contact with participants throughout the entire process: before, during, and after the transition of the house (ThuisBaas, n.d. -c).
Use of identity bridging 🟠	- Every house owner or renter can participate: "A solution is available for every house, tailormade to the house, and the wishes of the owners" (Urgenda, n.d. -e, my translation). - But, Urgenda and ThuisBaas also notice: "The customer group that is overrepresented, are those over 55 years

	old with a Dutch nationality and of which the children just moved out" (I2).
	- However, ThuisBaas is trying to find ways in which to change the one-sidedness of the customer group (I2).
Diverse entrance points 🟢	- Urgenda and ThuisBaas stress that everybody can transition their house to become energy neutral and gas-free (Urgenda, n.d. -e; ThuisBaas, n.d -d).
	- "We do not have those (thresholds for participating) actually, so everybody with a rented house or a private house can participate. Yes, that's it. There are no restrictions" (I2).
Building social interest 🟠	- ThuisBaas does not advertise the project themselves, but advertising is done through Urgenda's platform and other media opportunities:
	"Until now we did not have to advertise at all, because Marjan Minnesma did a lot of presentations across the country, at which ThuisBaas was often mentioned. Because of that, we had enough publicity. (…) So, we do not advertise at all" (I2)

Sun on health care

Sun on health care is a project by Urgenda and the crowdfunding organization 'ZonnepanelenDelen' (Urgenda, n.d. -f). The goal of this project is to place solar panels on nursing homes in the Netherlands. The project is financed by subsidies from the government and through crowdfunding. If enough money is collected, solar panels are placed on the rooftops of the nursing homes (Urgenda, n.d. -f). This allows nursing homes to save money on electricity and use the saved money to optimize the care of the residents (Urgenda, n.d. -f).

Criteria for intersectionality	**Assessment**
Coalitional approach 🟠	- Based on the information on Urgenda's website, it seems that the project does not favor a certain kind of nursing home. This is based on the fact that every nursing home can apply to the project (Urgenda, n.d. -f).
	- However, not every nursing home is chosen to participate in the project and receives solar panels.

	- Only the nursing homes that are expected to gain enough money from crowdfunding and governmental subsidies are chosen (Urgenda, n.d. -f). - To conclude, the coalitional approach of this project is partly met. On the one side every nursing home can get in contact with Urgenda, however not every nursing home will eventually receive the government subsidy and the solar panels.
Direct engagement with participants 🟢	- Direct engagement is met in this project as Urgenda and ZonnepanelenDelen have direct contact with the nursing homes (Urgenda, n.d. -f). This direct contact is necessary to establish if, how, and when the solar panels are placed. "The nursing home will be guided by Urgenda and ZonnepanelenDelen throughout the entire process" (Urgenda, n.d. -f, my translation).
Use of identity bridging 🟢	- Identity bridging is found in the crowdfunding process as this process is focused on how different kinds of people can help fight climate change by investing in solar panels (Urgenda, n.d. -f).
Diverse entrance points 🟠	- This aspect of an intersectional approach is partly met based on the fact that every nursing home can apply to this project, but not every nursing home will be selected. - What makes the difference between getting selected and not getting selected does not become clear based on the online information on the websites from Urgenda and ZonnepanelenDelen (Urgenda, n.d. -f; ZonnepanelenDelen, n.d.).
Building social interest **X**	- Because of the positive results, Urgenda and ZonnepanelenDelen want to establish more *Sun on health care* projects in the rest of the Netherlands and want to look for other interested nursing homes: "Urgenda and ZonnepanelenDelen want more *Sun on health care* projects in the Netherlands and are looking for interested

	healthcare institutions" (Urgenda, n.d. -f, my translation).
	- However, it is unclear how this is being realized in reality. Due to the lack of certainty, no conclusion on whether this aspect is achieved, can be made.

Energy competition nursing homes

This next project is again focused on nursing homes. Every winter multiple nursing homes battle against each other by saving as much energy as possible. The nursing home which ends up saving the most energy, is rewarded with a spring ball, organized by Urgenda. Starting in 2012, around seventy different nursing homes have participated in this project (Urgenda, n.d. -g). On average, nursing homes save around 12% on their energy consumption. These savings are done through technical changes and stimulations for behavior changes (Urgenda, n.d. -g). Every nursing home has so-called 'energy-captains' who stimulate both the staff and the residents to avoid using an unnecessary amount of energy and gas.

Criteria for intersectionality	Assessment
Coalitional approach 🟢	- This project is focused entirely on nursing homes, so a coalition approach can only be formed among residents and staff. - Urgenda offers multiple simple solutions (Urgenda, n.d. -g), and thus acknowledges that different people need to make different changes to fight climate change. - Not one type of behavior or solution is stimulated and privileged.
Direct engagement with participants 🟢	- Urgenda has direct engagement with the bosses of the nursing homes and the energy-captains of each nursing home (Urgenda, n.d. -g). This way, Urgenda can give advice on how to easily reduce the use of energy and gas among the residents and staff. - Urgenda's co-founders Miran Minnesma and Jan Rotman visited the nursing homes that won the competition, during the awarded spring ball (Urgenda, n.d. -g).

Use of identity bridging 🟢	- Identity bridging is done through the fact that the different identities of the residents and the staff are bridged instead of seen as separate.

	- Urgenda offers solutions for both the residents and the staff that stimulate more sustainable behavior (Urgenda, n.d. -g). - Because they take into account the different ways individuals relate to climate change, many people are motivated to participate.
Diverse entrance points 🟢	- Every nursing home can apply to this project. Based on the information on Urgenda's website, it does not matter where the nursing home is located, the number of residents, their current use of energy, etc. (Urgenda, n.d. -g).
Building social interest 🟢	- Social interest is built by releasing press reports (Urgenda, n.d. -g). - Overall, Urgenda has successfully built interest in this project, resulting in a big number of participating nursing homes.

School roof revolution

This next project is focused on an entirely different generation, namely children. This project aims to place solar panels on every school building in the Netherlands. By starting with children, Urgenda hopes that future generations will learn about renewable energy and its advantages (Urgenda, n.d. -h). Both primary schools and high schools can participate in this project. The project is guided by a permanent team (Schooldakrevolutie, n.d.- a). This team designs school-specific maps that show a school's potential, and they create school material and workshops for children about renewable energy.

Criteria for intersectionality	**Assessment**
Coalitional approach 🔴	- This project is focused on solar panels entirely. When solar panels are not an option, this project does not offer different sustainable solutions for schools such as becoming free from the use of natural gas (Schooldakrevolutie, n.d.- a). - This single solution does not take into account the different ways in which schools experience climate change.
Direct engagement with participants 🟢	- Urgenda's permanent team has direct engagement with the school that applied to the project. This contact is maintained during the entire process of the project (Schooldakrevolutie, n.d.- b).

	- Municipalities and students are, apart from school boards, also able to get in contact with Urgenda's team (Schooldakrevolutie, n.d.- d).
Use of identity bridging 🔴	- This project does not engage in identity bridging. This can be seen in the fact that every school gets offered the same solution of placing solar panels on the roofs to become more sustainable. - Urgenda does not take into account the different ways different schools face climate change.
Diverse entrance points 🟢	- By allowing any school (with a suitable roof) to participate and by helping them to apply to suitable funding, the entrance points of this project are diverse (Schooldakrevolutie, n.d.- c). - Not only school boards and municipalities can apply to the project, but high school students can also get in contact with Urgenda's team (Schooldakrevolutie, n.d.- e).
Building social interest **X**	- School roof revolution plans to place solar panels on 6400 suitable school buildings across the Netherland (Schooldakrevolutie, n.d.- a). - This is only realizable if the project becomes familiar among Dutch schools and citizens. According to the website of this project, the team is working hard to get the project famous among every Dutch school (Schooldakrevolutie, n.d.- a). - However, how this is realized is not shown on the websites. Due to the lack of information, no conclusion can be made about this aspect.

Sustainability in nursing homes

The project *sustainability in nursing homes* aims to make nursing homes more sustainable. Because the Dutch society is aging, more nursing homes are expected in the future. Therefore, according to Urgenda, nursing homes are an important target in the transition to make the entire Netherlands sustainable (Urgenda, n.d. -i). Together with the nursing homes, Urgenda develops a 'sustainability agenda'. This sustainability agenda offers long and small-term changes which a nursing home can adapt to become more sustainable (Urgenda, n.d. -i).

Criteria for intersectionality	Assessment
Coalitional approach 🟢	- Urgenda focuses on both the staff and the residents of the nursing home: "If you want to make a nursing home more sustainable on multiple fronts and want to save money, than it is highly advisable to do this together with the residents and the staff" (Urgenda, n.d. -i, my translation).
Direct engagement with participants 🟢	- Urgenda designs the sustainability agenda together with the staff and residents of the nursing homes: "Together with the staff and the residents, we make a sustainability agenda" (Urgenda, n.d. -i, my translation).
Use of identity bridging **X**	- Urgenda presents solutions that help both the staff and the residents of a nursing home to become more sustainable. Not one single identity is favored, but solutions for all the different problems are given. - Due to the limited available information however, it is not clear to what extent the solutions are equally distributed. It could be that most of the offered solutions are actually focused on the staff, leaving only a few solutions for the residents (Urgenda, n.d. -i). - Because of the lack of information about the use of identity bridging in this project, no conclusion can be made.
Diverse entrance points 🟠	- The website does not mention any limitations for participating for example because of location, size, or available money (Urgenda, n.d. -i). - However, the website does not indicate how to actually apply to the project, as they do with all the other projects.
Building social interest 🔴	- To date, three nursing homes have participated in this project (Urgenda, n.d. -i), but the website does not make clear in what year this happened.

	- Urgenda also does not mention any plans to further develop or activate this project.

'Elfwegentocht'

The Elfwegentocht was a project developed by 'Freonen fan Fossylfry Fryslân', which aimed to make the entire Dutch province of Friesland fossil-free for two weeks. Urgenda planned to actively support the project. The project took place from 1 till 14 July 2018. Even though the project is already finished, Urgenda's website still describes the Elfwegentocht as an active project (Urgenda, n.d.- j), and therefore it will be analyzed on intersectionality as well. The name of the project is a Dutch wordplay therefore, the project's name cannot be translated to English.

Criteria for intersectionality	Assessment
Coalitional approach 🟢	- A wide range of solutions to travel fossil-free were offered, ranging from public-transport to the distribution of electric cars and the placement of hitchhiking spots across the province (Elfwegentocht, n.d. -b; Elfwegentocht, n.d. -c; Elfwegentocht, n.d. -d). - The project recognized that not everybody was able to travel by bike or by public transport, and thus presented multiple solutions that focused on alternative, sustainable ways of travel (Elfwegentocht, n.d. -a).
Direct engagement with participants 🟠	- The project leaders could not engage directly with every single Frisian, nevertheless, the leaders offered many ways for participants to get in contact with the leaders and the leaders also visited a lot of participants during the project (Urgenda, n.d. -j).
Use of identity bridging 🟢	- The project created a shared identity, by focusing on working together to establish the goal of traveling fossil-free for two weeks. - By creating a shared identity ranging from primary school to business, many participants felt positive in joining the project (Elfwegentocht, n.d. -a).

Diverse entrance points 🟢	- Every Frisian was encouraged to participate, and no participant was obliged to stick to one way of fossil-free transport (Elfwegentocht, n.d. -a).
Building social interest 🟢	- Before the start of the project, the project leaders tried to make as many Frisian people aware of the project and its possibilities. They did this by talking to businesses, schools, and placing posters across Friesland (Elfwegentocht, n.d. -e). - During and after the two weeks, the project built social interests among not only the Frisian population, but among a wide range of Dutch citizens (Elfwegentocht, n.d. -e; De Mik, 2017; NOS, 2018).

Sustainable Wadden Islands

The Wadden Islands are five islands located in the far north of the Netherlands. According to Urgenda, nowhere in the Netherlands is there as much sun and wind as on these islands (Urgenda, n.d.-k). This makes it the ideal place to start a transition towards a 100% sustainable energy supply (Urgenda, n.d.-k). Urgenda helps to design different projects relating to sustainable energy. These projects are diverse and differ to fit the specific needs of each island. This evaluation will look at the overall design of all the projects but will describe certain projects to further extent whenever this is needed.

Criteria for intersectionality	Assessment
Coalitional approach 🟢	- A diverse number of projects can be seen on all the Wadden Islands, each project is designed to fit every unique Island (Urgenda, n.d.-k), which shows a coalitional approach.
Direct engagement with participants 🟠	- Direct engagement is established with partners such as TexelEnergie. However, direct engagement with the residents of the Island is not found (Urgenda, n.d.-k).
Use of identity bridging **X**	- The information on Urgenda's website does not describe how Urgenda engages with participants and how these participants are mobilized (Urgenda, n.d.-k).

Diverse entrance points **X**	- The entrance points of this project are again unclear. They will differ per project and the island (Urgenda, n.d.-k). However, it is not clear if the projects are designed in a way that every resident of each island is able to enroll in one or more projects.
Building social interest **X**	- No concrete information is given on how interest among partners and residents of the island is established. Based on the little information available, they might be relying on personal communication between residents, but there is no information to confirm this (Urgenda, n.d.-k).

To end the part of this project, it should be mentioned that most of the projects on the Wadden Islands are supported by Urgenda, and not fully developed and created by Urgenda alone. Most of the projects are designed by other corporations and institutions. This could be a reason why the projects are only partly and briefly described on Urgenda's website, resulting in little information to evaluate the projects. The projects might be better evaluated by looking more closely at the description of each project made by the different cooperation and institutions. I reached out to Urgenda for an extra interview to get more information on these projects, however no reply was given. A better and more in-depth evaluation of these projects is a suggestion for further research.

Circular Fryslân

Business, governmental authorities, and other parties decided to try and make the economy of the Dutch province Friesland circular. To achieve this goal Urgenda, together with MetaBolic and other parties, developed a report called 'Circular Fryslân' which showed how Frisian business could transition towards a circular economy (Urgenda, n.d.- l). The report Circular Fryslân offered concrete plans on activities about circular economy and presented twelve 'icon projects' to create a vision on how to establish a circular economy (Urgenda, n.d.- l), This report will be evaluated according to five criteria for an intersectional approach.

Criteria for intersectionality	Assessment
Coalitional approach 🟢	- Five circular streams were offered by the report and established by working in close contact with the companies and organizations that agreed to transition to a circular economy. The companies and organizations were able to show their view and so work together to design circular streams that were easily applicable for all but still took into account the different demands of each company or institution (MetaBolic&Urgenda, 2015).
Direct engagement with participants 🟢	- Urgenda and MetaBolic worked in close contact with the participating companies and institutions when the report was being developed (MetaBolic&Urgenda, 2015). This was necessary to design five circular streams which fitted all the companies and institutions.
Use of identity bridging 🟢	- The convergence of multiple companies and organizations was successfully established (MetaBolic&Urgenda, 2015), while taking into account the different intersectional ways each company or organization related to the circular stream of resources.
Diverse entrance points 🔴	- Companies and organizations were selected based on the fact that they could successfully create a circular economy in Friesland (MetaBolic&Urgenda, 2015). - It does not become clear how this selection was established but the fact that a selection

	was held, shows that this project did not have a diverse set of entrance points.
Building social interest **X**	- It seems as if these parties came together because of their shared willingness to create a circular economy in Friesland. However, it does not become clear how they came in contact with each other in the first place. Urgenda's website and the report do not show or mention any use of advertisements.

Agriculture

The agriculture and livestock farming in the Netherlands is responsible for the emission of different harmful gasses such as methane, nitrous oxide, and CO2 (Urgenda, n.d.-m). Urgenda pleads for a transition of the current use of agriculture in the Netherlands, aiming for a 100% nature-inclusive circular agriculture in 2030. At the moment, Urgenda tries to reach this goal through the project 'VoorBoeren', which falls under the overarching project Landbouw. VoorBoeren is an initiative by Urgenda which gives farmers the chance to get in contact with each other and help each other in the transition towards a more sustainable agriculture (Urgenda, n.d.- m). The overarching project Landbouw has one other project as well, however, this project is already finished, therefore only the project VoorBoeren will be assessed.

Criteria for intersectionality	**Assessment**
Coalitional approach 🟢	- The project VoorBoeren acknowledges that all farmers experience climate change differently but encourages them to get in contact with each other and form coalitions (VoorBoeren, n.d.- a; VoorBoeren, n.d. -b). - This way, farmers can learn from each other and can bring this gained knowledge to their own ways of working.
Direct engagement with participants **X**	- The website does not show how many farmers have enrolled in the project VoorBoeren. There is also no information about the number of farmers who participated in the guided tours to sustainable farming businesses (VoorBoeren, n.d. -c). - Due to the lack of information, this criterium cannot be evaluated.

Use of identity bridging 🟢	- This project focuses on identity bridging, which can be seen from this quote on the website of VoorBoeren: "Nobody owns wisdom, every company is different. Central is the exchange" (VoorBoeren, n.d. -b, my translation).
Diverse entrance points 🟢	- Every type of farmer can participate in the project and share their knowledge: "Do you want to apply your farming business as well? That is possible. Get in contact with us, and we add you" (VoorBoeren, n.d. -d, my translation).
Building social interest 🔴	- The website of VoorBoeren does not mention any way in which the project tries to build social interest among farmers. The 'newspapers' about the project, placed on VoorBoeren's website, are all from VoorBoeren itself (VoorBoeren, n.d. -e). No newspapers from other sources are shown. - During an interview, the Urgenda worker who leads the project VoorBoeren was asked about building social interest, to which this interviewee mentioned: "Uhm, no we are just working with the people who have an innovation and helping those" (I1). - Based on this quote, the project does not seem to build social interest. However, how the project then gets in contact with different farmers, remains unclear.

Annex D.

Overview Interviewees.

In this overview, I show when and how I spoke to all the interviewees. The interview guides and all the transcriptions of the interviews are placed in the document called 'transcription document'. This document is available on request.

I1: 19-05-2020- 10:00- Zoom
I2: 27-05-2020- 13:00- Zoom
I3: 28-05-2020- 17:00- Skype
I4: 02-06-2020- 13:00- Zoom