

Embodied Resistance

An Interdisciplinary Analysis of Contemporary Protest against black Pete

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The image on the front is a digital adaptation of a photo was taken by Rob Engelaar.¹

Content warning: this thesis contains descriptions of acts of violence.

¹ ANP, “Coördinator Terrorisbestrijding: Kick Out Zwarte Piet is Niet Terroristisch,” *Trouw*, May 23, 2019. <https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/coordinator-terrorisbestrijding-kick-out-zwarte-piet-is-niet-terroristisch~b701fb60/>.

Abstract

In 2011, activists Quinsy Gario and Jerry Afriyie challenged the festive nature of the Netherlands' annual St. Nicholas celebration by wearing t-shirts with the slogan "Zwarte Piet is Racisme" [Black Pete is Racism]² at St. Nicholas' national ceremonial arrival in Dordrecht. Their message shocked the audience and resulted in their controversial arrest. Afriyie and Gario's action marked the beginning of a new cycle of social movement against black Pete. This study utilises insights from contentious politics, dramaturgy and social psychology on social movement to analyse anti-black-Pete protest participation. Through an examination of the drivers and performance of black Pete opposition, it provides insight into the perceptions of the individuals that instigated a heated societal debate which resulted in changes to the celebration of St. Nicholas. It draws on qualitative data derived from interviews with 25 respondents to construct a holistic conceptualisation of individuals' protest experiences. As a result, it presents anti-black-Pete protest as a symbolically meaningful effort to address racism in the Netherlands.

² All translations in this work are my own. Throughout this thesis, translations from Dutch to English and vice versa will be provided in the notes between brackets, e.g. [Black Pete Is Racism]. Titles are presented in-text in Dutch, while respondents' quotes and other utterances are provided in-text in English.

Words of Appreciation

Thank you to every single one of my respondents for providing me with your stories. I am honoured that you trusted me with your anger, joy, resilience and hope.

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List of Abbreviations

ABP – Anti-black-Pete

KOZP – Kick Out Zwarte Piet³

ME – Mobiele Eenheid⁴

NLWB – Nederland Wordt Beter⁵

POC – People of Colour

PPT – Political Process Theory

RMT – Research Mobilisation Theory

St. Nicholas – Saint Nicholas

³ [Kick Out Black Pete].

⁴ [Mobile Unit].

⁵ [The Netherlands Is Getting Better].

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Words of Appreciation	3
List of Abbreviations	4
Introduction	8
Relevance	11
Thesis Structure.....	13
Chapter 1 Contextualising the Social Movement Against Black Pete	14
1.1 Definitions.....	14
1.2 An Abridged History of Resistance to black Pete	15
1.2.1 Early Instances of Opposition	15
1.2.2 Opposition among the Afro-Dutch Community.....	17
1.2.3 A New Wave of Protest.....	19
1.2.4 The Establishment of Kick Out Zwarte Piet.....	21
1.2.5 Strategic Shift: Decentralising Protest against black Pete.....	22
1.3 Unprecedented Aggression.....	25
1.3.1 Rotterdam	25
1.3.2 Eindhoven.....	27
1.3.3 A Pattern of Violence	27
1.4 Literature on Racism, Dutch Identity and the black Pete Debate.....	28
1.4.1 Dutch Racism	28
1.4.2 Pete, Blackness and Dutch Identity	30
1.5 Literature on Anti-black-Pete Activism	32
1.6 Summary	36
Chapter 2 Reviewing Social Movement Literature	37
2.1 Early Social Movement Theories	37
2.2. Structural Theories	38
2.2.1 Resource Mobilization Theory	39
2.2.2 Political Process Theory.....	40
2.3 The Cultural Turn.....	43
2.4 Return to Social Psychology	47
2.5 Toward an Integrative Understanding of Protest Participation	50
Chapter 3 Research Methodology	52
3.1 Research Philosophy	52
3.1.1. Ontology and Epistemology	52
3.1.2 Grounded Theory	53
3.2 Research Phases	54
3.2.1 Preliminary Research.....	54

3.2.2 Interviewing.....	56
3.2.3 Coding	60
3.3 Research Question.....	63
3.4 Ethics	65
3.4.1 Ethical Considerations.....	67
3.4.2 Position.....	68
Chapter 4 Drivers of Anti-black-Pete Protest Participation	70
4.1 Integrative Framework of Protest Participation.....	70
4.2 Applying the Integrative Framework to Anti-Black-Pete Protestors	74
4.2.1 Restructuring the Integrative Framework.....	75
4.3 Protest Participation Drivers.....	76
4.3.1 Ideology.....	76
4.3.2 Group Identity	77
4.3.3 Solidarity	80
4.3.4 Instrumentality.....	85
4.4 Moral Shock	89
4.5 Conclusion.....	93
Chapter 5 Performing Opposition in the Realm of Contention	95
5.1 Analytic Frame	96
5.1.1 Performance of Opposition.....	96
5.1.2 Realm of Contention.....	96
5.2 Case: Den Bosch Kan Het 2019	98
5.3 Elements of the Performance of Opposition	105
5.3.1 Script	105
5.3.2 Material Symbols	108
5.3.3 Chants.....	111
5.3.4 Location.....	112
5.3.5 Body	113
5.4 Elements of the Realm of Contention	113
5.4.1 Audience.....	114
5.4.2 State Representatives.....	115
5.4.3 Institutional Constraints.....	117
5.4.4 Navigating the Realm of Contention.....	118
Conclusion.....	120
Findings.....	120
1. What Are the Protest Participation Motives That Drive Individuals To Engage in the Performance of Opposition?.....	121
2. What Are the Claims Expressed by Protest Participants during Their Performance of Opposition?	122
3. How Do Individuals Perform Opposition against Black Pete?	123

4. How Do Anti-Black-Pete Protest Participants Navigate the Realm of Contention?	123
In Conclusion: What Moves Individuals To Perform Oppositon?	124
Limitations	126
Semi-Structured Interviews	126
Sampling	126
Topic Sensitivity.....	127
Future Research.....	128
Bibliography	130
Appendix 1 List of Respondents.....	i
Appendix 2 List of Newspaper Articles	iii
Appendix 3 Interview Guide	xxix
Appendix 4 List of Categories and Codes	xxx

Introduction

Every year, on the first Saturday after Saint Martin, many parents and children in the Netherlands are under the spell of the arrival of *Sinterklaas*.⁶ *Sinterklaas*, hereafter St. Nicholas, is a fictional character inspired by Christian Saint Nicholas of Myra that existed in the 300th century in the Roman Empire.⁷ In November, St. Nicholas visits the Netherlands by boat, accompanied by his helpers *zwarte Pieten*,⁸ hereafter black Petes, to deliver presents to children in honour of his birthday. His ceremonial arrival, which occurs in a different city each year, is celebrated with a large parade and party, the *intocht*,⁹ that is generally attended by more than 20.000 people.¹⁰ The event is also broadcasted on national tv, reaching an audience of over 2 million individuals.¹¹ In addition to the official celebratory arrival, local ceremonies are organised in numerous cities and towns in the Netherlands. Many Dutch citizens consider the tradition of St. Nicholas to be of quintessential cultural importance.¹²

On November 12, 2011, two Black men, Quinsy Gario and Jerry Afriyie, also attended the national St. Nicholas arrival in the city of Dordrecht. They stood at the back of the crowd

⁶ [St. Nicholas].

⁷ *Sinterklaas* refers both to a fictional character, as well as a broader period of festivities that begins with the arrival of Sinterklaas and the black Petes on the first Saturday after Saint Martin until the official Sinterklaas celebration on December 5, during which children are given presents by ‘Sinterklaas’ (their parents) to celebrate the figure's birthday. See “Vragen over Zwarte Piet,” *Meertens Instituut*, last modified November 11, 2018, <https://www.meertens.knaw.nl/cms/nl/onderzoek/faq/145825-vragen-over-zwarte-piet>.

⁸ [black Petes]. While the original title of the figure is ‘Black Pete’, I refrain from capitalising the word “black” in black Pete in order to clearly differentiate between black as a reference to a colour and Black (capitalised), a reference to a social category. Specifically, I follow Heleen Schols in her decision to “capitalise White and Black to signal I do not use these terms to refer to colours or to refer merely to a certain type of skin pigmentation, but rather to socially constructed categories that are associated with certain experiences, ideas of ‘race’ and cultural heritage.” See Heleen Schols, “Keeping Things Gezellig: Negotiating Dutchness and Racism in the Struggle over ‘Black Pete’,” (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2019), 17n1.

⁹ [arrival].

¹⁰ In 2020, the arrival ceremony was a private affair due to the coronavirus outbreak. In 2019, the event was attended by 25.000 visitors. See “Landelijke Intocht Afgelopen, 25.000 Bezoekers in Apeldoorn,” *NOS*, November 16, 2019, <https://nos.nl/liveblog/2310682-landelijke-intocht-afgelopen-25-000-bezoekers-in-apeldoorn>.

¹¹ Jef Willemsen, “De TV van Gisteren: Coronaproof Sint Intocht Goed voor Ruim 2,2 Miljoen Kijkers,” *Televizier*, November 14, 2020, <https://www.televizier.nl/kijkcijfers/kijkcijfers-sinterklaas-intocht-even-tot-hier-wie-het-laatste-lacht>.

¹² Roelien Donker, “Changing the Debate: How Members of Kick Out Zwarte Piet Succeed in Challenging the Regime of Truth on Black Pete in the Netherlands,” (Master's thesis, Utrecht University, 2020), 1.

wearing t-shirts with the text *Zwarte Piet is Racisme*,¹³ thus contesting the festive nature of the event. In their hands, the men held a banner that had the same text imprinted on it. Upon police demands, it was stowed away.¹⁴ Their silent protest against black Pete swiftly came to an end as Gario and Afriyie were arrested with excessive force by police officers and security guards overseeing the festivities.¹⁵ With their attendance, the men hoped to spark a debate about the nature of black Pete, the helper of St. Nicholas. This fictional character is traditionally played by White adults in dark black or brown make up, wearing an afro wig, donning bright, often exaggerated red lips and golden rings in their ears. Until the 2000s, it was common for the figure to speak a form of ‘broken’ Dutch with a Caribbean or Surinamese accent.¹⁶

Gario and Afriyie’s action marked the beginning of a contemporary social movement against the figure black Pete, sparking protests at the national arrival ceremony every year since 2011, with the exception of 2012.¹⁷ The attendance of the anti-black-Pete protestors at this national cultural event has continued to provoke negative responses from the general public; for example, a 2015 photo of a group of anti-black-Pete protestors in transit to the St. Nicholas national arrival ceremony in Meppel posted on Facebook garnered more than 10.000 predominantly racist responses.¹⁸ Indeed, their presence at the ceremony, an event that is

¹³ [Black Pete is Racism].

¹⁴ De Nationale Ombudsman, *Rapport over een Klacht over de Regionale Politie-Eenheid Rotterdam*, 2014/138, Den Haag, 2014, <https://www.nationaleombudsman.nl/system/files/rapport/rapport-2014-138.pdf>.

¹⁵ De Nationale Ombudsman, *Rapport*.

¹⁶ John Helsloot, “De Strijd om Zwarte Piet,” in *Veranderingen van het Alledaagse 1950-2000*, ed. Isabel Hoving, Hester Dibbits, and Marlou Schrover (Den Haag: Sdu, 2005), 263.

¹⁷ To my knowledge, there were no protests against black Pete in 2012. Afriyie published a statement on his personal website under his pseudonym Kno’Ledge Cesare discussing his decision not to protest, see Jerry Afriyie, “PERS STATEMENT KNO’LEDGE CESARE: Landelijke Intocht Sinterklaas Roermond 2012,” *Soul Rebel Movement*, November 17, 2012, http://soulrebelmovement.blogspot.com/2012/11/pers-statement-knowledge-cesare-een-jaar_17.html. Gario also posted a statement on Tumblr in 2012 distancing himself from the anti-black-Pete movement, stating that it was an art project that had reached its conclusion. See Quinsy Gario, “Mijn Kunstproject Is Geslaagd Omdat het Zichzelf Overbodig Heeft Gemaakt,” Tumblr, November 12, 2012, <https://zwartepietisracisme-blog.tumblr.com/post/35566690735/mijn-kunstproject-is-geslaagd-omdat-het-zichzelf>. See also Hassan Bahara, “Kijk Maar naar Zijn Dommige Gedrag,” *De Groene Amsterdammer*, November 28, 2012, <https://www.groene.nl/artikel/kijk-maar-naar-zijn-dommige-gedrag>.

¹⁸ “Protestgroep Doet Aangifte Vanwege Racisme,” *NOS*, November 15, 2015, <https://nos.nl/op3/artikel/2069264-protestgroep-doet-aangifte-vanwege-racisme>.

attended by large numbers of children, has been a particularly poignant source of criticism.¹⁹ As a result, the protestors have frequently been met with aggression by the police as well as attendees of the parade. Their message triggers violent reactions, including physical aggression and death threats.²⁰

Despite the challenges the protestors face, they continue to publicly oppose the existence of the black Pete character. However, some of the participants have expressed their aversion for protest on various occasions.²¹ Indeed, Afriyie, who has become one of the faces of the contemporary social movement against black Pete, has stated that he “hates protesting”, yet believes he “has no other choice.”²² This raises questions regarding the meaning of protest against black Pete: why do participants consider it important to oppose the figure? How do protestors contemplate concerns regarding the potentially violent response to their protest? And how does it feel to participate in a protest against black Pete? The aim of this thesis is to contribute to an answer to these questions by examining the drivers and experiences of a group of individuals that have engaged in protest against black Pete. This process is guided by the following research question:

What moved individuals that oppose black Pete to participate in the performance of opposition in the realm of contention during the arrival ceremonies of St. Nicholas in the

¹⁹ Indeed, it has sparked such outrage that some political parties have called for a ban on protests at the St. Nicholas parade. See “Verbied Protest bij Intocht Sint,” *De Telegraaf*, November 21, 2018. Nexis Uni.

²⁰ A majority of testimonies of the anti-black-pete protestors that were interviewed for this thesis incorporated experiences of aggression and/or verbal violence. Examples of the instances will be provided during this thesis, specifically in Chapter 1. In addition, there are numerous accounts of aggression against anti-black-Pete protestors available online. See, for example, Amnesty’s statement condemning the treatment of protestors in Rotterdam in 2016: Amnesty International, “Rotterdam Schond Demonstratie-Vrijheid,” *Amnesty International*, November 15, 2016, <https://www.amnesty.nl/actueel/rotterdam-schond-demonstratievrijheid>.

²¹ Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Djuna, interview by author, Zoom, May 21, 2021; Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021; Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021.

²² “Voorman Kick Out Zwarte Piet: 'Ik Haat Protesteren en Zie Mezelf Niet Als Activist',” *VPRO*, December 8, 2020, <https://www.nporadio1.nl/nieuws/geschiedenis/786c9778-2b7c-40dd-9804-4a7106b1cbbb/ovt-jerry-afriyie-activisme-sunny-bergman-documentaire>.

Relevance

The movement against black Pete is a significant societal development in the Netherlands. Anti-black-Pete activism has instigated a national discussion on the existence of racism in the Netherlands. There have been numerous municipal hearings on the matter of black Pete, as well as an official verdict by the Dutch Council of State, and an investigation by the United Nations' Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent.²³ The acts of resistance to black Pete have led to tangible change; the four most populous cities in the Netherlands no longer allow blackface during the St. Nicholas festivities. They are joined by a growing number of other municipalities.²⁴ Written work in popular media regarding black Pete opposition has increased, while popular support for the figure is in decline.²⁵ Indeed, the Prime Minister of the Netherlands, who had stated in 2013 that black Pete is “simply black”²⁶, publicly opposed the character in 2020.²⁷

²³ Trouw, “Emoties Lopen Op bij Hoorzitting van Actie 'Zwarte Piet Is Racisme',” *Trouw*, October 17, 2013, <https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/emoties-lopen-op-bij-hoorzitting-van-actie-zwarte-piet-is-racisme~b6a2ad3d/>; Gerrit van Loon, “Hoorzitting over Massa-Arrestatie Zwarte Piet-Demonstratie,” *Algemeen Dagblad*, June 12, 2017, <https://www.ad.nl/rotterdam/hoorzitting-over-massa-arrestatie-zwarte-piet-demonstratie~a9922c6f/>; “Burgemeester Mag bij Vergunning voor Sinterklaasintocht Geen Oordeel Vellen over 'Zwarte Piet',” *Raad van State*, November 12, 2014, <https://www.raadvanstate.nl/@97706/201406757-1-a3/>; Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent Netherlands Mission, “Statement by the United Nations' Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent, On the Conclusion of Its Official Visit to the Kingdom of the Netherlands, 26 June-4 July 2014,” *United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights*, July 4, 2014, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=14840&LangID=E>.

²⁴ For an overview of the municipalities that no longer allow blackface Black Pites during the ceremonial arrival of St. Nicholas, see Feest voor Alle Kinderen, “Intochten,” *Nederland Wordt Beter*, Accessed January 24, 2021, <https://feestvoorallekinderen.nl/intochten/>.

²⁵ Rozemarijn Lubbe and Jeroen Kester, “Draagvlak voor Zwarte Piet Steeds Kleiner, Meeste Mensen Denken Dat de Traditionele Piet Helemaal Verdwijnt,” *Eenvandaag*, November 12, 2020, <https://eenvandaag.avrotros.nl/panels/opiniepanel/alle-uitslagen/item/flink-minder-mensen-willen-dit-jaar-dat-piet-nog-zwart-is/>.

²⁶ [Nou eenmaal zwart]. “Rutte: Piet is nou eenmaal zwart,” *NOS*, November 18, 2013, <https://nos.nl/artikel/564038-rutte-piet-is-nou-eenmaal-zwart>.

²⁷ “Premier Rutte: Ik Ben Ook Anders Gaan Denken over Zwarte Piet,” *NU.nl*, June 4, 2020, <https://www.nu.nl/politiek/6055918/premier-rutte-ik-ben-ook-anders-gaan-denken-over-zwarte-piet.html>.

While the societal impact of anti-black-Pete activism is evident, there has been limited academic work pertaining to the subject. The majority of scholarly attention to the subject is devoted to the defendants of black Pete and their efforts to justify the character's appearance.²⁸ In addition, researchers have presented articles discussing the image of black Pete,²⁹ discourse on the figure,³⁰ the claim-making mechanisms of social movement organisation Kick Out Zwarte Piet,³¹ and on protestors' contestation of norms of interaction in institutional settings.³² What is lacking, however, is an analysis of anti-black-Pete protest participation as a symbolically meaningful act that centers the accounts of the participants. This is highly relevant, as it provides unique insights into the participants' perception and interpretation of their complex world. This subsequently facilitates an understanding of their behaviour contextualised by their views. Furthermore, incorporating the voices of protestors allows them to participate in the construction of academic knowledge regarding their reality, on which they are an expert. This increases the quality of the work and strengthens the connection between academic theory and practice.³³

²⁸ See, for example, Sacha Hilhorst and Joke Hermes, "'We Have Given Up So Much': Passion and Denial in the Dutch Zwarte Piet (Black Pete) Controversy," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 19, no. 3 (June 2016): 218-33, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549415603381>; John Helsloot, "Zwarte Piet and Cultural Aphasia in the Netherlands," *Quotidian: Journal for the Study of Everyday Life* 3, no. 1 (February 2012): 1-20, https://pure.knaw.nl/ws/portalfiles/portal/484096/Helsloot_Zwarte_Piet_Cultural_Aphasia-pdf.pdf; Sébastien Chauvin, Yannick Coenders, and Timo Koren, "Never Having Been Racist: Explaining the Blackness of Blackface in the Netherlands," *Public Culture* 30, no. 3 (September 2018): 509-26, <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-6912163>.

²⁹ See, for example, Joy L. Smith, "The Dutch Carnavalesque: Blackface, Play and Zwarte Piet," in *Dutch Racism*, eds. Philomena Essed and Isabel Hoving (Amsterdam: Thamyris, 2014), 219-38; Helsloot, "De Strijd," 249-71.

³⁰ See, for example Janine Barten, "The Escalation of the Dutch 'Black Pete' Debate: Mapping Offline (Violent) Events and Online Collective Action Frames of Opponents and Advocates of Black Pete From 2013 to 2018," (Master's thesis, Utrecht University, 2019).

³¹ Ilke Adam, Soumia Akachar, Karen Celis, Serena D'Agostino, and Eline Severs, "Understanding the Controversy of 'Black Pete' through the Lens of Symbolic Representation," in *The Edges of Political Representation: Mapping, Critiquing, and Pushing the Boundaries*, eds. Claire Dupont and Mihnea Tanasescu, (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2019), 121-43 and Donker, "Changing the Debate."

³² See Schols, "Keeping."

³³ The gap between academia and practice is widely recognised. However, social movement research continues to make significant efforts to bridge the divide. For an interesting contemplation of the linkages between activism and academic work, see Kees Biekart and Karin Astrid Siegmund, "Minding the Gap between Activism and Academia – or Bridging It?," in *Exploring Civic Innovation for Social and Economic Transformation*, eds. Kees Biekart, Wendy Harcourt, and Peter Knorrinda (London: Routledge, 2016), 233-50.

Through 25 semi-structured interviews, this thesis presents an account of protest that situates the anti-black-Pete movement in a broader context of anti-racism work. Embedded in the vibrant interdisciplinary field of social movement theory, it integrates social psychological, dramaturgical and political theories to develop an interactive account of anti-black-Pete protest. By virtue of its grounded theory approach, it operationalises new concepts to facilitate a dynamic, multifaceted discussion of protest drivers and experiences.

Thesis Structure

This thesis consists of an introduction, five chapters and a conclusion. It is structured as follows: Chapter 1 contextualises the anti-black-Pete movement by exploring some of the academic work on racism and black Pete opposition and by providing a brief history of anti-black-Pete activism. Chapter 2 offers an overview of the academic literature on collective action. It details the historic trends in social movement research, as well as its accompanying theories and concepts. In Chapter 3, the research philosophy, design and method of this thesis are described in detail. In addition, it provides insights into the ethical considerations of this research endeavour. Chapter 4 examines protest participation drivers among anti-black-Pete protestors. It builds on social psychological theory to identify what motivates the individuals that engage in the opposition of black Pete. Chapter 5 analyses protestors' performance of opposition in the realm of contention through an exploration of claim-making during an anti-black-Pete protest that occurred in Den Bosch in 2019. The conclusion of this thesis serves to summarise some of the main findings. It also discusses the limitations of this thesis and provides recommendations for future research.

Chapter 1 Contextualising the Social Movement Against Black Pete

This chapter contextualises contemporary collective action against black Pete. It places the twenty-first century protests in a broader context of anti-black-Pete social movement. It commences with a brief overview of the history of public opposition against black Pete. Subsequently, it engages with academic work on racism in the Netherlands and its connection to the figure of black Pete. This is followed by a review of academic work that centres the activism of those that oppose black Pete. It concludes by describing how the research presented in this thesis differs from, yet builds on, previous scholarship on social movement against black Pete.

1.1 Definitions

Before embarking on the discussion of anti-black-Pete protest, I believe it is valuable to provide definitions for the concepts *social movement*, *collective action* and *protest*, all of which are frequently mentioned in this thesis. These three concepts are central to the field of social movement, yet their meaning may shift depending on the researcher that utilises them. In the interest of transparency, these terms merit specification. Throughout this thesis, I employ the concepts as defined below.³⁴

Definitions of the term **social movement** encompass a broad range of phenomena. This is predominantly due to researchers' decision to accentuate different aspects of social movement, like its political character, its ideological nature, or its existence within a network.³⁵ My conceptualisation of the term social movement is adapted from David A.

³⁴ With the exception of direct quotes from other researchers, in which I utilise the terms as they do.

³⁵ David A. Snow, "Social Movements," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social & Political Movements. Volume 3: Pe-Z*, eds. David A. Snow, Donatella della Porta, Bert Klandermans, and Doug McAdam (West-Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 1200-01.

Snow.³⁶ I define social movement as change-oriented collective challenges to “existing institutional structures or systems of authority, be they political, religious, corporate, educational, or cultural,” operating “with some degree of organization”.³⁷

Social movement is often conflated with collective action in academic work; however, the meanings of the terms differ. I conceptualise **collective action** as the actions that individuals undertake in the context of a social movement on behalf of a group to foster societal change.³⁸ These actions can be public and/or private, violent and/or non-violent, communal or individual.³⁹

Finally, I understand **protest** as a form of collective action. In this thesis, I define protest as a public assertion of dissent in response to a perceived injustice.⁴⁰ I utilise the word *protest* interchangeably with the word *demonstration*, as it is the central form of collective action examined in this thesis. While anti-black-Pete protest takes myriad forms, this thesis limits itself to the physical demonstrations against black Pete that are performed in the setting of the St. Nicholas arrival ceremony.

1.2 An Abridged History of Resistance to black Pete

1.2.1 Early Instances of Opposition

The earliest known instances of opposition against black Pete occurred in the early

³⁶ In the Wiley-Blackwell encyclopaedia, Snow discusses the common characteristics of social movements. See Snow, “Social Movements,” 1200-01.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1201.

³⁸ This definition is informed by Pamela Oliver’s account of Collective Action in Pamela Oliver, “Collective Action (Collective Behavior),” in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social & Political Movements. Volume 1: A-E*, eds. David A. Snow et al. (West-Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 210-14.

³⁹ This conceptualisation is adapted from Taylor & Van Dyke’s description of ‘protest’, which they utilise interchangeably with collective action. See Verta Taylor and Nella van Dyke ““Get up, Stand up”: Tactical Repertoires of Social Movements,” in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, eds. David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 270.

⁴⁰ This definition is not derived from one specific source. Rather, it is informed by a broad review of the academic literature on protest. It is loosely inspired by James M. Jasper’s discussion of protest in *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 4-5 and Donatella della Porta’s notion of protest in “Protest Cycles and Waves,” in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social & Political Movements. Volume 3: Pe-Z*, eds. David A. Snow et al. (West-Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 1015.

twentieth century.⁴¹ In 1927, a Black man appeared before a police judge after beating a dockworker. The man stated that his actions were a response to the dockworker's pejorative use of the term 'black Pete' against him. According to the defendant, this name-calling frequently happened to Black people in the Netherlands.⁴² Three years later, the first critical article regarding black Pete was published in a Dutch magazine. In a column, author Melis Stoke expressed his support for anti-black-Pete sentiments and condemned the "delusion of superiority" among White people in the Netherlands.⁴³ In an attempt to redress the latter, Stoke proposed a change in tradition: St. Nicholas should be celebrated with a Black Saint, accompanied by a White helper. Additional anti-black-Pete articles were published sporadically after this initial piece, albeit predominantly in the then colonies of the Netherlands.⁴⁴ It appears that public response to these articles was insignificant during this period.

However, as tangible challenges to black Pete took shape in the 1960s, the public response became evident; it was one of a disapproval. In 1963, for example, Arnold Ras announced his intent to administer changes to the St. Nicholas festivities at the school where he was employed as headmaster. To replace the figure black Pete, a caricature he deemed inappropriate from a pedagogical point of view, he introduced white deacons.⁴⁵ Ras' announcement was published in a local newspaper, which triggered national backlash. During the St. Nicholas celebration, supporters of black Pete visited the school to confront Ras and to

⁴¹ In this section, I provide a non-exhaustive historical overview of the opposition to black Pete. For a more detailed overview, see Donker, "Changing," 5-10 and Helsloot, "De Strijd," 249-72.

⁴² Miguel Heilbron, Mitchell Esajas, and Jessica de Abreu, "Zwarte Piet Is Morgen Weer Vertrokken. Het Racisme Blijft," *De Correspondent*, December 5, 2018, <https://decorrespondent.nl/8970/zwarte-piet-is-morgen-weer-vertrokken-het-racisme-blijft/342161807130-c3ea0568>.

⁴³ Quoted in Usha Marhe, "'Zwartepiet-niet' Reeds in 1930 door Melis Stoke in De Groene Amsterdammer Bepleit," November 29, 2014, <https://schrijfsterushamarhe.wordpress.com/2014/11/29/zwartepiet-niet-reeds-in-1930-door-melis-stoke-in-de-groene-amsterdammer-bepleit/>.

⁴⁴ "Strijd tegen Zwarte Piet," *Stop Blackface Leiden*, Accessed January 28, 2021, <https://www.rapportagezwartepiet.nl/geschiedenis-strijd.html>.

⁴⁵ Marilou Nillesen, "Opvoeden Volgens Ras," *Brabants Historisch Informatiecentrum*, November 19, 2009, <https://www.bhic.nl/ontdekken/verhalen/opvoeden-volgens-ras>.

'capture' the white deacons he had introduced.⁴⁶ A large number of spectators visited the school to observe the events and to advocate for the preservation of black Pete.⁴⁷

A similar event occurred when anonymous citizen M.C. Grünbauer wrote an opinion piece in a national magazine in 1965 detailing her "White Pete Plan"⁴⁸, a plea to cease the practice of blackface.⁴⁹ In addition to her article, Grünbauer also sent letters regarding her plan to political parties and to the broadcasting channel that produced the national arrival ceremony of Saint Nicholas. Like Ras, Grünbauer's suggestion was met with outrage. She was threatened and intimidated in newspapers and at her home, which prompted her to cease her activities and to refrain from discussing her plan again.⁵⁰

1.2.2 Opposition among the Afro-Dutch Community⁵¹

In the 1980s, the number of people from Suriname and the (former) Dutch Caribbean in the Netherlands increased.⁵² As these communities grew, several activist collectives were established in order to address racial inequality and the issue of black Pete.⁵³ These groups were predominantly propelled by Black youth, frustrated about their experiences in White Dutch society.⁵⁴ Eager to speak out against their position and make changes in society, they acted. They saw a clear link between the colonial history of the Netherlands and the figure of black Pete and addressed the Dutch public to incite change.

For example, the *Solidariteitsbeweging Suriname*⁵⁵ distributed pamphlets in Utrecht

⁴⁶ Nillesen, "Opvoeden."

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ [Witte Pieten Plan].

⁴⁹ Helsloot, "De Strijd," 253.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Afro-Dutch refers to Dutch individuals of Black African ancestry (pertaining to the African diaspora).

⁵² For an overview of the various migrant organisations during this period, see Ulbe Bosma, *Terug uit de Koloniën: Zestig Jaar Postkoloniale Migranten en Hun Organisaties* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2009), 172-235.

⁵³ Helsloot, "De Strijd," 251.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 255.

⁵⁵ [Surinam Solidarity Movement].

demanding an end to black Pete.⁵⁶ They read: “Do not put a black servant in your St. Nicholas package. Slavery has already been stopped for a hundred years.”⁵⁷ The group *Racisme Is Overal – Stop Waar Je Het Tegenkomt*⁵⁸ also called for the end of black Pete by dispersing flyers in Berg en Dal. Furthermore, in 1988, Rahina Hassankhan, member of a Surinamese women collective and board member of the *Landelijke Vereniging Surinamers in Nederland*⁵⁹, published a book entitled *Al Is Hij Zwart als Roet...*⁶⁰ referencing a popular children’s song about black Pete. In the book, Hassankhan provided a historic account of changes in the appearance of St. Nicholas and his servants to make a case for the transformation of black Pete.⁶¹

In 1994, the activist group *Zwarte Piet is Zwart Verdriet*⁶² was established.⁶³ Its members organised the first known street demonstrations against black Pete in the predominantly Black neighbourhood De Bijlmer in Amsterdam.⁶⁴ The group also created a petition to abolish the figure of black Pete, which was presented to the then municipal councillor of education.⁶⁵ In 1998, one of the members of *Zwarte Piet is Zwart Verdriet*, Lulu Helder, published a book in collaboration with Scotty Gravenberch.⁶⁶ It featured a collection of essays from individuals arguing against the celebration of black Pete. The book, named *Sinterklaasje Kom Maar Binnen Zonder Knecht*,⁶⁷ received limited public attention. Despite their efforts, *Zwarte Piet is Zwart Verdriet* enjoyed minimal success outside of De Bijlmer.

⁵⁶ Helsloot, “De Strijd,” 256.

⁵⁷ [Stop geen zwarte knecht in uw Sinterklaaspakket. De slavernij is al honderd jaar stopgezet.] See “Protest tegen Zwarte Piet,” *Algemeen Dagblad*, November 11, 1982, <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?coll=ddd&identificer=KBPERS01:003000010:mpeg21:a00087>.

⁵⁸ [Racism Is Everywhere – Stop Where You Encounter It]. Helsloot, “De Strijd,” 258.

⁵⁹ [National Association of Surinamese People in the Netherlands].

⁶⁰ [Even Though He Is Black as Soot...]

⁶¹ Rahina Hassankhan, *Al Is Hij Zo Zwart Als Roet...*, (Den Haag: Warray, 1988).

⁶² [Black Pete is Black Grief]

⁶³ Heilbron, Esajas, and De Abreu, “Zwarte Piet”.

⁶⁴ Helsloot, “De Strijd,” 259.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 261.

⁶⁶ Lulu Helder and Scotty Gravenberch, *Sinterklaasje Kom Maar Binnen Zonder Knecht* (Berchem: EPO, 1998).

⁶⁷ [Little Saint Nicholas, Come On In Without Your Servant], referencing a popular St. Nicholas song, however, the ‘without’ is a play on the original lyrics “come on in *with* your servant”.

The group was ultimately dissolved.⁶⁸

The following decennium saw minimal collective action against black Pete, although black Pete became the subject of debate again in 2008 when German artist Annette Kraus and Swedish artist Petra Bauer centred the figure in their art exhibition in the Van Abbemuseum. Their project, entitled “Read the Masks, Tradition is Not Given” invited the audience to critically reflect on the existence of black Pete.⁶⁹ In addition, the artists organised a march in protest of black Pete. When the latter was announced, however, the museum received a large volume of emails containing negative reactions and threatening language. This ultimately led to the protest’s cancellation.⁷⁰

1.2.3 A New Wave of Protest

Two years after the exhibition at the Van Abbemuseum, a group of individuals with a shared aversion to black Pete – among which Quinsy Gario and Jerry Afriyie – attended a meeting. The objective was to formulate a plan to abolish black Pete.⁷¹ The group’s brainstorming efforts eventually culminated in the Black Pete Is Racism campaign. It was launched in the summer of 2011, when Afriyie and Gario wore t-shirts bearing the Black Pete Is Racism slogan to various public events in order to spark a dialogue.⁷² The meeting also led to the creation of art exposition *Zwart van Roet*⁷³ in Amsterdam, which aimed to educate the Dutch public on the colonial history behind the figure black Pete.⁷⁴ The exhibition featured

⁶⁸ Roxane Soudagar, “Kritiek op Zwarte Piet Gaat Generaties Terug: ‘Wij Werden Genegeerd’,” *OneWorld*, November 11, 2021, <https://www.oneworld.nl/lezen/discriminatie/racisme/kritiek-op-zwarte-piet-gaat-generaties-terug-wij-werden-genegeerd/>.

⁶⁹ Gloria Wekker, *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 147.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁷¹ Respondent Jamal, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 20, 2021; Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021; Respondent Azara, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 1, 2021.

⁷² Respondent Jamal, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 20, 2021; Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021.

⁷³ [Black From Soot]

⁷⁴ “Tentoonstelling ‘Zwart van Roet’ Stelt Racisme Sinterklaasfeest ter Discussie,” *Socialisme.nu*, November 15, 2011, <https://socialisme.nu/tentoonstelling-zwart-van-roet-stelt-racisme-sinterklaasfeest-ter-discussie/>.

several public events, including a debate. Among the advertised speakers were Scotty Gravenburch and Annette Kraus.⁷⁵



Image 1. The original *Zwarte Piet is Racisme* design.⁷⁶

As the St. Nicholas arrival ceremony drew closer, Afriyie and Gario decided to attend the event as a part of their campaign. Jamal, one of their close friends and collaborators who had been present during the initial meetings, worried this would trigger violent reactions. “I said: you are either going to be beaten by the cops or by a few crazy White ones ... who just, despite their kids being there, will beat you to the bone. Because people are racist and they are not going to accept this.”⁷⁷ The friend’s prediction proved somewhat correct; Gario and

⁷⁵ “Zwart van Roet,” Tumblr, Accessed February 3, 2021, <https://zwartvanroet.tumblr.com/>.

⁷⁶ This image was published on Quinsy Gario’s personal Tumblr page. It is no longer available on his website, however, it is also published on the website of podcast Dipsaus, “Verslag Woensdag 10/11 Jubilea 10 Jaar Zwarte Piet Is Racisme & 5 Jaar Dipsaus,” *Dipsaus*, November 17, 2021, <https://www.dipsaus.org/exclusives-posts/2021/11/17/verslag-woensdag-1011-jubilea-10-jaar-zwarte-piet-is-racisme-amp-5-jaar-dipsaus>.

⁷⁷ [Ik zei van jullie worden of door de smerissen de tering geslagen of er zijn een paar gestoorde witte [types] ... die gewoon ondanks dat hun kinderen erbij zijn, je gewoon helemaal lens slaan. Because people are racist en ze gaan dit niet pikken.] Respondent Jamal, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 20, 2021.

Afriyie were violently arrested by the police and received verbal abuse from the audience.⁷⁸ The images of their arrest went viral; videos taken by bystanders were dispersed on Twitter and reached the international news cycle.⁷⁹ Their actions inspired others; a small group of individuals protested against black Pete at the local St. Nicholas ceremony in Amsterdam the very next day.⁸⁰ They too were arrested by the police. The events marked a new wave of anti-black-Pete activism.

1.2.4 The Establishment of Kick Out Zwarte Piet

In 2012, Gario and Afriyie severed contact after a disagreement regarding the course of action against black Pete. No known protests occurred during this year. In the subsequent year, two anti-black-Pete protests occurred in Amsterdam.⁸¹ The first demonstration transpired one day before the arrival of St. Nicholas, the second demonstration ensued during the ceremony. The latter was organised by Afriyie and his associates, while the former was organised by Kunta Rincho. Rincho was among the group that protested against black Pete in 2011 following Afriyie and Gario's arrest. He had co-established Zwarte Piet Niet⁸² an anti-black-Pete initiative. He was supported in the organisation of the protest by Mitchell Esajas. Esajas had established a campaign entitled "Stop Blackface" to gain international attention for

⁷⁸ In 2014, the National Ombudsman would rule in favour of Gario and Afriyie's claim that the arrest was unjust and the violence used was excessive. See De Nationale Ombudsman, *Rapport*.

⁷⁹ A video recorded by a bystander was watched more than 130.000 times on YouTube. See Paola Lacle, "Mishandeling???? Sinterklaas Intocht Dordrecht," YouTube Video, 3:04, November 12, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q-Wf89f0I0M&ab_channel=PaolaLacle. See also Tico Vos, "Police Brutality in the Netherlands.M4v," YouTube Video, 7:55, November 13, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BSwHoFCq58Y&ab_channel=TicoVos. For international articles, see Jessica Olien, "In Holland, Santa Doesn't Have Elves. He Has Slaves," *Slate*, December 14, 2011, http://www.slate.com/articles/life/holidays/2011/12/zwarte_piet_holland_s_favorite_racist_christmas_tradition_.html?via=gdpr-consent; Gario, "Mijn Kunstproject."

⁸⁰ Wout Maas, "De Politie Greep Veel Te Hard In," *Metro*, November 16, 2011, Nexis Uni.

⁸¹ Nederland Wordt Beter, "Stil Protest Intochten Groningen, Amsterdam, Nederland," Facebook, November 12, 2013, <https://www.facebook.com/events/219282081577299>; Zwarte Piet Niet, "#Demonstratie #Beursplein #Amsterdam. Aanwezig? Host @Antonkarel in ieder geval wel. Geef tegengeluid!," Twitter, November 15, 2013, 10:02 a.m., <https://twitter.com/ZwartePietNiet/status/401273871770591232>.

⁸² The name "Zwarte Piet Niet" is rather difficult to translate to English due to its syntax. It could be translated to No Black Pete, or Not Black Pete. "Zwarte Piet Niet," Facebook, Accessed January 28, 2021, <https://www.facebook.com/Zwartepietniet/>.

the phenomenon of black Pete.⁸³ Rincho, Esajas and Afriyie would become well-known as a result of their activism against black Pete.

In 2013, the organisers behind the three campaigns arranged a meeting in order to navigate a collaborative movement.⁸⁴ In February 2014, they emerged as a collective under the name Kick Out Zwarte Piet (KOZP). Their first protest under this denomination was in November 2014 at the national St. Nicholas arrival ceremony in Gouda. This marked the establishment of KOZP as a prominent anti-black-Pete movement organisation. Since its inception, the collective has organised yearly protests.⁸⁵ Their presence at the site of the arrival ceremony is unprecedented and has continued to evoke outraged and often aggressive responses from the public, despite the collective's vocal commitment to nonviolence.⁸⁶ The group's demonstrations have inspired various local actions.⁸⁷

1.2.5 Strategic Shift: Decentralising Protest against black Pete

An often-heard criticism against KOZP concerned their initial focus on the *Randstad*. The Randstad is a large metropolitan area in the west of the Netherlands that comprises the four largest cities of the country. As the contemporary anti-black-Pete movement was established in Amsterdam and initial protests occurred in the west of the country, supporters of black Pete dismissed activism against the figure as a '*Randstad* issue'; a metropolitan

⁸³ "About Us," *Stop Blackface*, Accessed March 27, 2021, <https://stopblackface.com/about-us/>. This was also confirmed by respondent Gregory, who was involved in the establishment of Stop Blackface, during an interview via Microsoft Teams, May 12, 2021.

⁸⁴ Respondent Gregory, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 12, 2021 and Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021.

⁸⁵ Donker provides an overview of all the protest events that were (co-)organised by KOZP from February 2014 to November 2020 in "Challenging," 88-96.

⁸⁶ "KOZP Principles voor Vreedzaam Protest," *Kick Out Zwarte Piet*, accessed March 27, 2021, <https://kozwartepiet.nl/vreedzaam-protesteren/>.

⁸⁷ See, for example, the one-woman-protest in 2015 in Weesp, "Protestbord tegen Zwarte Piet afgepakt," *Weespernieuws*, November 14, 2015, <https://www.weespernieuws.nl/nieuws/algemeen/53386/protestbord-tegen-zwarte-piet-afgepakt> or a student initiative in Zwolle in 2017, see "Initiatiefnemer actie tegen Zwarte Piet in Zwolle bedreigd," *RTV Oost*, November 29, 2017, <https://www.rtvoost.nl/nieuws/280831/Initiatiefnemer-actie-tegen-Zwarte-Piet-in-Zwolle-bedreigd>. This practice has been encouraged by Nederland Wordt Beter, see, for example "Stil Protest."

concern. This corresponds with a common belief that a cultural divide exists between the Randstad area and the other parts of the Netherlands.⁸⁸

However, in 2017, the national arrival ceremony would be organised in Dokkum, Friesland. Friesland is a northern province of the Netherlands with a strong local identity. When KOZP announced their intention to protest in Dokkum, it swiftly led to outrage. Local proponents of black Pete organised to prevent anti-black-Pete protestors from attending the ceremonial arrival by devising “Project P”. Project P was an appeal to Frysians to gather near the roads toward Dokkum with “trucks, vans and tractors” and slowly drive in front of the protestors to prevent their timely arrival at the ceremony.⁸⁹ One of the organisers of “Project P”, a White woman named Jenny Douwes, expressed her dismay at anti-black-Pete protest in a local newspaper, stating that she despised ‘the fuss about black Pete, the *randstedelijke*⁹⁰ nonsense ...’⁹¹ She was forced to cease her efforts to instigate a blockade. Nevertheless, a number of individuals decided to execute Project P.⁹² They successfully prevented the buses chartered by KOZP from making their way to Dokkum by blocking the A7 highway.⁹³ It led to grim confrontations.⁹⁴ It also inspired a strategy change for KOZP.

In 2018, KOZP announced 18 demonstrations in various cities and towns in the Netherlands, pronouncing it the “year of solidarity”.⁹⁵ It was a stark departure from its former approach; the collective had consistently selected one arrival ceremony to attend, frequently

⁸⁸ Evidently, the matter is more nuanced: neither the Randstad nor the Dutch provinces are a monolith. Furthermore, the concept of the “Randstad” is somewhat convoluted; there is no consensus regarding the borders of the area. See Josse de Voogd, “Wat Is Dat, Die Randstad? En Bestaat Die Eigenlijk Wel?,” *AD*, February 9, 2021, Nexis Uni; Kaya Bouma and Iris Koppe, “Drijft de Randstad Niet te Snel Weg van Nederland?,” *De Volkskrant*, November 25, 2017, Nexis Uni.

⁸⁹ “‘Activisten Horen Niet tussen Onze Kinderen in Dokkum!’,” *De Telegraaf*, November 17, 2017, Nexis Uni.

⁹⁰ “Randstedelijke” is an adaptation of the term ‘Randstad’ to create an adjective, meaning ‘from the Randstad’.

⁹¹ “‘Activisten,’” *De Telegraaf*.

⁹² Kasper van Laarhoven, “En Dan Snijdt een Auto de Bus af,” *NRC Next*, November 20, 2017, Nexis Uni.

⁹³ Goos Bies, “Snelwegblokkade Zet Pietendiscussie op Scherp,” *Dagblad van het Noorden*, November 20, 2017, Nexis Uni.

⁹⁴ Respondent Merel, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 9, 2021. Respondent Nia, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 18, 2021. Respondent Gregory, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021.

⁹⁵ [Jaar van de solidariteit]. “KOZP: Jaar van de Solidariteit – Kom In Actie tegen Zwarte Piet!,” *Kick Out Zwarte Piet*, accessed May 15, 2021, <https://stopblackface.com/kozp-jaar-van-de-solidariteit-kom-in-actie-tegen-zwarte-piet/>.

electing to protest at the national ceremonial site. According to one of KOZP's leaders, the shift was a response to the 'Randstad' argument that was prevalent among its opponents.⁹⁶ Different local chapters of KOZP were established.⁹⁷ Various existent initiatives against black Pete formally joined KOZP or entered into an alliance with the collective.⁹⁸ The movement against black Pete subsequently gained a national character.

For many individuals, the name Kick Out Zwarte Piet is synonymous with the social movement against black Pete. This is due to their visibility, as well as the fact that the majority of anti-black-Pete manifestations are organised by KOZP.⁹⁹ Yet there are other individuals and groups active in the opposition of the figure, of which a number have been engaged in local action since before KOZP's protest decentralisation.¹⁰⁰ The majority of these groups work in collaboration with KOZP, however, some differentiate themselves from the collective.¹⁰¹ The contemporary social movement against black Pete could thus be conceptualised as a constellation of organisations, groups and individuals, in which KOZP is arguably the most prominent organisation with ties to a number of other initiatives.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021.

⁹⁷ In addition to the members of the central organization, today KOZP comprises different local groups under the moniker The Netherlands Can Do It (e.g. Gouda Can Do It, Den Haag Can Do It) and it provides support to various local anti-black-Pete initiatives. See Donker, "Changing," 98-99, for an overview of the local chapters of KOZP.

⁹⁸ For example, respondent Rai was involved in the organisation of a local protest against black Pete in 2017. The subsequent year, they entered into a collaboration with KOZP. Similar collaborative processes were described by respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Azara, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 1, 2021.

⁹⁹ See Donker, "Changing," 88-96 for an overview of major protests organised by KOZP and affiliated groups.

¹⁰⁰ E.g. Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Azara, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 1, 2021; Respondent Rai, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 2, 2021

¹⁰¹ For example, protest group de Grauwe Eeuw. See Maaïke Vos, "Een Prijs op het Hoofd van Sint, Wie Doet Zoiets?," *De Volkskrant*, February 8, 2018, Nexis Uni.

¹⁰² For an overview of the major individuals and groups active in the anti-black-Pete social movement, see Eline Mestdagh, "'Slavernij Is Voorbij! Laat de Zwarte Pieten Vrij!' Praktisch Verleden en Historische Rechtvaardigheid in de Nederlandse Strijd om Zwarte Piet (2011-2016)," (Master's thesis, Ghent University, 2017), 48-55.

1.3 Unprecedented Aggression

What distinguishes this new cycle of protest from previous collective action against black Pete is not only the national debate it has sparked, but also the unprecedented violent response. Early research has confirmed an escalation in physical events, particularly in 2018 following the strategic shift of KOZP.¹⁰³ In addition to the arrests of Gario and Afriyie in 2011, arguably the most well-documented examples of violence against anti-black-Pete protestors concern the arrest of Afriyie in Gouda in 2014, the mass arrests in Rotterdam in 2016, and the events that transpired during the 2018 demonstration in Eindhoven.

To illustrate the violence against anti-black-Pete protestors, the events in Rotterdam and Eindhoven are briefly discussed below. An elaborate account of the events in Gouda in 2014 can be found elsewhere.¹⁰⁴

1.3.1 Rotterdam

In 2016, a large group of protestors was stopped by the police in Rotterdam on their way to the St. Nicholas arrival ceremony in Maassluis. The police presented representatives of the group with an emergency ordinance from the mayor of Rotterdam, stating that the protestors were prevented from entering the city centre of Rotterdam.¹⁰⁵ Stranded by the bus, there was confusion among the protestors regarding their next steps.¹⁰⁶ Subsequently, the protestors' paths diverge. One group of protestors decided to embark on an impromptu march

¹⁰³ Barten, "The Escalation," 104.

¹⁰⁴ Schols, "Keeping," 234-240.

¹⁰⁵ The testimonies of respondents differ, as not all protestors were aware of the emergency ordinance. Police representatives stated that they presented the group with the ordinance and offered to accompany the group to Maassluis, yet the respondents that discussed the events in Rotterdam agree they were not allowed to leave. Respondent Merel, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 9, 2021; Respondent Gregory, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021; Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021. See also Elsje Jorritsma, "Dan Pakken We Gewoon Alle Demonstranten Op," *NRC Handelsblad*, November 18, 2016, Nexis Uni.

¹⁰⁶ Respondent Merel, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 9, 2021; Respondent Nia, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 18, 2021; Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021; Respondent Earl, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021.

around the neighbourhood, chanting anti-black-Pete mottos and holding their signs in the air.¹⁰⁷ They had been walking for approximately ten minutes when “all of a sudden vans came, the ME,¹⁰⁸ all these vans arrived and they started to surround us. Then we were stopped by a group of agents, saying: you are not allowed to continue walking. ... We were pushed into a corner. And then we were held there. At one point we heard through a speaker: you are being arrested for illegally gathering”, described protestor Janay.¹⁰⁹ A large city bus arrived; the police officers told the protestors to enter it. The police subsequently began separating individuals from the protest group one by one to move them into the bus. Protestors that did not willingly go with the police were punched or held by their neck. Their mouth was covered, restricting their ability to breathe.¹¹⁰ Others were hit by batons and pushed. Several Black protestors were roughly pulled by their dreadlocks.¹¹¹ Videos of the mass arrests that were recorded by onlookers went viral, prompting outrage. Amnesty International issued a statement condemning the excessive use of police violence.¹¹² Various protestors described the events as traumatising.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Respondent Merel, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 9, 2021. This can also be observed in a video recorded by a bystander, see Ruptly, “Netherlands: Dozens Arrested for Protesting Black Pete Festivities,” YouTube Video, 2:57, November 12, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=plCdrFYm5b8>.

¹⁰⁸ The Mobiele Eenheid, or ME, is a special police unit tasked to “prevent or combat any disturbances of the public order” [verstoringen van de openbare orde te voorkomen of te bestrijden]. “Wat Is de Mobiele Eenheid,” *Politie*, accessed April 4, 2021, <https://www.vraaghetdepolitie.nl/school/politiewerk/de-mobiele-eenheid.html>.

¹⁰⁹ Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021.

¹¹⁰ Respondent Merel, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 9, 2021 and Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021. This is also visible in a video recorded by Kevin P. Roberson, “[RAW FOOTAGE] Jerry Afriyie 2016 Rotterdam Arrest,” YouTube Video, 10:06, November 13, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UezdZCF_j5A&ab_channel=KevinP.Roberson. See also CineacTVRotterdam, “Anti Zwartepiet, Arrestaties in Rotterdam,” YouTube Video, 5:24, November 16, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6VOH8E824Hg&t=27s&ab_channel=CineacTVRotterdam.

¹¹¹ Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021.

¹¹² See Amnesty International, “Rotterdam.”

¹¹³ Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021; Respondent Djuna, interview by author, Zoom, May 21, 2021. See also Zaire Krieger, “Hoe Elvin Rigters Belaagd Werd door Rechts-Extremisten, en Zelf in de Cel Belandde,” *OneWorld*, November 23, 2018, <https://www.oneworld.nl/lezen/discriminatie/religie/hoe-elvin-rigter-belaagd-werd-door-rechts-extremisten-en-zelf-in-de-cel-belandde/>.

1.3.2 Eindhoven

In 2018, a group of 13 protestors gathered in Eindhoven to attend the local St. Nicholas arrival ceremony. Their protest was organised by *Eindhoven Kan Het*,¹¹⁴ a local chapter of KOZP. As the participants positioned themselves at their designated location facing the parade, a number of individuals gathered opposite them.¹¹⁵ The atmosphere was tense. The crowd grew quickly, eventually containing hundreds of people. They were separated from the protestors by two lines of police officers. The noise from the crowd was overwhelming; they verbally scolded the protestors, yelling slurs at them and singing derogatory chants.¹¹⁶ Then, they began throwing eggs. Opposite the noise, the protestors stood still, holding their signs in front of their face to protect them from the materials propelled at them. After the St. Nicholas parade passed, the black Pete supporters surged forward, breaking through police lines toward the protestors.¹¹⁷ The latter quickly abandoned their position, running from the location followed by a number of agitated individuals. As instructed by the police, they sought refuge at the police station. The group dispersed several hours later.¹¹⁸

1.3.3 A Pattern of Violence

These events in Rotterdam and Eindhoven should not be interpreted as exceptional. They serve to illustrate a pattern of intimidation that incorporates a range of expressions, from hostile attitudes and verbal insults to acts of physical violence against the protestors. It is not

¹¹⁴ [Eindhoven Can Do It]

¹¹⁵ As recounted by respondent Nicole, who was present at the protest, during an interview by the author, Microsoft Teams, May 27, 2021. It is also visible in a video recorded by an individual that opposed the anti-black-Pete group, see Parkrides, "Protest van Kozp in Eindhoven 17-11-2018," YouTube Video, 17:39, November 17, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ve9IJDgWvhk&t=710s&ab_channel=parkrides.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. In addition, it was recorded by Christopher Pugmire, "Siegheilen voor Zwarte Piet," *Vice*, November 18, 2018, <https://www.vice.com/nl/article/j5zpq4/siegheilen-voor-zwarte-piet>.

¹¹⁷ As recounted by respondent Nicole, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 27, 2021. It is also visible in Parkrides, "Protest."

¹¹⁸ Respondent Nicole, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 27, 2021.

limited to the numerous incidents during arrival ceremonies:¹¹⁹ outspoken anti-black-Pete activists face threatening behaviour on social media,¹²⁰ at their known meeting spaces,¹²¹ and sometimes at their home.¹²² The threat of violence casts a grim shadow over the contemporary anti-black-Pete movement. Various scholars have explored the reasoning behind the aggression toward anti-black-Pete protestors. Some of their academic work is discussed below.

1.4 Literature on Racism, Dutch Identity and the black Pete Debate

1.4.1 Dutch Racism

In 2014, the book *Dutch Racism* was published, marking a revival of academic work on racism in the Netherlands. Dutch racism, according to editors of the book Philomena Essed and Isabel Hoving, is “complex, paradoxical and contested”.¹²³ The phenomenon “has its own legacy in the Netherlands and the (former) colonies, operates in and beyond the national borders, is shaped by European and global influences, and intersects with other systems of domination.”¹²⁴ According to Essed and Hoving, Dutch racism can be distinguished from

¹¹⁹ Herman Staal, “Alsof Er in Elke Stad een 'Risicoduel' Was,” *NRC.Next*, November 18, 2018, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2018/11/18/alsof-er-in-elke-stad-een-risicoduel-was-a2755667>; “Pegida-Voorman Opgepakt, Sommige Demonstraties Verlopen Grimmig,” *AD*, November 16, 2019, Nexis Uni.

¹²⁰ Mitchell Esajas, “10.000 Racistische Reacties op een Selfie,” *Joop*, November 29, 2015, <https://joop.bnnvara.nl/opinies/10-000-racistische-reacties-op-een-selfie>; Isabel Baneke, “Taakstraffen en Geldboetes voor Haatberichten aan NRC-Columniste Clarice Gargard,” *Trouw*, November 2, 2020, <https://www.trouw.nl/binnenland/taakstraffen-en-geldboetes-voor-haatberichten-aan-nrc-columniste-clarice-gargard~b5e1a997/?referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F>.

¹²¹ Eveline Acda-de-Ruiter, “Bijeenkomst van Kick Out Zwarte Piet in Den Haag Hevig Verstoord, Vier Mensen Aangehouden,” *De Stentor*, November 8, 2019, Nexis Uni; “Pand van The Black Archives in Amsterdam Beklad: 'Roetveegpiet Is Genocide,’” *NOS*, December 3, 2020, <https://nos.nl/artikel/2359113-pand-van-the-black-archives-in-amsterdam-beklad-roetveegpiet-is-genocide>.

¹²² Martin Kuiper, Bram Endedijk, Annette Toonen, Sjoerd Klumpenaar, Wubby Luyendijk, Bas Blokker, and Karin de Mik, “Chronologisch Overzicht van Incidenten met Zwarte Piet in de Aanloop naar het Sinterklaasfeest Dit Jaar,” *NRC Handelsblad*, December 5, 2017, Nexis Uni; ANP, “Sylvana Simons Doet Aangifte om Zwarte Piet-Actie,” *Het Parool*, November 24, 2017, <https://www.parool.nl/nieuws/sylvana-simons-doet-aangifte-om-zwarte-piet-actie~b7f688f3/>; “Zwarte Piet' Staat voor Deur Akwasi,” *Nederlands Dagblad*, November 16, 2020, <https://www.nd.nl/nieuws/nederland/1003086/zwarte-piet-staat-voor-deur-akwasi>; Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021.

¹²³ Philomena Essed and Isabel Hoving, “Innocence, Smug Ignorance, Resentment: An Introduction to Dutch Racism,” in *Dutch Racism*, eds. Philomena Essed and Isabel Hoving (Amsterdam: Thamyris, 2014), 9-10.

¹²⁴ Essed and Hoving, “Innocence,” 9.

racism in other places by two factors that contribute to its complexity: ignorance and denial. Ignorance, here, refers to a wilful lack of knowledge on a topic. It pertains not only to an unknowing, but also to an unwillingness to inform oneself about the role of race in Dutch society.¹²⁵ Denial is the second key feature of Dutch racism. It involves an absence of historical embeddedness, a dismissal of the connections between past systems of structural racial violence like colonialism and slavery, and contemporary ethnic discrimination.¹²⁶ It is directly related to the popular belief that racism is not present in Dutch society.

Like Essed and Hoving, professor Gloria Wekker argues that the inability to recognise this system of inequality is the result of a colonial past that the Dutch fail to acknowledge.¹²⁷ In her book *White Innocence*, Wekker introduces the notion of the “white Dutch sense of self.”¹²⁸ This refers to the idea that White citizens of the Netherlands deem themselves intrinsically antiracist, innocent and filled with good intentions.¹²⁹ This dominant Dutch identity rejects any racial or ethnic category, rather viewing it as the norm, devoid of race, while paradoxically engaging in a continuous process of othering through which those deviant from the norm are racially categorised.¹³⁰ This obstructs dialogue regarding racism in the Netherlands, as the workings of ‘race’ are inevitably dismissed. This observation is echoed by sociologist Melissa F. Weiner in an article on racism denial in the Netherlands. Weiner highlights how in Dutch public discourse, there is the “native Dutch”, who is *coded* as White, and the “other”, which refers to any person of colour, or individuals pertaining to different

¹²⁵ Ibid., 10.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 11.

¹²⁷ Wekker, *White Innocence*, 159-167.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 1.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 5-20.

¹³⁰ Ibid. See also Philomena Essed and Sandra Trienekens, “‘Who Wants to Feel White?’, Race, Dutch Culture, and Contested Identities,” *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 1 (September 2008): 52–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701538885>; Schols, “Keeping,” 91.

ethnicities and/or religious groups.¹³¹ Weiner argues that the division between these categories is not questioned; it is continuously reproduced in public discourse.¹³²

1.4.2 Pete, Blackness and Dutch Identity

The figure black Pete is identified as an example of Dutch racism in several academic works, including in Joy L. Smith's chapter *The Dutch Carnavalesque: Blackface, Play and Zwarte Piet* in the book *Dutch Racism*.¹³³ Smith places the caricature in a broader international historical tradition of minstrelsy.¹³⁴ She discusses the controversial origins of this tradition, in which entertainment was provided for a White audience by mocking Black bodies.¹³⁵ In minstrelsy, racial power structures are covertly reproduced under the guise of innocent theatre.¹³⁶ To Smith, this is also evident in the performance of Saint Nicholas and black Pete as “saint and servant”.¹³⁷ Smith demonstrates how the figure black Pete was adopted into the St. Nicholas tradition and was *constructed* as a Black body during a time of Atlantic slave trade.¹³⁸ Black Pete subsequently became anchored in the Saint Nicholas tradition and is considered a timeless and authentic aspect of the festivities today.¹³⁹ As St. Nicholas became an important cultural practice in the Netherlands, Smith notes, it developed into a performance of national identity, a social practice in which boundaries of belonging are

¹³¹ Melissa F. Weiner, "The Ideologically Colonized Metropole: Dutch Racism and Racist Denial," *Sociology Compass* 8, no. 6 (June 2014): 733. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12163>.

¹³² Weiner, "The Ideologically," 733. For a supplementary discussion on the making of Dutch identity, see Kathy Davis and Lorraine Nencel, "Border Skirmishes and the Question of Belonging: an Autoethnographic Account of Everyday Exclusion in Multicultural Society," *Ethnicities* 11, no. 4 (August 2011): 467–488. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796811415772>.

¹³³ Similarly, historian Elisabeth Koning discusses the origins of black Pete in "Zwarte Piet, een Blackfacepersonage," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 131, no. 4 (December 2018): 551-575.

¹³⁴ Smith, "The Dutch," 222-223.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 224-225.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 229.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 226-229. For additional historic context regarding the first appearance of black Pete, see John Helsloot, "De Ambivalente Boodschap van de Eerste 'Zwarte Piet' (1850)," in *De Kleine Olympus. Over Enkele Figuren uit de Alledaagse Mythologie*, eds. Eveline Doelman and John Helsloot (Amsterdam: KNAW Press, 2008), 93-117; Jop Euwijk and Frank Rensen, *De Identiteitscrisis van Zwarte Piet* (Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2017).

¹³⁹ Helsloot, "De Strijd," 267.

affirmed.¹⁴⁰ This celebratory interpretation of St. Nicholas is challenged by activists like Gario and Afriyie who problematise Pete's "Blackness" by connecting it to the Netherlands' history of slavery and racial inequality.¹⁴¹

Political scientists Ilke Adam, Soumia Akachar, Karen Celis, Serena D'Agostino and Eline Severs argue that this directly challenged the self-image of the Dutch nation of tolerance and anti-racism.¹⁴² As the opponents of black Pete framed the popular character as racist, the figure became incommensurable with this tolerant identity.¹⁴³ Consequently, black Pete became the centre of a power struggle between different groups regarding their ability to define their "repertoire of self".¹⁴⁴ In an attempt to reconcile their identity with the existence of black Pete, numerous proponents of the figure employed a rhetoric of exclusionary nationalism.¹⁴⁵ By questioning the citizenship and ethnic affiliation of the predominantly Black individuals that opposed black Pete, the figure's proponents attempted to restrict the opponents' ability to lay claim to the Dutch national identity and its symbols.¹⁴⁶

An additional popular narrative employed by supporters of black Pete concerns separation of the figure from the notion of race.¹⁴⁷ This is attempted by emphasising the fictional nature of black Pete. His defenders argue that Pete is a figment of imagination developed for children; he is not real, thus the figure is devoid of race.¹⁴⁸ In an essay on the official narrative of black Pete, Chauvin, Koenders and Koren analysed the public-service

¹⁴⁰ Smith, "The Dutch," 221.

¹⁴¹ Adam et al., "Understanding," 130.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 126-127.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 134; Wekker, *White Innocence*, 148-150.

¹⁴⁶ Adam et al., "Understanding," 134. Similarly, in an academic analysis of online media, Hilhorst and Hermes demonstrate how the discursive practices of pro-Black Pete individuals facilitate a similar exclusionary process of non-White Dutch citizens. See Hilhorst and Hermes, "'We Have Given'," 218-233.

¹⁴⁷ Helsloot, "Zwarte Piet," 7; Hilhorst and Hermes, "'We Have Given'," 223-224. For an overview of prominent narratives in defense of black Pete, see Jeroen Rodenberg and Pieter Wagenaar, "Essentializing 'Black Pete': Competing Narratives Surrounding the Sinterklaas Tradition in the Netherlands," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 22, no. 9 (June 2016): 719-723, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/10.1080/13527258.2016.1193039>

¹⁴⁸ Wekker, *White Innocence*, 150-152.

broadcaster NTR's attempts to construct Black Pete as an innocent figure in the *Sinterklaasjournaal*.¹⁴⁹ The *Sinterklaasjournaal* is a popular scripted show for children in the Netherlands. It airs in early November and is broadcasted every evening until December 5 on national television, chronicling the arrival of St. Nicholas.¹⁵⁰ The show sets the tone regarding black Pete, as the public broadcasting organisation provide the Petes that are present during the national arrival ceremony. Numerous cities and towns have explicitly stated they follow NTR's lead in deciding on the figure's appearance.¹⁵¹

In their article, Chauvin et al. demonstrate that the mounting critique on black Pete forced the broadcasting station to explain the 'Blackness' of Pete. As the critique about black Pete was embedded in a narrative of racism, the presence of the figure required justification.¹⁵² To preserve the identity of the innocent, non-discriminatory Dutch, it became crucial to maintain the non-racial nature of black Pete.¹⁵³ To facilitate this narrative, black Pete's colour was explained by the *Jeugdjournaal* as the result of Pete's movements through soot-filled chimneys, reflecting a popular historical narrative about the cultural figure.¹⁵⁴ However, as a result of this explanation, Pete was constructed as White, thus no longer devoid of race.¹⁵⁵ The encoding of black Pete as White inadvertently had major implications for the debate on Pete's contested existence, as it signified an acknowledgement that the performance of black Pete incorporates blackface.

1.5 Literature on Anti-black-Pete Activism

While the literature introduced in Section 1.4 provides important context on the figure

¹⁴⁹ [Saint Nicholas News].

¹⁵⁰ For a more in-depth account of the St. Nicholas News, see Chauvin et al., "Never Having," 510.

¹⁵¹ Kasper van Laarhoven, "Zwarte Pieten Willen Niet," *NRC Handelsblad*, November 7, 2019, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2019/11/07/de-pieten-lopen-bij-bosjes-weg-a3979589>.

¹⁵² Chauvin et al, "Never Having," 522.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 522.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 510.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 522-23.

black Pete and the societal effects of anti-black-Pete activism, it fails to engage with the actors that broached the issue through collective action. Indeed, there is limited academic work available that centres the social movement against black Pete and its actors. To my knowledge, there are three studies available that focus on the individuals that oppose black Pete to foster societal change. They are discussed below.

In a 2017 Master thesis, Eline Mestdagh takes a historiographic approach to the study of social movement against black Pete. Specifically, Mestdagh explores how social movement actors strategically make reference to the past in order to achieve contemporary goals.¹⁵⁶ Mestdagh, lamenting the lack of academic attention to the strategic claim making of anti-black-Pete activists, examines how anti-black-Pete activists employ Dutch historical narratives to combat the existence of black Pete. Mestdagh's analysis spans a broad variety of protest spaces. In addition to her analysis of a 2015 KOZP protest at the national arrival ceremony in Meppel, she examines how the group makes claims in the classroom and in courts.¹⁵⁷

Mestdagh shifts between a discussion of KOZP and the larger network of activists that the social movement organisation is situated in to gain a broad understanding of narratives pertaining to anti-black-Pete activists. She describes how anti-black-Pete protestors position themselves in a history of resistance against racial injustice by referencing the civil rights movement, decolonisation, Black power and slavery.¹⁵⁸ These narratives are invoked to address contemporary structures of racism that are rooted in inequality that originated during the Dutch colonial period. Their opposition to the figure can thus be understood as a broader claim for recognition of past injustice and a demand to end their exclusion from the national identity.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Eline Mestdagh, "Slavernij," 10.

¹⁵⁷ Mestdagh, "Slavernij," 56-63.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 128.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 73-76.

In her 2020 Master thesis, Roelien Donker criticises Mestdagh for her lack of differentiation between KOZP and other social actors.¹⁶⁰ Donker selects KOZP as her sole focus in order to examine the actions and perceptions of the social movement organisation.¹⁶¹ In her work, Donker identifies the mechanisms that allowed KOZP to successfully change the debate regarding black Pete. She provides a thorough account of the actions undertaken by KOZP to influence societal attitudes on black Pete by describing their contentious performances, framing strategies and organisational resources.¹⁶² In addition, Donker dedicates significant attention to the “discursive opportunity structure”, which refers to the symbolic factors that facilitate or constrain the perceived validity of their claim.¹⁶³ As a facilitating element, she mentions the support of powerful allies like the UN Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent. Their support fortified KOZP’s stance despite initial unwillingness from the Dutch government to engage with the matter of black Pete.¹⁶⁴ However, Donker points to the violence and threats that members of KOZP are subjected to and their perceived status as “second-class citizens”, which negatively impacts KOZP's ability to disperse their message.¹⁶⁵

Political scientist Heleen Schols also touches on the violent atmosphere of anti-black-Pete protest in her analysis of the public debate about black Pete. In her dissertation, Schols introduces the concept ‘norms of interaction’ to analyse how anti-black-Pete protestors challenge the prevalent norms of communication in various institutional settings.¹⁶⁶ Schols examines “three pivotal disruptive events” that occur in the early stages of anti-black-Pete opposition (specifically in 2013 and 2014) as arenas of contention in which individuals that

¹⁶⁰ Donker, “Changing,” 13.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 33-46.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 47-50.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 61-65.

¹⁶⁶ Schols, “Keeping,” 273-74.

oppose black Pete denounce racism.¹⁶⁷ Like Mestdagh and Adam et al., Schols posits that the protestors' claims are representative of a negotiation of "Dutchness".¹⁶⁸ Schols' analysis of the criticism of protestors' mode of opposition is particularly noteworthy. She demonstrates how the claims regarding black Pete are swiftly dismissed by the audience due to their focus on the perceived inappropriateness of the stage on which they are expressed.¹⁶⁹ As a result, a dialogue regarding the appearance of the figure is averted.

Mestdagh, Donker and Schols provide relevant contributions to the analysis of the contemporary anti-black-Pete movement. This thesis builds on their insights. However, there are several notable differences between their research and my own. Firstly, Mestdagh and Schols examine the actions of anti-black-Pete protestors in a rather early stage of the contemporary movement.¹⁷⁰ Conversely, the incidents described in the subsequent chapters of this thesis occur after the establishment of KOZP in 2014. Moreover, the majority of the individuals that provided the data for this research participated in their first protest against black Pete in 2017 or later.¹⁷¹ Secondly, this thesis diverges from Donker as the findings of this thesis are derived from a broad network of activists rather than the members of a sole (albeit authoritative) social movement organisation. The final element that distinguishes this thesis from the above-discussed work is the lense through which anti-black-Pete opposition is analysed. Donker adopted a structurationist approach to study the contentious politics of KOZP; Mestdagh employed oral history and participatory action research to draw connections between the claims of anti-black-Pete protestors to examine "how history works",¹⁷² while Schols' utilised a range of interpretive research methods to study exchanges between activists

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 18.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 263-75.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 274.

¹⁷⁰ This is also noted by Donker, "Changing," 14.

¹⁷¹ Out of 25 respondents, 15 attended their first protest in 2017 or later. For the complete list of respondents, see Appendix 1.

¹⁷² Mestdagh, "Slavernij," 18.

and their institutional context to identify diverging norms of interaction. This thesis explores the meaning of anti-black-Pete protest for its participants by examining the drivers of movement participation and the experience of protest. Its epistemological approach is discussed in Chapter 3.

1.6 Summary

This chapter has established that contemporary protests against black Pete are preceded by a number of oppositional acts spanning several decennia. It demonstrated that the activism that occurred in 2011 is most appropriately conceptualised as the instigation of a new cycle in a historic tradition of the anti-black-Pete social movement. It reviewed scholarly work on racism in the Netherlands, black Pete and anti-black-Pete activism, demonstrating that the majority of academic literature focuses on the response to the social movement and their claims, rather than the protestors. Nevertheless, Donker, Mestdagh and Schols have endeavoured to examine the acts of opposition that anti-black-Pete protestors have engaged in. I supplement their work by providing insight into the personal accounts of individuals that have engaged in the social movement against black Pete. The subsequent chapter provides a theoretical foundation for further research on this subject by reviewing academic literature on social movements.

Chapter 2 Reviewing Social Movement Literature

While social movement research was traditionally situated in the realm of sociology, it has developed into a rich interdisciplinary field. Indeed, researchers with diverse academic backgrounds have sought to explain and understand the workings of social movements.¹⁷³ Today, the academic field of social movement comprises myriad literary work in which researchers offer abundant concepts, theories and insights. Evidently, although regrettably, an all-encompassing review of social movement research is outside of the scope of this thesis. This chapter provides a concise overview of various influential branches of social movement theory. It delineates general developments in social movement research while gradually shifting the focus to the theories that are particularly relevant to the topic of anti-black-Pete opposition. By describing the current state of academic knowledge regarding social movement, this chapter introduces the theoretical insights that will be utilised to guide this research.

2.1 Early Social Movement Theories

During the early to mid-twentieth century, researchers explained social movement as a collective emotional response to structural changes in society.¹⁷⁴ In this conceptualisation of movement participation, individuals' behaviour was considered aberrant and their protest short-lived.¹⁷⁵ Collective action participants were theorised to be compelled by the emotions that welled up within them, a swirl of passion taking control, leading the individuals to act in

¹⁷³ Conny Roggeband and Bert Klandermans, "Disiplinary Approaches to Social Movements. Introduction to Second Expanded and Updated Edition," in *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*, 2nd ed., eds. Conny Roggeband and Bert Klandermans (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 2-3.

¹⁷⁴ Deana A. Rohlinger and Haley Gentile, "Sociological Understandings of Social Movements: A North American Perspective," in *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*, 2nd ed., eds. Conny Roggeband and Bert Klandermans (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 10.

¹⁷⁵ Oliver, "Collective Action," 210; Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, *Collective Behavior* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1957); Bert Klandermans, "Mobilization and Participation: Social-Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory," *American Sociological Review* 49, No. 5 (October 1984): 583. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2095417.pdf>.

irrational ways that they might regret.¹⁷⁶ Engagement in social movement was thus conceived as erratic behaviour, a deviation from the norm. In order to explain this phenomenon, social psychologists pointed to characteristic personality traits, grievances, ideology and marginality and alienation among the protest participants.¹⁷⁷

During this paradigm, the analytical focus was on the collective, or the “crowd”, whose actions were predominantly explained by their volatile emotional nature.¹⁷⁸ This approach to social movement analysis neglected the context in which collective action arises. It also failed to acknowledge that a crowd is made up of individuals, each bearing their own experiences, emotions, and objectives.¹⁷⁹ Evidently, attempts to demonstrate that protest participants had specific characteristic personality traits were rather unsuccessful.¹⁸⁰ A more nuanced understanding of the behaviour of social movement actors was prevalent outside of academia. Writers with ties to social movements pointed to the importance of rational processes in collective action like emotion management, which requires determination and a strong sense of direction.¹⁸¹

2.2. Structural Theories

The mid-1960s produced a new wave of researchers, unconvinced by social-psychological explanations of activism that proposed a different account of the development of social movements. Researchers in this tradition emphasised the cognitive abilities of social movement actors. Theories on grievances as a driver of social action were deemed

¹⁷⁶ James M. Jasper, *The Emotions of Protest* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 1. See, for an example Gustave LeBon, “The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind (1895),” *Project Gutenberg*, Accessed March 18, 2021, <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/445>.

¹⁷⁷ Klandermans, “Mobilization and Participation,” 583.

¹⁷⁸ Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta, “Introduction: Why Emotions Matter,” in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, eds. Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001), 2-3.

¹⁷⁹ Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta, “Introduction,” 4.

¹⁸⁰ Klandermans, “Mobilization and Participation,” 583.

¹⁸¹ Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta, “Introduction,” 3-4.

unsatisfactory, as they failed to account for those individuals that were aggrieved yet refrained from engaging in social movement.¹⁸² Researchers also critiqued previous theories for underemphasising the cost of collective action.¹⁸³ The academic literature that was produced during this paradigm can roughly be divided into two branches: Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT) and Political Process Theory (PPT).¹⁸⁴ The subsequent sections describe some of the main theories pertaining to each field.

2.2.1 Resource Mobilization Theory

In his influential albeit controversial book *The Logic of Collective Action*, economist Mancur Olson developed a theory regarding the behaviour of individuals striving to gain public goods through collective action.¹⁸⁵ Olson challenged the belief that a group of individuals with common interests will act collectively to further their objectives. Utilising logic from the field of economics, Olson argued that individuals will privilege their personal interest over that of the group, unless a form of coercion is involved.¹⁸⁶ He thus claimed that individuals are unlikely to participate in social movement, rather letting others engage in collective action while benefitting (or “free-riding”) from the public goods that are derived

¹⁸² Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg, “Introduction,” in *Methods of Social Movement Research*, eds. Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), x. Despite its critiques, it is important to note here that there were scholars that continued to theorise the role of grievances. See for example Ted Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); James Davies, “Toward a Theory of Revolution,” *American Sociological Review* 27, no. 1 (February 1962): 5-19, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2089714>; James Geschwender, “Explorations in the Theory of Social Movements and Revolutions,” *Social Forces* 47, no. 2 (December 1968): 127-35, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2575142>.

¹⁸³ Klandermans and Staggenborg, “Introduction,” x; Rohlinger and Gentile, “Sociological Understandings,” 11.

¹⁸⁴ Evidently there are myriad ways to categorise the different branches of social movement theory. A rather common differentiation that I choose to refrain from in this review is the categorisation of a number of structural theories under the New Social Movement Research umbrella. I deem the New Social Movement category to be overly broad. There is no consensus on the theories that pertain to the field save their origin in Europe and – for some – the belief that they analyse “fundamental changes in the repertoires of contemporary social movements as resulting from the shift from an industrial to a postindustrial economy,” as noted by Taylor and Van Dyke in “Get Up,” 273-74. Nevertheless, it is important to note that some theories that may be categorised as ‘new social movement’ by other scholars are discussed in this chapter. For a more in-depth discussion of new social movement theories and their categorisation, see Steven M. Buechler, “New Social Movement Theories,” *Sociological Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 441–64, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4120774>.

¹⁸⁵ Oliver, “Collective Action,” 211.

¹⁸⁶ Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 1-2.

from it.¹⁸⁷ In order to overcome this barrier to collective action participation, Olson proposed the creation of incentives. Olson introduced a collective action problem that social movement scholars, specifically those interested in political analysis, continue to engage with today.¹⁸⁸ The questions he posed in his book contributed to an analytical shift in social movement research toward an examination of the factors that restrain and facilitate collective action.¹⁸⁹

Resource Mobilisation Theory (hereafter RMT) was developed in part in response to Olson's work. This scholarly tradition sought to explore how individuals mobilised in order to collectively pursue their societal objectives.¹⁹⁰ Central to this theory is an understanding of social movement actors as rational decision-makers that actively weigh the cost and benefits of their engagement in social movement.¹⁹¹ Proponents of the theory explore how individuals use social infrastructure to engage in resource mobilisation, as well as how this impacts their ability to achieve their goals.¹⁹² Researchers in this tradition adopt the social movement organisation as their main unit of analysis. While the focus was initially on the mobilisation of human, organisational and material resources to foster social change, today researchers in this field have adopted a broader conceptualisation of resources.¹⁹³

2.2.2 Political Process Theory

While the Resource Mobilisation approach is recognised for its important contributions to the inner workings of social movement organisations, it was criticised for its lack of attention to the political arenas in which social movements operate.¹⁹⁴ Social

¹⁸⁷ Olson, *The Logic*, 1-4.

¹⁸⁸ Jolle Demmers, *Theories of Violent Conflict: An Introduction*, 2nd. Ed. (London: Routledge, 2017), 111.

¹⁸⁹ Rohlinger and Gentile, "Sociological Understandings," 11, Klandermans and Staggenborg, "Introduction," X.

¹⁹⁰ John D. McCarthy and Zald N. Mayer, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: a Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 6 (May 1977): 1213, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2777934>.

¹⁹¹ Rohlinger and Gentile, "Sociological Understandings," 11.

¹⁹² McCarthy and Zald, "Resource Mobilization," 1216-1217.

¹⁹³ Rohlinger and Gentile "Sociological Understandings," 11; Bob Edwards and Patrick F. Gillham, "Resource Mobilization Theory," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social & Political Movements. Volume 3: Pe-Z*, eds. David A. Snow et al. (West-Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 1096.

¹⁹⁴ Klandermans and Staggenborg, "Introduction," xi.

movements cannot be separated from the political institutions they interact with and challenge, argued political scientists and sociologists. Political structures affect the form and impact of movements, thus they warrant investigation.¹⁹⁵

Political Process Theory was developed in the late 1970s and the early 1980s to examine the strategy, tactics and organisational structure of social movements in relation to their political context. It adopted an innovative approach to research by introducing Protest Event Analysis (PEA), a comparative and historical form of research that analyses large numbers of protest events in order to dissect various aspects of protest, in which attention was specifically devoted to the political opportunity structure.¹⁹⁶

In 1978, historical sociologist Charles Tilly argued that a group's incentive to engage in collective action is dependent on "opportunity".¹⁹⁷ Tilly utilised this notion to describe how the state and other influential groups facilitate and/or restrict collective action in order to control political change.¹⁹⁸ In this regard, Tilly called attention to the context in which protest occurs. In his renowned book *From Mobilization To Revolution*, Tilly also provided a definition of collective action that identified elements that remain central to social movement research. He described collective action as "people's acting together in pursuit of common interests ... [which] results from changing combinations of interests, organization, mobilization and opportunity."¹⁹⁹ With this conceptualisation of collective action, Tilly attempted to synthesise causal theory with purposive explanations of social movement.²⁰⁰ Thus, Tilly made important strides in bridging research that centred individuals' strategic decision-making with research that understood people's actions as the result of external

¹⁹⁵ Donatella della Porta, "Political Opportunity/Political Opportunity Structure," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social & Political Movements. Volume 3: Pe-Z*, eds. David A. Snow et al. (West-Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 956.

¹⁹⁶ Klandermans and Staggenborg, "Introduction," xii.

¹⁹⁷ Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization To Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1978), 98. Tilly credits the field of Political Science for the concept "opportunity".

¹⁹⁸ Tilly, *From Mobilization*, 100-15.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

factors.

Over the course of two decades, numerous other scholars in this tradition built on the work of Tilly and his predecessors²⁰¹ to further specify the societal structures in which opportunities for collective action arise, facilitating movement emergence.²⁰² For example, in 1994, sociologist Sidney Tarrow argued that “contentious collective action” forms the fundament of social movements.²⁰³ Contentious collective action occurs, according to Tarrow, when “people who lack regular access to institutions ... act in the name of new or unaccepted claims, and who behave in ways that fundamentally challenge others or authorities.”²⁰⁴ Tarrow thus provided specification to Tilly’s previous work, while emphasising the importance of claim-making in protest. In accordance with Tarrow, Tilly examined “repertoires of contention: the established ways in which pairs of actors make and receive claims bearing on each other’s interests” in a 1995 book.²⁰⁵ For Tilly, these claim-making repertoires consisted of three elements: individual action, collective performances, and campaigns.

Tilly and Tarrow became frequent collaborators and continued refining their theories regarding contentious collective action, or contentious politics. The importance of the political aspects of protest remained central to their work. It is likely that Tilly and Tarrow’s attention to claim-making and performance in the 1990s was an acknowledgement of a new

²⁰¹ Tilly was not the first person in academia to call attention to the importance of the political structure, however, his efforts in his 1978 book are recognised as the first systematic attempt to analyse this. Other notable scholars that informed Tilly’s work are Peter K. Eisinger, “The Conditions of Protest Behavior in American Cities,” *American Political Science Review* 67, no. 1 (March 1973): 11–28, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1958525> and Michael Lipsky, *Protest in City Politics: Rent Strikes, Housing and the Urban Poor* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970). For a reflection on Tilly’s impact on the field of social movement research, see Marco Giugni, “Political Opportunities: From Tilly to Tilly,” *Swiss Political Science Review* 15, no. 2 (Summer 2009): 361–68, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1002/j.1662-6370.2009.tb00136.x>.

²⁰² Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Sidney G. Tarrow, *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

²⁰³ Sidney G. Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Charles Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 43.

development in social movement research that became prominent during the mid-1980s and early 1990s. This paradigm, labelled the cultural turn, is discussed next.

2.3 The Cultural Turn

The ‘cultural turn’ refers to an analytical and methodological shift in social science during which the importance of ‘culture’ was heavily emphasised. The rise of feminist research contributed significantly to this transformation, which marked the development of new research philosophies and methods that challenged traditional practices and reconceptualised the investigative arenas.²⁰⁶ In social movement research, the cultural turn facilitated the examination of unconventional acts of resistance, many of which occur ‘behind the scenes’.²⁰⁷ Its scholars pointed to meaning-making as an integral element of mobilisation, which could be studied by analysing language, emotions and identity.²⁰⁸ Pioneers of this approach in social movement research include Verta Taylor, Ann Whittier, Layla Rupp and Steven M. Buechler.

Scholars from the cultural tradition critically engaged with the resource mobilisation method and political process approach, pointing out gaps in the theories related to the “cultural and symbolic lifeworld” of social movement participants.²⁰⁹ Buechler, for example, critiqued the resource mobilisation theories for disregarding the role of grievances and ideology in social movement emergence as well as the field’s narrow conceptualisation of social movement organisation structures.²¹⁰ In a critical review, Buechler described various

²⁰⁶ Britta Wigginton and Michelle N. LaFrance, “Learning Critical Feminist Research: A Brief Introduction to Feminist Epistemologies and Methodologies,” *Feminism & Psychology* 0, no. 0 (September 2019): 3, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353519866058>.

²⁰⁷ Sarah Maddison and Frances Shaw, “Feminist Perspectives on Social Movement Research,” in *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis*, 2nd ed., ed. Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2012), 415.

²⁰⁸ Rohlinger and Gentile, “Sociological Understandings,” 15.

²⁰⁹ Steven M. Buechler, “Beyond Resource Mobilization? Emerging Trends in Social Movement Theory,” *Sociological Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (May 1993): 230, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4120699>.

²¹⁰ Buechler, “Beyond,” 221-23.

processes he identified in his research on women's movements that are incommensurable with the RMT framework. For example, Buechler found that the creation of a collective identity is a meaningful social act that influenced the decision-making process of collective action participants.²¹¹ His work demonstrated that individuals consider cultural factors like group loyalty and shared historical narratives when considering collective action engagement.²¹² In addition to his own critique, Buechler synthesised and elaborated on the work of other social movement scholars that have demonstrated some of the flaws of Resource Mobilisation Theory.

Researchers that adopt a cultural lens to social movement examination also criticised Political Process Theory. In a prominent article, sociologists James M. Jasper, Jeff Goodwin and Jaswinder Khattrra accused the approach of being "conceptually muddled", questioning its analytical value.²¹³ Jasper et al. condemned what they deemed the structural bias of the tradition, stating that political process adherents disproportionately focus on structural factors when examining the rise and subsequent development of social movements. To the dismay of Jasper et al., non-structural aspects of social movement like meanings, symbols, emotions and identity are neglected or reduced to variables to be incorporated in political models.²¹⁴ Like Buechler, Jasper and Goodwin emphasise the importance of agency and action in social movement analysis. With their article, the sociologists joined other scholars in a plea for social movement research that centres meaning-making processes.²¹⁵

Rather than replace the structuralist paradigm of social movement research, scholars of the cultural turn sought to expand it by demonstrating how culture is embedded in structures

²¹¹ Ibid., 228-229.

²¹² Ibid., 230.

²¹³ Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper, and Jaswinder Khattrra, "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory," *Sociological Forum* 14, no. 1 (March 1999): 28, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/685013>.

²¹⁴ Goodwin, Jasper and Khattrra, "Caught," 48-51.

²¹⁵ Rohlinger and Gentile, "Sociological Understandings," 15.

and processes of social movement. For example, Benford and Snow highlighted the importance of meaning construction in social movement mobilisation by applying the concept of framing.²¹⁶ Benford and Snow argued that social movement actors are “signifying agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers.”²¹⁷ In social movement organisations, meaning is constructed by actors through collective action frames, which refers to a set of beliefs that shapes a shared understanding of a societal injustice. These frames inspire campaigns and actions; they are utilised in social movements to mobilise individuals, garner societal support and neutralise antagonists.²¹⁸ Frame analysis was thus introduced as a relevant supplement to the study of mobilisation.

An additional example is provided by Verta Taylor and Nella van Dyke, who adapted Tilly’s repertoires of contention to create a broader conceptualisation of social movement tactics. Taylor and Van Dyke proposed three main features of these tactical repertoires:²¹⁹

1. They are “sites of contestation in which bodies, symbols, identities, practices, and discourses are used to pursue or prevent changes in institutionalized power relations”²²⁰;
2. They incorporate intentional, strategic action to promote or resist social change;
3. They are a space for collective identity construction.

Thus in addition to Tilly's attention to political claim-making and interests, Taylor and Van Dyke identified the cultural processes that may occur in repertoires. Similar to other researchers embedded in the cultural tradition of social movement examination, Taylor and Van Dyke center the interaction between the social movement and its target, providing space

²¹⁶ It is important to note that the notion of framing had been previously introduced, perhaps most notably by Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: an Essay on the Organization of Experience* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974).

²¹⁷ Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow, “Framing Processes and Social Movements: an Overview and Assessment,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 26, no. 1(August 2000): 613, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/223459>.

²¹⁸ David A. Snow, “Framing and Social Movements,” in *the Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social & Political Movements. Volume 2: F-Pe*, eds. David A. Snow et al. (West-Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 70-75.

²¹⁹ The following is a summary of Taylor and Van Dyke, “Get up,” 268-271.

²²⁰ Taylor and Van Dyke, “Get Up,” 268.

to examine cultural displays as acts of resistance. Their expansive approach to collective action facilitates research on a wide variety of social movements and allows researchers to consider various dynamics internal and external to the protest group that incorporate yet transcend the political arena.²²¹

Like Tilly, Taylor and Van Dyke perceive the claim-making process that social movements engage in as a form of performance. The notion of social movement as a performance has been explored by researchers from various backgrounds, highlighting different elements. For example, Tarrow divides contentious performances in three forms of action (violent, disruptive, and conventional).²²² Robert P. Benford discussed how power is articulated through performance in social movement by drawing on dramaturgy.²²³ Jesus Casquete focuses on the rituals of performance, centering the performers' aim to influence various audiences.²²⁴ Jeffrey S. Juris examined how identities are expressed and emotions are generated during performances and Hank Johnston defines performances as symbolic action, emphasising the cultural foundation thereof.²²⁵ Finally, Ronald Eyerman, utilises performance theory to study how social movements 'move'.²²⁶

Building on Jeffrey Alexander's renowned concept of cultural performance, Eyerman emphasises the movement of "bodies, minds, and emotions" that occurs during performances.²²⁷ He describes how processes of collective identification develop through the

²²¹ Taylor and Van Dyke, "Get Up," 263.

²²² Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, 93-99.

²²³ Robert D. Benford and Scott A. Hunt, "Dramaturgy and Social Movements: The Social Construction and Communication of Power," *Sociological Inquiry* 62, no. 1 (February 1992): 36-55, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.1992.tb00182.x>.

²²⁴ Jesus Casquete, "The Power of Demonstrations," *Social Movement Studies* 5, no. 1 (May 2006): 47, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742830600621183>.

²²⁵ Jeffrey S. Juris, "Performing Politics: Image, Embodiment, and Affective Solidarity during Anti-Corporate Globalization Protests," *Ethnography* 9, no. 1 (March 2008): 61-97, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138108088949>; Hank Johnston, "Protest Cultures: Performance, Artifacts, and Ideations," in *Culture, Social Movements, and Protest*, ed. Hank Johnston (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 3-29.

²²⁶ Ronald Eyerman, "Performing Opposition or, How Social Movements Move," in *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics and Ritual*, eds. Bernhard Giesen, Jason Mast, and Jeffrey Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 193.

²²⁷ Eyerman, "Performing," 194.

performance of opposition, which refers to “a political performance which involves representation in dramatic form.”²²⁸ For Eyerman, performance is public, “as it requires an audience which is addressed and must be moved.”²²⁹ Eyerman’s notion of protest as a performance is one of the core elements of the analytical frame utilised in this thesis. It will be returned to in Chapter 5.

2.4 Return to Social Psychology

As the cultural turn opened up the academic floor to new perspectives on social movement, the return of social psychological theories was imminent. In 1984, social psychologist Bert Klandermans noted that in their rejection of grievances as a central explanatory factor of mobilisation, proponents of RMT “had thrown the baby out with the bathwater.”²³⁰ In his article, Klandermans argued for the reincorporation of grievances into social movement theory. He founded his argument on the work of other notable scholars of social psychology that had presented theories on grievances in the 1960s and 1970s while simultaneously addressing some of the criticism aimed at them.²³¹ Klandermans posited that while grievances and ideology alone were unable to explain the emergence of social movements, they nevertheless informed individuals’ protest participation decisions.²³² This led to a revival of grievances in theories regarding protest supplemented by an examination of structural and cultural elements. Following his landmark publication, Klandermans devoted the subsequent decennia to the exploration of protest participations motives and the

²²⁸ Ibid., 193.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Jacquelin van Stekelenburg and Bert Klandermans, “Individuals in Movements: A Social Psychology of Contention,” in *Handbook of Social Movements across Disciplines*, eds. Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband (Springer: Boston, MA), 106.

²³¹ E.g. Leonard Berkowitz, “Frustrations, Comparisons, and Other Sources of Emotion Aroused as Contributors to Social Unrest,” *Journal of Social Issues* 28, no. 1 (Winter 1972): 77–92, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1972.tb00005.x>; Walter Garrison Runciman, *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice*, (London: Routledge, 1966).

²³² Klandermans, “Mobilization and Participation,” 584.

development of a social psychology of protest.²³³ He was joined by a number of scholars that researched the interaction between individuals' feeling and attitudes and their participation in collective action.²³⁴

In social movement research, social psychology scholars examine the influence of social context on protest participation on an individual level. In their research, they employ cultural, political and economic concepts to gain a deeper understanding of human behaviour. Rather than focusing on the structures of collective action or its objectives, social psychological approaches predominantly inquire about the antecedents of protest.²³⁵ Researchers from this branch of social movement theory generally seek to operationalise and integrate various elements of social movements into models and theories in order to explore humans' psychological processes.²³⁶ Their objective is to comprehend people's "cognitions, motivations and emotions" by acquiring information on their perceptions and interpretations.²³⁷

Social psychological theories strive to explain not only why individuals engage in social movement, but also why others refrain from it.²³⁸ As a result, they critique the Political Process Approach for its inability to account for behavioural differences among individuals

²³³ E.g. in Bert Klandermans, *The Social Psychology Of Protest* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997).

²³⁴ See, for example, Tom R. Tyler and Heather J. Smith, "Social Justice and Social Movements," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, 4th ed., eds. Susan T. Fiske, Daniel T. Gilbert, and Gardner Lindzey (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1995), 595–629; Jacquélien van Stekelenburg, "Promoting or Preventing Social Change: Ideology and Group-Based Anger as Motives of Protest Participation," (PhD. diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2006); Caroline Kelly and John Kelly, "Who Gets Involved in Collective Action? Social Psychological Determinants of Individual Participation in Trade Unions," *Human Relations* 47, no. 1 (Jan. 1994): 63-88, <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872679404700104>; Bernd Simon, Michael Loewy, Stefan Stürmer, Ulrike Weber, Peter Freytag, Corinna Habig, Claudia Kampmeier, and Peter Spahlinger, "Collective Identification and Social Movement Participation," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74, no. 3 (March 1998): 646-658, <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.74.3.646>; Stephen C. Wright, Donald M. Taylor, Fathali M. Moghaddam, "Responding to Membership in a Disadvantaged Group: from Acceptance to Collective Protest," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 58, no. 6 (June 1990): 994-1003, <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.58.6.994>.

²³⁵ Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, "Individuals," 103.

²³⁶ For a number of social psychological models on protest, see Jacquélien van Stekelenburg and Bert Klandermans, "The Social Psychology of Protest," *Current Sociology Review* 61, no. 5-6 (March 2013): 886–905, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392113479314>.

²³⁷ Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, "Individuals," 104.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 103.

that navigate the same political context. Contrastingly, a number of social psychological theories incorporate the idea of a cost-benefit analysis as one of the determinants of participation that was popularised by Resource Mobilisation Theory. However, social psychologists emphasise that this decision-making process is informed by cultural elements like feelings, beliefs and expectations.²³⁹

To adherents of social psychology, collective identity is fundamental to social movement; to act collectively, individuals must adopt some form of group identity into their social identity.²⁴⁰ When this occurs, thus when individuals consider themselves members of a social group, it impacts their thoughts, feelings and actions.²⁴¹ This process of group identification and the construction of a collective identity is dynamic and interactive. It is also complex; individuals are a member of numerous groups simultaneously and to different extents (e.g. their gender group, their religious affiliation, ethnic group, but also football club).²⁴² However, as professors of social psychology Jacquelin van Stekelenburg and Bert Klandermans note, identifying as a member of a group is not sufficient to engage in collective action.²⁴³ In order to feel motivated to participate in collective action, individuals that share a social identity must also have a shared awareness regarding their grievances. Additionally, a sense of direction regarding who or what caused their grievances is required.²⁴⁴

While collective identity is generally regarded as the underlying condition of protest in social psychology, additional factors that motivate individuals to protest have been identified. According to Klandermans, these can be categorised into three protest participation motives:

²³⁹ Klandermans, "Mobilization and Participation," 583-600.

²⁴⁰ Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, "Individuals," 108.

²⁴¹ Klandermans and Van Stekelenburg, "Individuals," 109; Michael Chan, "Psychological Antecedents and Motivational Models of Collective Action: Examining the Role of Perceived Effectiveness in Political Protest Participation," *Social Movement Studies* 13, no. 3 (October 2015): 306, DOI: [10.1080/14742837.2015.1096192](https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2015.1096192).

²⁴² Bert Klandermans and Marga de Weerd, "Group Identification and Political Protest," in *Self, Identity, and Social Movements*, eds. Sheldon Stryker, Timothy J. Owens, and Robert W. White, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 75.

²⁴³ Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, "Individuals," 109.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.

identity, instrumentality and ideology. In addition, the role of anger has been acknowledged as an important factor that strengthens individuals' willingness to protest.²⁴⁵ In 2011, scholars Jacquelin van Stekelenburg, Bert Klandermans, and Wilco van Dijk created an integrative model to map the elements of protest motivation by drawing from earlier social psychological models.²⁴⁶ This framework guides the exploration of anti-black-Pete protestors' participation in collective action. It will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

2.5 Toward an Integrative Understanding of Protest Participation

Due to their focus on the individual as unit of analysis, proponents of social psychology evade the pitfall of researching “action without actors” that a number of structural theories on social movement, like RMT and PPT, succumb to.²⁴⁷ However, while social psychology researchers recognises that processes of identity construction occur in a specific socio-political context, the theories and analytical methods derived from this academic tradition effectively neglect the setting that creates the motivations for social movement participants. The propensity to engage in large-N research in the social psychology tradition provides a general impression of collective action participation, yet is less suitable to gain a detailed understanding of the matter. Indeed, the ambition to identify overarching social psychological mechanisms requires researchers to sacrifice the context-specific grievances and experiences that inform individuals' participation motives.

²⁴⁵ Martijn van Zomeren, Russell Spears, Agneta H. Fischer, and Colin Wayne Leach, “Put Your Money Where Your Mouth Is! Explaining Collective Action Tendencies Through Group-Based Anger and Group Efficacy,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 87, No. 5 (November 2004): 649-64, DOI:[10.1037/0022-3514.87.5.649](https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.87.5.649).

²⁴⁶ Specifically the determinants of collective behavior model as introduced in Simon et al., “Collective Identification,” 646-658, as well as the integrative social identity model in Martijn van Zomeren, Tom Postmes and Russell Spears, “Toward an Integrative Social Identity Model of Collective Action: a Quantitative Research Synthesis of Three Socio-Psychological Perspectives,” *Psychological Bulletin* 134, no. 4 (January 2008): 521, DOI: [10.1037/0033-2909.134.4.504](https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.134.4.504).

²⁴⁷ Alberto Melucci, *Nomads of the Present, Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989), 18.

In order to develop a thorough account of why people protest, I deem it crucial to explore the psychological drivers of collective action as well as the context in which they are cultivated. In accordance with the cultural tradition, I conceptualise social movement participation as a conscious, meaningful act. In an examination of the meaning of protest, I deem it disadvantageous to create a rigid division between the antecedents, praxis and consequences thereof. Rather, to understand how individuals experience and appraise their involvement in social movement, it is befitting to interpret their participation as an interactive, ongoing process. In this capacity, protestors are active decision-makers that navigate the cultural, social and political context they are embedded in during their movement as they aim to express dissent, influence audiences and foster societal change.

As demonstrated in this literature review, social movement researchers are immersed in a continuous dialogue. While critical of each other's theories and methods in the pursuit of social scientific progress, scholars rarely disregard the work of others in the field. Rather, they choose to creatively incorporate the relevant concepts and analytical tools in their development of innovative theories and methods.²⁴⁸ This, in turn, inspires new generations of social movement scholars to engage with existent and newly developed research elements.

I aim to join this tradition by providing a humble contribution to the rich field of social movement studies with the development of an analytical frame that facilitates the examination of the drivers and experiences of anti-black-Pete protestors in a dynamic setting. This frame is informed by the theories discussed above, specifically Eyerman's notion of the performance of opposition, as well as data derived from qualitative interviews with anti-black-Pete protest participants. As it combines empirical and theoretical concepts, the analytical frame of this thesis will be discussed in Chapter 5.

²⁴⁸ See Klandermans and Staggenborg, "Introduction," ix-xii for an overview of some of the developments of the field.

Chapter 3 Research Methodology

This chapter provides a reflexive account of the academic path I traversed to develop the analytical tools that shape this thesis. It is structured as follows: it begins by presenting the philosophy that is the fundament of this research. The three different phases of my research project – preliminary research, developmental research and focused field research – are subsequently discussed. Following the descriptions of these phases, I introduce the research question that guides this thesis. The final section is devoted to a reflection on my position as a scholar and the ethical considerations that I encountered during this research project.

3.1 Research Philosophy

3.1.1. Ontology and Epistemology

This research examines people's motivations and experiences. It asks why individuals engage in anti-black-Pete protests, what they encounter and what this signifies to them. It does not seek to uncover an objective hidden truth, nor does it aim to provide generalisable statements regarding the nature and meaning of protest. Instead, it illustrates, as honestly as possible, the meaning of the actions of a select group of people engaged in a specific struggle during a limited period of time. The objective of this thesis is to share the knowledge that I found through theoretically informed research, which centres views separate from my own.

The epistemological foundation of this research is symbolic interactionism. The premise thereof is threefold: 1.) "People, individually and collectively, are prepared to act on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them", 2.) "The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellow," 3.) "These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the

person in dealing with the things [they] encounter.”²⁴⁹ Symbolic interactionism thus examines individuals’ meaningful interaction with their physical, cultural and social environment as a continuous and dynamic process.²⁵⁰ Because the objective is to understand the meaning of anti-black-Pete activism for protestors, I deem qualitative methods to be most suitable for my research. A qualitative approach facilitates flexibility, allowing researchers to expand or change their research puzzle throughout various stages of research.²⁵¹ This is highly valuable when exploring individuals’ interpretation of their actions and their meanings.²⁵² In this thesis, I utilise data from qualitative interviews, news articles and digital media regarding anti-black-Pete protest to answer the research question.

3.1.2 Grounded Theory

During my research endeavour, I drew on the philosophy of Grounded Theory as presented by Kathy Charmaz in her book *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*.²⁵³ Charmaz, building on the work of “founding fathers” Barney Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, provides guidelines for data collection and analysis and offers a set of principles that underpin a constructivist branch of grounded theory. In this approach, data forms the foundation for the development of theories and analytic frames. It encourages researchers to think creatively about their data and to continuously formulate ideas and theories during the research process.²⁵⁴ Its practitioners gather data predominantly through

²⁴⁹ Herbert Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), 2.

²⁵⁰ Michael J. Carter and Celene Fuller, “Symbols, Meaning, and Action: the Past, Present, and Future of Symbolic Interactionism,” *Current Sociology Review* 64, no. 6 (April 2016): 932, doi: [10.1177/0011392116638396](https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392116638396).

²⁵¹ Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 380-85.

²⁵² For an overview of the general hallmarks of qualitative research, see Catherine Marshall and Gretchen Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*, 6th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2016), 2.

²⁵³ Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory: a Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis* (London: Sage, 2006), 1-10.

²⁵⁴ Nollaig Frost, *Practising Research: Why You’re Always Part of the Research Process Even When You Think You’re Not* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 63.

observations and interactions. They aim to understand their research participants in the context of their lives to interpret their actions and statements.²⁵⁵

Grounded theory is thus a dynamic research method that promotes flexibility and data collection from the inception of the research endeavour. An important element of grounded theory is open coding.²⁵⁶ Researchers that engage in grounded theory centre empirical data, however, they often utilise sensitising concepts after reviewing academic work to facilitate their analytical process.²⁵⁷ Grounded theory can be employed in conjunction with other data analysis methods.²⁵⁸ It allowed me to start with a broad research interest, and to move back and forth between empirical data to discern patterns and potential linkages to academic theory. To provide insight into my data collection and analysis process, I have identified three research phases: preliminary research, interviewing and coding. Each phase is discussed below. It must be noted, however, that the differentiation of the phases is somewhat artificial; in reality, much of the efforts occurred simultaneously or had considerable overlap.²⁵⁹

3.2 Research Phases

3.2.1 Preliminary Research

The orientation phase of my research commenced in October 2020, as I began reading digital content that Kick Out Zwarte Piet posted on social media, particularly on Instagram and on Facebook. I also examined several renowned theories about social movements in academia.²⁶⁰ In November, I moved my exploratory endeavours from the online sphere to the

²⁵⁵ Charmaz, *Constructing*, 3.

²⁵⁶ Svend Brinkmann, *Qualitative Interviewing: Understanding Qualitative Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 62.

²⁵⁷ Alice Mattoni, “The Potentials of Grounded Theory in the Study of Social Movements,” in *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research*, ed. Donatella della Porta (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 22.

²⁵⁸ Charmaz, *Constructing*, 10.

²⁵⁹ This is a common feature of qualitative research, particularly when researchers engage in interviewing. This is also noted by Brinkmann, *Qualitative Interviewing*, 46.

²⁶⁰ Demmers’ discussion on theories of mobilisation was a major guide during my search, specifically the theories laid out in chapter four, see Demmers, *Theories*, 84-106.

physical world. I attended protests that KOZP organised in Breda on November 14 and in Venlo on November 21, during which I wrote down some of my observations. The experience solidified my decision to research the experience of anti-black-Pete protestors.

Subsequently, I began to map the actors involved in anti-black-Pete activism by reviewing newspaper articles and continuing my social media research. I utilised digital archive Nexis Uni to peruse articles from national and local newspapers. I searched for articles with the key words “zwarte piet” and “protest” that were published between 12 November 2011 (the date of the first protest) and 31 December 2020. This provided me with 2881 articles about activism against black Pete, from which I constructed a chronological list of articles. A filtered version of this list is presented in Appendix 2.²⁶¹

The articles allowed me to document names of activists that were mentioned in the newspapers and to register instances of violence described in the reports. I also utilised this list to build a preliminary catalogue of anti-black-Pete protest events. However, this proved rather complicated due to the large amount of anti-black-Pete groups and collectives. This muddled the boundaries of my initial research as I struggled to discern between the individuals that consider themselves to be members of KOZP, and those that simply identify as anti-black-Pete protestors. Moreover, I hypothesised that there may have been protests against black Pete that were not discussed in the newspapers.²⁶²

As I reviewed the academic work concerning anti-black-Pete activism, I found that the amount of scholars that examined the physical acts of the individuals that oppose black Pete was limited. Fortunately, ample academic literature regarding general motivations and the act

²⁶¹ I excluded some articles that I deemed irrelevant. I selected the articles based on 4 criteria: 1.) the content of the article must be related to anti-black-Pete protest, 2.) the article must be written in Dutch and 3.) the protest must be located in the Netherlands, 4.) any reprinted articles would be excluded. This left me with 663 newspaper articles.

²⁶² This was confirmed by respondent Betül at a later stage, who mentioned a number of protest activities I had not encountered in the news articles I explored during the preliminary research phase. Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021.

of protest exists. My initial research interest lie in the juxtaposition between physical non-violent opposition against black Pete and the violent response that protestors encountered, thus I drew on theories of non-violent action, emotions, performance and protest participation motives to design my research puzzle.

3.2.2 Interviewing

In order to highlight the perspectives of anti-black-Pete protest participants, I selected individual semi-structured interviews as the principal data collection method of my research.²⁶³ Semi-structured interviews are highly suitable to inquire about individual's lived experiences, as they provide space for nuances and to centre human agency.²⁶⁴ This method is thus frequently employed by scholars that are engaged in social movement research. Semi-structured interviews allow for interpersonal contact between the researcher and the participant and facilitates an in-depth discussion regarding specific topics of importance to the researcher, while simultaneously providing space for participants to go 'off-script' to discuss matters they deem relevant.²⁶⁵ The high level of privacy during one-on-one conversations may provide participants with a higher feeling of security allowing them to share their personal stories more comfortably. The semi-structured format is particularly appropriate when researching social movement actors, as they "capture the emotional and affective dimensions of movements."²⁶⁶

²⁶³ Some of the authors I would like to acknowledge here that aided me in my decision-making journey to semi-structured interviews were Kathleen Blee, "Interviewing Activists," in *the Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social & Political Movements. Volume 2: F-Pe*, eds. David A. Snow et al. (West-Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 623-26; Brinkmann, *Qualitative Interviewing*; Bryman, *Social Research Methods*; Donatella della Porta, "In-Depth Interviews," in *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research*, ed. Donatella della Porta (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 228-61; Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, 4th ed. (Oxford: SAGE, 2017).

²⁶⁴ Kathleen Blee and Verta Taylor, "Semi-Structured Interviewing in Social Movement Research," in *Methods of Social Movement Research*, eds. Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 94-95; Frost, *Practising Research*, 47.

²⁶⁵ The following is a summary of points brought forward by Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 471; Brinkmann, *Qualitative Interviewing*, 21-5 and Blee, "Interviewing," 623.

²⁶⁶ Blee, "Interviewing," 623.

The decision to engage in semi-structured interviews was not taken lightly by me. I informed myself about the potential value of qualitative interviewing following a thorough review of the literature, discussions with my thesis supervisor and personal reflection regarding my research aims. While developing a methodology for the semi-structured interviews, I was inspired by scholars Hanna Kallio, Anna-Maija Pietilä, Martin Johnson and Mari Kangasniemi. Kallio et al. systemically reviewed academic work on qualitative semi-structured interviews in order to develop a methodological framework.²⁶⁷ By providing a model, Kallio et al. aim to increase the trustworthiness and plausibility of research that incorporates semi-structured interviews. I utilised their method to guide my interviewing process. It consists of five steps: “(1) identifying the prerequisites for using semi-structured interviews; (2) retrieving and using previous knowledge; (3) formulating the preliminary semi-structured interview guide; (4) pilot testing the interview guide; and (5) presenting the complete semi-structured interview guide.”²⁶⁸

The first and second step had been completed during the preliminary research phase.²⁶⁹ I had reviewed literature on qualitative research methods to inform my research design, academic work on black Pete and racism in the Netherlands to gain a deeper understanding of the empirical subject matter, and literature on social movement to specify my research focus and to prepare an interview guide. As noted, I had also reviewed various newspaper articles and social media posts to gain insight into major protest events and to identify potential respondents. At this stage, I consciously adopted a grounded theory approach.

²⁶⁷ Kallio et al., “Systematic Methodological Review: Developing a Framework for a Qualitative Semi-Structured Interview Guide,” *Journal Of Advanced Nursing* 72, no. 12 (May 2016): 2954-65, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jan.13031>.

²⁶⁸ Kallio et al., “Systematic,” 2959.

²⁶⁹ When retrieving previous knowledge, Kallio et al. suggest consulting experts about the study phenomenon. I chose to incorporate this advice at a later stage when I had already conducted some interviews in order to ask more specific questions and to confer about my initial data.

The subsequent step was to create a “preliminary semi-structured interview guide” consisting of questions that touch upon the main themes as well as follow-up questions.²⁷⁰ Kallio et al. provide concrete guidelines regarding the nature of the questions, many of which are generally agreed upon in qualitative researching: questions must be participant-oriented, open-ended, not leading, and comprehensible.²⁷¹ This corresponds to a receptive interviewing technique, a form of inquiry in which participants are empowered to have significant control in how they answer the questions.²⁷² I deemed this method most suitable for my research objectives. It is also closely aligned with my ethical stance.²⁷³ In addition to the thematic and follow-up questions, I incorporated a ‘free space’ for interviewees to share any experiences that they felt were particularly notable or meaningful.

As I prepared the interview guide, I reflected on my data sources and sampling strategy. Rather than constructing a representational sample, I followed Charmaz by engaging in theoretical sampling. This a non-probability sampling method that seeks “seeking and collecting pertinent data to elaborate and refine categories in your emerging theory.”²⁷⁴ It is a strategic form of sampling that encourages researchers to identify data sources that allow the researcher to check theoretical explanations, discover variation and specify the meaning of one’s theoretical categories.²⁷⁵ Striving to collect varied empirical material, I aimed to approach a diverse group of respondents. I formulated a quota target list to guide my search. I have included it below.

²⁷⁰ Kallio et al., “Systematic,” 2959.

²⁷¹ Kallio et al., “Systematic,” 2960; Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 473.

²⁷² Brinkmann, *Qualitative Interviewing*, 31.

²⁷³ I reflect on my ethical stance in Section 3.4.

²⁷⁴ Charmaz, *Constructing*, 96.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 99-123.

Quota Target List

Total sample size = 25 interviewees

To include:

1. All interviewees must have attended at least 1 protest
2. At least 5 interviewees have attended a 'recent' protest; 2017-2018-2019-2020
3. At least 5 interviewees have been arrested during a protest
4. At least 5 interviewees are aged 20 - 29
5. At least 3 interviewees are older than 40 years old
6. At least 8 interviewees are men
7. At least 5 interviewees have actively been involved in the organisation of a protest

I interviewed 25 respondents, of which 7 men, 17 women, and one non-binary person. Their ages spanned from 20 years old to 51 years old. 11 respondents identified as Black, 9 respondents identified as White and 5 respondents identified as mixed, People of Colour, or chose not to identify with a racial category. The respondents have various educational backgrounds, although the majority is educated at universities of applied science.²⁷⁶

As much of anti-black-Pete activism is announced on Instagram, I utilised this platform to reach out to potential respondents. I created an Instagram post in which I called for respondents. I invited potential interviewees to send me a private message via Instagram or to send an email to my university account. There were three individuals in my social network that responded to my appeal. In addition, a number of respondents approached me after my Instagram post was shared by the Instagram account of *Stichting Nederland Wordt Beter* (NLWB).²⁷⁷ Indeed, this organisation, which co-founded KOZP, was crucial in connecting me with respondents. I subsequently employed snowball sampling to contact additional potential interviewees.

²⁷⁶ In Appendix 1, I provide additional information on the demographic features of the respondents.

²⁷⁷ [Non-profit Foundation The Netherlands Is Getting Better]. "Organisatie," *Nederland Wordt Beter*, Accessed 9 March 2021, <https://nederlandwordtbeter.nl/organisatie/>.

Following Allio et al., I tested the interview guide by asking an expert (dr. Luuk Slooter) to review my work. After the incorporation of his feedback, I implemented a field test. I selected the first respondent to interview, which was a personal acquaintance that had been present at a protest in 2019. During the interview, I swiftly realised that my questions did not sufficiently produce the data that I was after, which required improvisation during the conversation. After concluding the interview, I revised my questions. Throughout the research process, I periodically returned to the guide to make adjustments where relevant, i.e. to focus on certain themes or to more accurately reflect the experiences of respondents.

The final step in the semi-structured interview methodology from Kallio et al. is to publish the complete interview guide in order to be assessed and utilised by fellow researchers.²⁷⁸ This increases the transparency and confirmability of the overall study. I included my general interview guide in Appendix 3. However, it must be noted that it is not exhaustive; each interview incorporated follow-up questions specific to the respondents' accounts. These are not published in the guide.

3.2.3 Coding

Between April and June of 2021, I interviewed 25 respondents. After the first six in-depth interviews, I scheduled an intermission to transcribe the interviews and engage in a round of line-by-line open coding. This allowed me to “register detailed observations, break up the data, discover implicit actions and assumptions, signal potential themes and to identify gaps.”²⁷⁹ To synthesise the data and identify patterns, I subsequently engaged in focused coding; I formulated descriptive and interpretive codes for larger sections of text.²⁸⁰ Some of the phenomena described by respondents corresponded with concepts I had previously

²⁷⁸ Kallio et al., “Systematic,” 2962.

²⁷⁹ Charmaz, *Constructing*, 50.

²⁸⁰ Following Charmaz, *Constructing*, 57.

encountered in the academic literature. In these cases, I utilised the academic concepts as codes. In the other instances, I formulated my own codes. In addition, I wrote down central ideas and questions regarding the data on each printed transcript.

After this first round of coding I consulted experts professor Jacquelin van Stekelenburg and professor Bert Klandermans to discuss their knowledge on protest participation motivations. Klandermans and Van Stekelenburg are experts in the field of social psychology, particularly pertaining to social movement. I also approached professor James M. Jasper, a renowned scholar in the cultural field of social movement research. Jasper's expertise concerns the emotions of protest, however, he has also written extensively about other cultural aspects of collective action. The comments, ideas and questions that Jasper, Klandermans and Van Stekelenburg provided sparked new ideas regarding the data I had collected.

Having reviewed the first six transcripts, I was eager to continue gaining insight into the experience of protestors against black Pete during the subsequent interviews. I adjusted my interview guide to facilitate an exploration of some of the potential patterns I discerned after coding. I subsequently conducted ten additional semi-structured interviews, after which I engaged in another round of coding. For this set of interviews, I refrained from line-by-line coding as I had noticed that this time-intensive form of coding predominantly yielded generic, descriptive codes that did not spark my analytical creativity. I found that focused coding provided me with more direction and ideas. As a result, I chose to engage in the latter, which allowed me to examine several intriguing patterns.

Having significantly expanded my data, I was able to make new connections. At this stage, I commenced the axial coding process. During this process, I examined linkages between the various codes and explored how they fit into overarching categories. This was rather challenging. There was no evident way to categorise the codes; I was able to construct

various constellations. I composed 5 categories of codes: pre-protest, performance of protest, emotions, protest objectives, and post-protest. They incorporated the initial codes derived from my sensitising concepts, yet were expanded upon by elements brought forward by the respondents. However, I found that there were some themes that respondents had alluded to during interviews that merited additional research. I had yet to reach a point of saturation; more data was required to fill the gaps in my emergent theories.²⁸¹ I subsequently readjusted the interview guide to hone in on the aspects that required illumination. The successive interviews were coded in sets of three. The data that was derived from the transcripts provided necessary nuance and depth to the established patterns, yet produced no new codes. As a result, I concluded the interviewing process.

After compiling the data, I engaged in theoretical coding. I reread my notes on each interview transcript and constructed a conceptual map of the different codes I had formulated. Following extensive reflection, I reshuffled the data in a manner that made “the most analytic sense”²⁸² to my research which resulted in three categories containing 67 codes, of which 12 codes and 55 sub-codes. The full list of codes and categories is published in Appendix 4. The umbrella categories (protest antecedents, performance of protest, post-protest reflection) comprise the experience of anti-black-Pete protest as described by the respondents. They are the foundation of my research puzzle.

The first category, protest antecedents, serves to describe the conditions under which individuals are moved to protest. It is informed by social psychological concepts of protest participation, expanded upon by the data presented by the respondents. The second category, the performance of protest, incorporates the codes detailing the context in which protests occurs and the actions that protestors engage in. It draws on Eyerman’s notion of performance

²⁸¹ Charmaz explains that saturation occurs “when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of your core theoretical categories” in *Constructing*, 113.

²⁸² Charmaz, *Constructing*, 57

of opposition.²⁸³ The third category, post-protest, centres protestors' reflection on their experience; what was the feeling that they were left with on their way home? Did they achieve their objectives? Would they choose to participate in future protests based on their previous experience? This category thus provides a space for reflection regarding the performance of protest. It also offers some insight into the factors that motivate recurrent protest. The latter is outside the scope of this thesis, however, it is relevant for future research.

3.3 Research Question

To gain insight into the meaning of protest, a research question that accommodates the dynamics of protest participation is required. It must provide space for the nuances of protest; it would have to incorporate the dynamic nature of social movement as well as the decision-making process. Furthermore, it would have to contain a conceptualisation of participation as a continuum. The research question I formulated is:

*What moved individuals that oppose black Pete to participate in the performance of opposition in the realm of contention during the arrival ceremonies of St. Nicholas in the Netherlands between 2014 and 2020?*²⁸⁴

This question incorporates protest experience and drivers. With this research question, I aim to bridge three sub-fields of social movement theory: social psychology, culture and political process theory. The verb 'move' was selected to reflect the dynamic nature of protest. It also references the (cultural) dramaturgical theories on social movement that

²⁸³ Eyerman, "Performing."

²⁸⁴ While the contemporary wave of anti-black-Pete activism began in 2011, I choose to focus on the experiences between 2014 and 2020 as this is when protest organization KOZP was established and protest became increasingly widespread.

produced the concept of protest as a performance.

Following the social psychological branch of social movement as well as my research interest, the question focuses on individual participation. This allows me to closely examine how individual protestors interpret their participation in the social movement against black Pete. In addition, it facilitates a focus on protest participants' personal accounts. Furthermore, it provides an understanding of anti-black-Pete protestors as a constellation of diverse individuals, many of which with ties to an anti-black-Pete collective like KOZP. This is a more accurate representation than to conceptualise all individuals that protest black Pete as members of KOZP.²⁸⁵

In order to answer the research question, I divided it into 4 sub-questions:

- 1.) What are the protest participation motives that drive individuals to engage in the performance of opposition?
- 2.) What are the claims expressed by protest participants during their performance of opposition?
- 3.) How do individuals perform opposition against black Pete?
- 4.) How do anti-black-Pete protest participants navigate the realm of contention?

The first question is explored in Chapter 4. The second, third and fourth questions are examined in Chapter 5.

²⁸⁵ During the interviewing phase, I found that 20 out of 25 respondents did not identify as a member of an anti-black-Pete activism organisation when they began their engagement in anti-black-Pete protest.

3.4 Ethics

In this section, I provide a reflexive account of my position and ethical considerations as a Black researcher whose interest in the movement against black Pete is academic and personal.

I'm standing next to a girl that's so nervous, she's shaking. We met outside the train station. She's startled by each sound. It's her first protest with KOZP. I want to reassure her, but I am also nervous, because there is a large group of people opposite our group. They are yelling at the protestors. There's police in between us and them. We're quite far away from that group, toward the side of the stage, so I can't see how many people there are. I am trying to focus on being present. Burna Boy is playing over the speakers while the organisers are still setting up. I'm enjoying the music. My protest buddy smiles at me through her mask. I realise that I like being here.

Above is an excerpt from notes I took while attending a Kick Out Zwarte Piet protest in Venlo in 2020. KOZP organised four major protests in 2020, in Breda (on November 14), Maastricht (on November 15), Venlo (on November 21) and Eindhoven (on November 22).²⁸⁶ I attended two protests physically and one digitally during the orientation stage of my research.²⁸⁷ I aimed to document my personal experience, as well as anything I deemed interesting to research. On the train to the protest, I informed myself about the ethics of

²⁸⁶ There were various other actions by Kick Out Zwarte Piet, however, some of these were limited to members of KOZP. These four events were publicly announced and open to all individuals interested in protesting against black Pete.

²⁸⁷ I was unable to be physically present at the protest in Maastricht due to illness. However, I watched the official livestream of the Maastricht protest on Facebook. See Maastricht Kan Het, "Live Stream," Facebook Video, 42:38, November 15, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/maastrichtkanhet/videos/3667460573318722>. The fourth protest in Eindhoven was cancelled due to safety concerns, see David van Unen, "Kick Out Zwarte Piet Blaast Demonstratie in Eindhoven af," *NRC*, November 22, 2020, Nexis Uni.

participant observation and participation.²⁸⁸

In order to gain the ‘full experience’ and to avoid standing out, I chose to participate in the protests like I was simply in attendance. When a sign was offered to me, I held it. I listened to the speeches and the music that was played. I clapped when others clapped. I also engaged in conversation with some of the protestors and I agreed to be a participant's protest buddy.²⁸⁹ I disclosed my interest in KOZP as a potential research topic to the individuals I talked to after the protest. During the event, some of the speeches made me emotional. I recognised some of the experiences with racism that participants shared. Initially, I worried I was unfit as a researcher because of this.

However, following Professor Kim V. L. England, I believe research is an intersubjective “process, not just a product.”²⁹⁰ In an article about ethics in social movement research Kevin Gillan and Jenny Pickerill remark that “Our identities ... overlap and intertwine with our research ... Moreover, these identities are dynamic and fluid and thus often co-evolve with our research.”²⁹¹ I would argue that this is one of many elements that make it interesting; no research is neutral. I do not believe I am able to fully separate myself from the research, nor do I desire to treat the people I study as static research objects.²⁹² Instead, I believe that participants take an active role in constructing data in the shared space of a research project.

²⁸⁸ Specifically, I read Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, 139-61 and Marja Swantz, “Participatory Action Research as Practice,” in *The Sage Handbook Of Action Research: Participative Inquiry And Practice*, 2nd ed., eds. Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury-Huang (London: SAGE, 2008), 31-48.

²⁸⁹ KOZP uses a protest buddy system to increase the safety of the protestors.

²⁹⁰ Kim V. L. England, “Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research,” *The Professional Geographer* 46, no. 1 (February 1994): 80-9, DOI:[10.1111/j.0033-0124.1994.00080.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0033-0124.1994.00080.x).

²⁹¹ Kevin Gillan and Jenny Pickerill, “The Difficult and Hopeful Ethics of Research on, and with, Social Movements,” *Social Movement Studies* 11, no. 2 (April 2012): 139, DOI: [10.1080/14742837.2012.664890](https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2012.664890).

²⁹² England, “Getting Personal,” 81-2.

3.4.1 Ethical Considerations

My approach to ethics would be most appropriately described as continuous; I considered the ethical implications of my actions throughout this research project. Evidently, I adhered to the guidelines as prescribed by Utrecht University.²⁹³ In addition, I reviewed a number of ethical guidelines and chose to centre the principle of harm minimisation through informed consent (including the right to withdraw), anonymity and privacy during each act of decision-making.²⁹⁴ Throughout the process (including the writing phase), I aimed to be transparent about my considerations and choices. I also attempted to foresee and deliberate potential ethical dilemmas.

The qualitative interviews constitute the most sensitive aspect of my research. Some of the subject matter, e.g. racism, trauma and police violence, were quite sensitive and potentially stressful for the participants. I sought to provide a protected, comfortable space for interviewees by decreasing the hierarchical relationship between the researcher and the researched.²⁹⁵ The manner in which this was realised was threefold:

- 1.) I became an intern at Nederland Wordt Beter, an educational anti-racism organisation that houses KOZP. I did not receive financial remuneration for my labour during this internship, however, I was compensated for my travel costs to the office in Amsterdam. I provided administrative and organisational support to the non-profit organisation. My responsibilities were separate from the work of KOZP and I assured volunteers that my experiences with them outside of any formal interview settings would not be included in my data gathering process and would not be shared in this thesis or elsewhere. Among a number

²⁹³ “Ethics – Thesis Writing and Field Work - MA Conflict Studies & Human Rights,” *Utrecht University*. Unpublished guidelines, 2021.

²⁹⁴ “Research Ethics Guidance,” *Social Research Association*, February 17, 2021, <https://the-sra.org.uk/common/Uploaded%20files/Resources/SRA%20Research%20Ethics%20guidance%202021.pdf>; “APA Guidelines,” *American Sociological Association Code Of Ethics*, Accessed February 22, 2021, https://www.asanet.org/sites/default/files/asa_code_of_ethics-june2018a.pdf; Hennie Boeijs, *Analysis in Qualitative Research* (London: SAGE, 2010), 45-46.

²⁹⁵ The hierarchical nature of the relationship between the researcher and their object is briefly discussed in Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 491.

of respondents that I encountered during this internship, there was a sense of shared values and reciprocity due to my work for the organisation.²⁹⁶

2.) To gain informed consent, I created an information letter for potential interviewees in which I described the objective of my research as well as the data collection and storage methods. Before and after each interview, I provided an opportunity for respondents to pose questions or concerns about the project.²⁹⁷ I also emphasised that they were not required to answer any questions. This proved valuable, as there were some instances during which respondents expressed discomfort with a question.²⁹⁸ I considered this to be confirmation that I had created a space in which respondents had agency over what they shared and how.

3.) When asked, I volunteered information about myself. This was an important pillar of my transparent approach.²⁹⁹ Unfortunately, this sometimes complicated the interviewing process. For example, before my interview with Imani, a woman that was present at the protest in Breda, I mentioned that I had also attended that demonstration. When I asked her to share how she experienced the event during our interview, she said: “well, yes, you know how that went.”³⁰⁰

3.4.2 Position

During interviews, I swiftly noticed that respondents sometimes assumed that I would effortlessly understand their protest experience, and particularly their experiences with racism due to my own Blackness. I noticed that respondents would consider it unnecessary to explain

²⁹⁶ For a critical discussion of the notion of reciprocity, see Gillan and Pickerill, “The Difficult,” 135-37.

²⁹⁷ While I aimed to properly inform respondents about the research, I want to acknowledge here that there are inherent limits to how adequately I am able to inform all interviewees about my research and its ethics, as also noted by Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, 95.

²⁹⁸ For example, there were several occasions during which respondents expressed hesitance or unwillingness to disclose information that might endanger or harm anti-black-Pete organisations or individuals.

²⁹⁹ I utilise the word transparent with regard to the focus and progress of my research project, however, I upheld the principles of privacy and confidentiality when providing information.

³⁰⁰ [“Nou, ja, hoe dat ging weet je zelf.”] Respondent Imani, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 18, 2021.

certain occurrences. It was evident that due to my position as a Black researcher affiliated with NLWB, the interviewing process warranted particular caution concerning our presupposed shared understanding. I found that it was crucial for me to ask for further clarification numerous times and to recognise and set aside any assumptions I had regarding our potential shared experience. I found this challenging, particularly in the early stages of my research. When I transcribed the first interviews, I was disappointed to find that some of my questions were leading as a result of bias. This complicated the very ambition of my project, which is to provide a distinguished work of research that centres the perspectives of individuals that have engaged in the social movement against black Pete. It forced me to look even more critically at the implicit assumptions embedded in my questions. Yet despite the complications that derived from my position, I believe it was ultimately beneficial to the research as it provided me with a unique perspective.

Chapter 4 Drivers of Anti-black-Pete Protest Participation

This chapter maps the drivers of social movement participation for individuals that engage in anti-black-Pete protest. The antecedents of protest are a topic of interest for numerous social movement scholars, some of which were discussed in Chapter 2. However, research on individuals' protest motives are predominantly explored in the realm of social psychology. Accordingly, this chapter's discussion of anti-black-Pete protest drivers is guided by a framework derived from this field. It begins with the introduction of the aforementioned social psychological model. It subsequently explores the application of this model to the case of black-Pete-opposition. This is followed by the introduction of a revised model, as well as a discussion of some of the elements that comprise protest participation among the respondents. These include general motives as well as specific catalysts. The chapter concludes with a brief reflection on the drivers of anti-black-Pete protest engagement. As a result, I provide an answer to the sub-question: *what are the protest participation motives that drive individuals to engage in the performance of opposition against black Pete?*

4.1 Integrative Framework of Protest Participation

In a 2011 article, social psychology researchers Jacquelin van Stekelenburg, Bert Klandermans and Wilco van Dijk introduced an integrative framework to map the motivational dynamics of protest participation.³⁰¹ The model is one of numerous contributions Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk made in an academic debate regarding protest motivations. In their article, the researchers combined prevalent movement participation motives from previous social psychology research with the motive ideology, supplemented by the notion of emotion. With the assistance of the integrative framework, Van Stekelenburg,

³⁰¹ Jacquelin van Stekelenburg, Bert Klandermans, and Wilco W. van Dijk, "Combining Motivations and Emotion: the Motivational Dynamics of Collective Action Participation," *Revista de Psicologia Social* 26, no.1 (January 2011): 91-104, <https://doi.org/10.1174/021347411794078426>.

Klandermans and Van Dijk sought to synthesise participation motives identity, instrumentality and ideology with the notion of group-based anger. This would allow them to grasp the dynamics of protest and to predict participation intentions. Their model comprises three pathways, which are discussed in turn.

1.) Identity. **Identity** refers to an individual's identification with a social category (or group), and/or their identification with the movement organisation.³⁰² In various social movements organisations, this identity is politicised because the group is “situated explicitly in a context of power struggle and social change.”³⁰³ According to numerous social movement scholars, identity is a strong predictor of protest participation. They reason that “the stronger one’s identification with a social category, the stronger one’s motivation to participate in collective action on behalf of that category.”³⁰⁴ As noted in Chapter 2, identity is the fundament for a number of social psychological theories concerning collective action participation.

2.) Instrumentality. The notion of **instrumentality** was developed during the resource mobilisation paradigm. It concerns grievances regarding “the deprived situation of the group” and efficacy or the belief that movement participation can influence the social and political environment.³⁰⁵ It incorporates a cost-benefit analysis for the individual, in which the appraised cost of protest participation is weighed against the estimated probability of enacting change for the group.³⁰⁶

3.) Ideology. **Ideology** is concerned with values. An ideological motivation stems from the perception that a group's values have been violated and the desire to express one's

³⁰² Van Stekelenburg et al., “Combining,” 94.

³⁰³ Stefan Stürmer and Bernd Simon, “The Role of Collective Identification in Social Movement Participation: A Panel Study in the Context of the German Gay Movement,” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 30, no. 1 (March 2004): 265, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167203256690>.

³⁰⁴ Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk, “Combining,” 93.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 124; Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, “Individuals.”

indignation about this.³⁰⁷ Values are defined as “matters about which people have strong feelings”³⁰⁸; they are “standards employed to tell us which beliefs, attitudes, values, and actions of others are worth challenging, protesting, and arguing about, or worth trying to influence or change.”³⁰⁹

In addition to the three pathways, Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk identified group-based anger as an element that impacts protest participation motivation. **Group-based anger** is an emotion that is felt on behalf of the group in response to a perceived unjust situation. It is the result of an appraisal of a collective disadvantage as illegitimate, sparking feelings of anger.³¹⁰ This is reinforced if the issue is also socially recognised by other members of the group. Anger, like other protest emotions, is a complicated concept that evades concrete characterisation. In much work on emotions, it is not defined beyond a ‘strong feeling’. In their model, no concrete definition for the notion of anger is provided, although it is recognised that it is feeling and that there are several ‘shades’ of anger.³¹¹

Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk’s model is intended to assess the relative weight of these four motivational factors. The objective of this model, thus, is to map the drivers of protest participation in order to analyse how these factors increase the likelihood of an individual to engage in a protest. According to the scholars, the elements identity, instrumentality, ideology and group-based anger contribute directly and indirectly to an individual's motivation to protest.³¹² Group identification is established as the integrative

³⁰⁷ In later publications of Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk's model, the word ideological is replaced by expressive. See, for example, Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, “Individuals,” 124. This is due to a linguistic shift in academia. In practice, the two concepts as utilised by Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk are highly similar. I choose to use ideology rather than expressive here to focus on the notion of values, and because I believe all pathways have expressive elements.

³⁰⁸ Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, “Individuals,” 124.

³⁰⁹ Milton Rokeach, *The Nature of Human Values* (New York: Free Press, 1973), 13 (quoted in Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk, “Combining,” 94).

³¹⁰ Van Zomeren et al., “Put Your,” 650.

³¹¹ Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk, “Combining,” 102.

³¹² Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk, “Combining,” 100-3.

mechanism of the model. It is this aspect that unifies and enhances the other motivational routes.³¹³ This, because an individual that identifies with their group shares their grievances. This person chooses to act in order to express their indignation at the challenged principles of the group (i.e. for ideological reasons) or due to the belief that their action will spark change (i.e. for instrumental reasons). Anger works as a strengthening factor in this model; shared conceptions about the group's position, challenges and grievances instigate feelings of anger, which subsequently amplifies an individual's willingness to participate in protest.³¹⁴

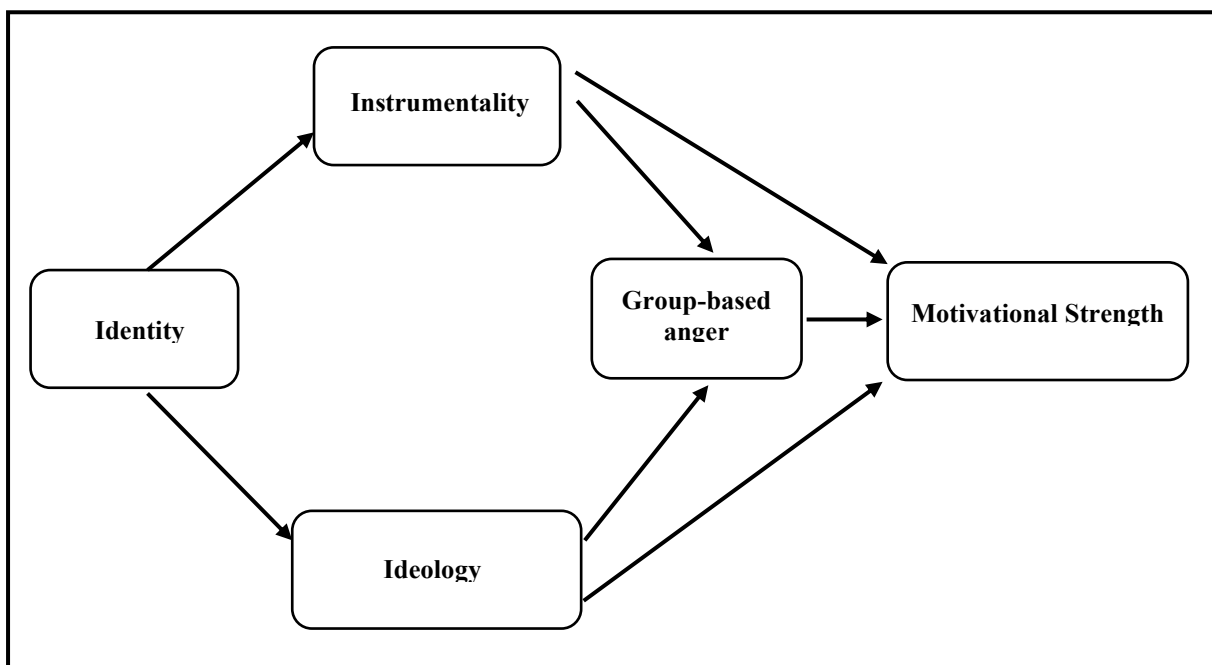


Figure 1. Integrative Model Accounting for Protest Motivation.³¹⁵

³¹³ Ibid., 94.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 95.

³¹⁵ Authors' representation of the social psychological model in *ibid.*, 94.

4.2 Applying the Integrative Framework to Anti-Black-Pete Protestors

In their article, Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk note that the motivational constellation of protest participation likely differs between demonstrations.³¹⁶ They encourage fellow researchers to apply their model on other social movements.³¹⁷ In response to their invitation, I utilised the three pathways as described above to structure my examination of the protest motivations of anti-black-Pete activists. There are, however, several notable differences between the original model and my application that require elaboration.

First, the integrative framework that Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk developed aims to measure the strength of an individual's motivation. This is not what the objective of this research is. If motivation is "the desire to achieve a goal, combined with the energy to work towards that goal,"³¹⁸ I endeavour to contextualise the drivers of this desire in order to gain an understanding of anti-black-Pete protest participation. Therefore I elect not to employ the framework itself, but rather the elements it entails, to investigate the motives of anti-black-Pete protesters.

The second point of consideration concerns the divergent contexts of social movement that Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk and I explore. The former developed their model by examining the participation motives of individuals that went to one specific protest event. Contrastingly, the participants that are central to this research are embedded in a cyclical social movement context.³¹⁹ The protests against black Pete occur yearly during the period of St. Nicholas celebration.³²⁰ Thus every year, individuals are presented with the

³¹⁶ Ibid., 103.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 102-103.

³¹⁸ Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, "Individuals," 122.

³¹⁹ This was also remarked by Jacquélien van Stekelenburg during a conversation with the author, *Microsoft Teams*, May 20, 2021.

³²⁰ There are some exceptions, e.g. the protest against Swarte Pyt in Grou, Friesland. However, the majority of physical demonstrations occurs during the *Sinterklaas* period, with a focus on the arrival ceremony.

opportunity to participate in or refrain from physical opposition. This requires an examination of the factors that work as a catalyst for the protestors to enter the physical realm of social movement in addition to the underlying motivations.³²¹

Finally, I conceptualise emotions as “thinking-feeling processes” following Jasper, or “ways of understanding our situation in the world and what to do about it.”³²² I posit that emotions underlie many of the important cognitive processes distinguished by social movement research; they saturate social life.³²³ As a result, I depart from Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk by electing not to treat anger as a separate category. Instead, I will identify emotions during my discussion of protest participation motives where relevant.

4.2.1 Restructuring the Integrative Framework

As I applied the integrative model to the context of the social movement against black Pete, it swiftly became evident that the integrative framework was not commensurable with the protestors’ accounts of participation. A restructuring of the elements that constitute motivation was required. As a result, I have reconstructed the social psychological model to suit the experiences of the respondents. The four factors I identified as motivations for protest against black Pete are ideology, group identity, solidarity, and instrumentality. Moreover, it can be argued that ideology, rather than group identity, is the integrative mechanism of anti-black-Pete protest participation. Additionally, the notion of moral shock replaces anger as an amplifying factor in this model. Below, I elaborate on this argument through a discussion of these five aspects and the different elements they entail.

³²¹ I choose to use the word ‘physical’ here to recognise the respondents that were previously engaged in anti-black-Pete protest in the online sphere.

³²² James M. Jasper, *The Emotions*, 13.

³²³ James M. Jasper, “The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions in and around Social Movements,” *Sociological Forum* 13, no. 3 (September 1998): 398, <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1022175308081>.

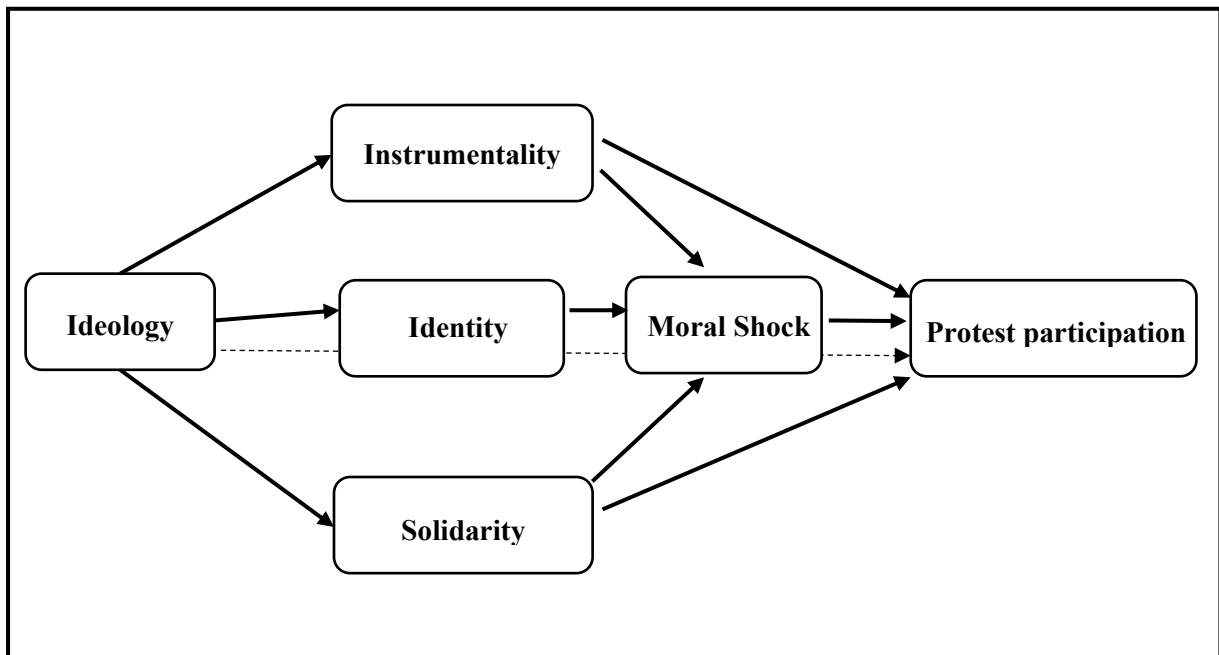


Figure 2. Schematic representation of participation drivers among anti-black-Pete protestors³²⁴

4.3 Protest Participation Drivers

4.3.1 Ideology

People are ideologically motivated to engage in protest when they participate to express their dismay with a particular state of affairs.³²⁵ This is directly related to their values; when individuals ascertain that their values were violated, they are compelled to act: “when injustice happens, you must stand up and say: this is not okay.”³²⁶ Out of the 25 individuals that were interviewed, 24 participants cited a strong ideological belief as a reason to participate in protest against black Pete. The protestors shared the conviction that racism is

³²⁴ Author’s image.

³²⁵ Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, “Individuals,” 122-23.

³²⁶ [Wanneer er onrecht gebeurt moet je opstaan en zeggen: dit kan niet.]. Respondent Merel, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 9, 2021.

morally reprehensible, that black Pete is a symbol of racism and that this figure should therefore be abolished: “they say it's a children's party but if you look at it, it's just racist and people get teased. ... And then people say: OK, yes, it's about a children's party, but *zwarte piet* is still used as a kind of slur to hurt people.”³²⁷

Among those interviewed, the reasoning for their opposition appeared to be two-fold; while some of the respondents emphasised the pain that exists among some Black individuals due to comparisons made between them and the figure, like Asha in the quote above, others emphasised its broader context of racism as a societal injustice. For Julia, protesting “ties in with the anti-racism work I do.”³²⁸ Similarly, Huey reasoned: “We are going to denormalise racism and we do this by abolishing black Pete.”³²⁹ Indeed, the notion that the social movement against black Pete has larger implications for Dutch society was expressed by all respondents.

4.3.2 Group Identity

True to the social psychological tradition, Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk point to collective identity processes as the fundament of protest participation; people protest in order to improve the position of their group. In the case of anti-black-Pete activism, the group that aims to improve their conditions is the Black, or the Afro-Dutch, community. Its importance to the emergence of the social movement against black Pete cannot be understated. As discussed in Chapter 1, members of the afro-Dutch (and particularly the Surinamese) community were the driving force behind the opposition of black Pete during the 1980s-1990s, particularly in the organisation of the first known public demonstrations and

³²⁷ [ze zeggen, het is wel een kinderfeest maar als je ernaar kijkt, het is gewoon racistisch en mensen worden geplaagd. ... En dan gaan mensen zeggen van: oké, ja, het gaat om een kinderfeestje maar alsnog wordt zwarte Piet gebruikt als soort van een slur om mensen te kwetsen.] Respondent Asha, interview by author, The Hague, April 11, 2021.

³²⁸ [sluit aan bij het anti-racisme werk dat ik doe.] Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

³²⁹ [Wij gaan racisme denormaliseren en dat doen we door zwarte piet af te schaffen.] Respondent Huey, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

flyer actions. Indeed, in the 1990s, the name of protest group *Zwarte Piet Is Zwart Verdriet*³³⁰ directly referenced the grievances of the Black community.

The twenty-first century wave of anti-black-Pete protest was also spurred by Black individuals, following decennia of intra-community criticism against the figure.³³¹ It was a long-term sense of frustration with the existence of black Pete and an eagerness to spark a societal dialogue regarding the figure's colonial origins that motivated Gario and Afriyie to attend the St. Nicholas arrival ceremony in 2011.³³² Additionally, the pejorative use of the term 'black Pete' that occurred toward family members of the two men, supplemented by their own experiences with racism, strengthened their decision.³³³

As previously noted, the importance of group identity among protestors is generally emphasised among social psychologists. It is thus perhaps unsurprising that every Black respondent mentioned their affiliation with the Black community as a reason to engage in protest.³³⁴ Their conceptualisation of the group pertains to a shared history in which racism is a central experience. For Black respondents, their grievances are an important driver of their protest participation.

4.3.2.1 Black Grievances

A major point of grief among Black respondents is their experience of being called black Pete. This often occurs from an early age. Huey, a Black man raised outside of the

³³⁰ [Black Pete Is Black Grief].

³³¹ Respondent Jamal, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 20, 2021; Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021.

³³² Patrick Meershoek, "Zwarte Piet verpest voor velen het feest," *Het Parool*, November 15, 2011, Nexis Uni.

³³³ Bahara, "Kijk Maar."

³³⁴ Respondent Asha, interview by author, The Hague, April 11, 2021; Respondent Leidira, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 7, 2021; Respondent Gregory, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 12, 2021; Respondent Imani, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 18, 2021; Respondent Nia, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 18, 2021; Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021; Respondent Amaya, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021; Respondent Douglas, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 28, 2021; Respondent Earl, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021; Respondent Azara, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 1, 2021.

Netherlands, was called black Pete before he knew what it referred to. He explains: “[a]fter I knew it was a clownish show of a costume party and that all of us, all the kids in the street, were laughing at that clown, you knew: okay, that's something you definitely don't want to be. It's nice to look at and laugh, but then I found out that people apparently thought I was that black Pete.”³³⁵ He recalled how the insult was used against him during arguments, which cemented the idea that black Pete was meant as a mockery to its Black recipient.

For Black protestors, the celebration of the blackface character during a popular Dutch holiday fits into a pattern of anti-black racism that they are confronted with in the Netherlands.³³⁶ By protesting against the figure, they oppose this state of affairs. In their perception, the relationship between black Pete and a white St. Nicholas represents a power imbalance between Black and White people in the Netherlands. For Asha, the oppression of Black Dutch citizens and the existence of black Pete “go hand in hand ... if you look at such a party, when I look at *zwarte Piet*, I wonder why is *zwarte Piet* the helper and does he not sit on the horse? That already gives a second-class feeling.”³³⁷

An important objective for the Black respondents that engage in protest against black Pete is to improve the conditions of their group.³³⁸ They express a sense of duty to the Black community. Like Earl, who stated: “[i]t’s not just that you [protest] for your children and your offspring, but also for your elders.”¹⁵ For him, protest against black Pete is thus conceptualised as a means to not only redress the position of Black individuals in the

³³⁵ [nadat ik wist dat het ging om een clowneske vertoning van een verkleedpartij en dat wij met zijn allen, en alle kinderen in de straat, die clown aan het uitlachen waren, wist je van: oké, dat is iets dat je sowieso niet wil zijn. Het is wel leuk om naar te kijken en te lachen, maar daarna kwam ik erachter dat er mensen blijkbaar vonden dat ik die zwarte piet was.] Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021.

³³⁶ See n³³⁴.

³³⁷ [gaat hand in hand. ... Als tweederangsburger, als je kijkt naar zo'n feest, maar meer in de zin van hoezo, als ik kijk naar zwarte Piet, van hoezo is, zeg maar zwarte Piet de helper en zit niet op de paard. Dat geeft al een gevoel van tweederang.] Respondent Asha, interview by author, The Hague, April 11, 2021.

³³⁸ Respondent Gregory, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 12, 2021; Respondent Imani, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 18, 2021; Respondent Nia, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 18, 2021; Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021; Respondent Amaya, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021; Respondent Earl, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021; Respondent Azara, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 1, 2021.

Netherlands, but also to call attention to the historic wrongdoings against the Black community: “[i]t is simply important that it is recognised that the Netherlands has made very big mistakes, has created a lot of black pages.”³³⁹

4.3.3 Solidarity

In addition to the protestors against that classify themselves as pertaining to the Afro-Dutch community, there are also a number of participants that identify with a different racial category. White protestors and protestors that identified as People of Colour³⁴⁰ share the ideological conviction that Black respondents shared, however, there are other factors that motivate their decision to participate in protest. In addition to their ideological conviction, non-Black individuals described their protest as an expression of solidarity with the Black community.³⁴¹ While their motivation does not stem from grievances pertaining to anti-Black racism, the protestors nevertheless recognised the unequal position of Black individuals in the Netherlands as an important motivator for protest. I use the term solidarity to describe the ways in which people who do not pertain to the Black community, yet who nevertheless commit themselves to improving the position of this community, protest. Solidarity refers to

³³⁹ [Het is gewoon belangrijk dat er erkend wordt dat Nederland hele grote fouten heeft gemaakt, heel veel zwarte bladzijden heeft gecreeërd.] Respondent Earl, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021.

³⁴⁰ People of Colour, or POC, is a term that refers to racial and ethnic minority groups. It is considered to be a blanket term that covers all the individuals outside of the White racial category. The term has been the subject of some criticism. See, for example, Anita Kalunta-Crumpton, “The Inclusion of the Term ‘Color’ in Any Racial Label Is Racist, Is It Not?,” *Ethnicities* 20, no. 1 (February 2020): 115-135, doi:[10.1177/1468796819884675](https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796819884675); Janani, “What’s Wrong With the Term ‘Person of Color’,” *Black Girl Dangerous*, March 20, 2013, <http://www.blackgirldangerous.org/2013/03/2013321whats-wrong-with-the-term-person-of-color/>. To recognise the experience of racism that Black individuals are subject to, some have chosen to separate the category Black from People of Colour. See Sandra E. Garcia, “Where Did BIPOC Come From?,” *New York Times*, June 17, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/article/what-is-bipoc.html>. In this thesis, I have given precedence to explicit racial identifiers (i.e. Black or White) in the categorisation of respondents. However, some respondents exclusively employed People of Colour as a personal identifier. As a result, I employ it here. See also Salvador Vidal-Ortiz, “People of Colour,” in *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Society*, ed. Richard T. Schaefer (London: SAGE, 2008), 1037-39.

³⁴¹ Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Noah, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021.

shared sentiments, often feelings of devotion and enthusiasm, about a specific group.³⁴² There are three forms of solidarity that I identified among the anti-black-Pete protestors that were interviewed: affective ties, inter-group affiliation and duty.

4.3.3.1 Affective Ties

Affective ties refers to the shared emotional bond that may exist among protestors. Activism fosters strong feelings toward the group, affective bonds may sustain feelings of community.³⁴³ While the notion of affective emotions is generally utilised by scholars to discuss a process of bonding that occurs in collective action, I deem it relevant as a motivating factor in the decision-making process to attend a protest. Affect is a long-term emotional state. It may materialise in love for certain individuals, a sense of community (identification with a group), and a fondness for objects, places and symbols.³⁴⁴ Some researchers argue that the phenomenon affect is an important tenet to social life which may drive action; if one feels strongly about something, this informs their response to that which impacts it.³⁴⁵ It follows then, that this is also the case among some protestors. Feelings of love for a person (a friend, or a family member), may lead to reactive emotions like anger or grief when confronted with a person's experience of injustice. This may motivate an individual to join a protest. I have found that affective ties were a strong motivator for people, particularly pertaining to other groups than the Afro-Dutch community. White or POC protestors pointed to their personal relationships with Black individuals as a reason to oppose black Pete. "I could no longer look away and I couldn't pretend it wasn't my problem. I noticed that my friends were bothered by

³⁴² Robert D. Benford, "Solidarity and Movements," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social & Political Movements. Volume 3: Pe-Z*, eds. David A. Snow et al. (West-Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 1231.

³⁴³ Rebecca Klatch, "The Underside of Social Movements: The Effects of Destructive Affective Ties," *Qualitative Sociology* 27, no. 4 (December 2004): 488, <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:QUAS.0000049244.69218.9c>.

³⁴⁴ Jasper, "The Emotions," 404-07.

³⁴⁵ Päivi Pirkkalainen provides an eloquent discussion of this notion in her article "'We Hugged Each Other During the Cold Nights': the Role of Affect in an Anti-Deportation Protest Network in Finland," *Social Movement Studies* (September 2021): 1-16, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2021.1989292>.

it [...] and I could no longer look in the mirror knowing that these people were going out on the street, and that while I was aware of it, I wasn't going with them."³⁴⁶ Thus due to their social ties with the Black community, they feel motivated to participate; to demonstrate their support for their Black friends, family and/or acquaintances, they attend a demonstration against black Pete. In a similar vein, White parents or parents of colour with Black children were specifically concerned with improving the circumstances of the world for them.³⁴⁷

Christina explains: I would find that really awful, if I didn't do anything. For my grandchildren. All my children, my grandchildren. I have to at least be able to say: I tried. And I hope that they will have to do less because we are already doing so much."³⁴⁸

4.3.3.2 Inter-Group Solidarity

For some protestors, their personal experiences with discrimination allowed them to empathise with the cause of anti-black-Pete protestors. While cognisant of the differences between racism against Black individuals and other forms of inequality, the respondents nevertheless offered a sense of recognition. For example, Betül tied her motivation to support the Black community through protest with her own experiences with discrimination due to her Turkish background. She explained: [y]ou know what it is? I live in a very White village and I would have really liked it if someone would have stood up for me too."³⁴⁹ Noting the potentially violent space in which protest occurs, some of the POC protestors expressed a

³⁴⁶ [Ik kon niet meer wegstijgen en kon niet meer doen alsof het niet mijn probleem was. Ik merkte dat mijn vrienden last van [racisme] hadden. ... En ik zou mijzelf niet in de spiegel kunnen aankijken wetende dat deze mensen de straat op gaan. En ik ben mij er bewust van en ik ga niet mee.] Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021.

³⁴⁷ Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Chanou, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 28, 2021.

³⁴⁸ [Dat zou ik heel erg vinden als ik niks zou doen. Voor mijn kleinkinderen. Al mijn kinderen, mijn kleinkinderen. Ik moet in elk geval kunnen zeggen: I tried. En ik hoop dat zij minder hoeven te doen doordat wij zoveel doen.] Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021.

³⁴⁹ [Weet je wat het is? Ik woon eigenlijk in een heel Wit dorp en ik had heel graag gewild dat iemand het ook voor mij zou opnemen.] Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021.

desire to share the burden:³⁵⁰ “[i]t can't be that the same people always bear the brunt, that it's only on them. And it's not like I make a whole lot of difference on my own, but I just wanted to instinctively let them know that they did not stand alone.”³⁵¹

In addition to the aforementioned group, protestors' affiliation with other social movement organisations promoted a sense of solidarity.³⁵² In this regard, their participation is related to a broader ideological commitment to the opposition of injustice. Perhaps the most well-known example of an organisation that has supported the social movement against black Pete is Doorbraak.³⁵³ Doorbraak is a large anti-capitalist organisation that combats “skewed and unjust power relations”³⁵⁴ in The Netherlands.³⁵⁵ For protestor Tim, it was his affiliation with Doorbraak that led to his decision to attend his first anti-black-Pete protest. Before he joined, he did not know anyone in his direct environment that was publicly against black Pete.³⁵⁶ As he became involved in Doorbraak, he was asked to go to the protest by other members. Among them, “it was quite normal to participate in those demonstrations. Then it was like: right, why wouldn't you join?”³⁵⁷

4.3.3.3 Duty

The final trend relevant to the notion of solidarity pertains to duty. It was

³⁵⁰ Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Amaya, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

³⁵¹ [Het kan niet zo zijn dat altijd maar dezelfde personen de volle laag krijgen, dat het alleen op hen aankomt. En niet dat ik heel veel verschil maak in mijn eentje, maar ik wilde gewoon gevoelsmatig voor mezelf hen laten weten dat ze er niet alleen voor stonden.] Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021.

³⁵² Respondent Tim, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 24, 2021; Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

³⁵³ Mestdagh also recognises the presence of Doorbraak in the social movement against black Pete. See Mestdagh, “Slavernij,” 51.

³⁵⁴ [scheve en onrechtvaardige machtsverhoudingen].

³⁵⁵ “Doorbraak naar een Andere Samenleving!,” *Doorbraak*, October 22, 2012, <https://www.doorbraak.eu/doorbraak-naar-een-andere-samenleving/>.

³⁵⁶ Respondent Tim, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 24, 2021.

³⁵⁷ [daar was het heel normaal om mee te doen aan die demonstraties. Toen was het juist: ja, waarom zou je niet meedoen?] Respondent Tim, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 24, 2021.

predominantly present among the White respondents. They described how their lack of experience on the receiving end of racism imbued them with a sense of societal responsibility. They mentioned their privileged position as a White person in The Netherlands as an important reason to attend the protest.³⁵⁸ For example, Noah, a 20-year-old man who went to his first anti-black-Pete protest in 2020, explained:

I think the most important statement I make by being there is that discrimination is everyone's problem. And as a White person you should also stand up together against racism. Even if it is a problem of which you are not directly the victim, it's still something that just has to get out of the world. And you as a White person still benefit from the system that we have in the Netherlands in terms of racism. So even if you're not one of the victims, you should still be there, because it's a problem that just needs to be solved.³⁵⁹

Noah's statement reflects a sentiment uttered by all of the White respondents, who cited the importance of being visible at protests.³⁶⁰ Like Merel, who reasoned: “there is power in numbers. So to show that there are people who care, to show that there are White, blonde

³⁵⁸ Respondent Caroline, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 6, 2021; Respondent Sophie, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 7, 2021; Respondent Merel, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 19, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Nicole, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 27, 2021; Respondent Noah, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021; Respondent Rai, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 2, 2021.

³⁵⁹ [Ik denk het belangrijkste statement wat ik maak door daar te zijn is dat discriminatie is een probleem van iedereen. En als Wit persoon hoor je ook gewoon samen op te staan tegen racisme. Ook al is het een probleem waarvan jij niet direct het slachtoffer bent. Het is alsnog iets wat gewoon de wereld uit moet. En jij als Wit persoon profiteert alsnog van het systeem wat we in Nederland hebben qua racisme. Dus ook al ben jij niet één van de slachtoffers, je hoort alsnog daar te staan, want het is een probleem dat gewoon opgelost moet worden.] Respondent Noah, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31.

³⁶⁰ Respondent Emme, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, April 30, 2021; Respondent Caroline, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 6, 2021; Respondent Sophie, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 7, 2021; Respondent Merel, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 19, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Nicole, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 27, 2021; Respondent Noah, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021; Respondent Rai, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 2, 2021.

people, who also care.”³⁶¹ In this regard, protestors aim to dispute the claim that the appearance of black Pete is only of interest to the Black community or that it is not a Dutch issue.³⁶²

Interestingly, this could be conceived as an alternative identification motive; individuals join a protest *because* they are aware they are not part of the dominant claim-making group. They oppose black Pete as an act of recognition of an unequal racial system.³⁶³ However, it is not their White identity that drives their protest attendance. Rather, it is a sense of moral obligation to display solidarity to those affected by black Pete and racism more generally. In addition, for some respondents it is an effort to signal that the group that protests black Pete transcends racial boundaries. Emme: “you don’t have to be White or Black to be bothered by it [black Pete]. I think you have to look at the whole thing altogether, the whole given, and that blackface is used and that you apparently have such blinders on that the rest of the world is really looking at it speechless and that you can't see it yourself.”³⁶⁴

4.3.4 Instrumentality

Instrumentality refers to a cost-benefit analysis in which the potential cost of protest must weigh less than the chance of succeeding in enacting change.³⁶⁵ Out of 25 interviewees, 10 respondents provided information that was consistent with an instrumental motive. It was

³⁶¹ [er is power in numbers. Dus om te laten zien dat er mensen zijn who care, om te laten zien dat er Witte blonde mensen zijn who also care.] Respondent Merel, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 19, 2021.

³⁶² As noted in Chapter 1, this is a common argument leveled at anti-black-Pete protestors. See Adam et al., “Understanding,” 134 and Hilhorst and Hermes, “‘We Have Given’,” 218-233.

³⁶³ Respondent Emme, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, April 30, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Nicole, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 27, 2021; Respondent Noah, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021; Respondent Rai, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 2, 2021.

³⁶⁴ [je hoeft niet Wit of Zwart te zijn om er [zwarte Piet] last van te hebben. Ik denk dat je moet kijken naar überhaupt het hele gegeven en dat er blackface wordt gebruikt en dat je dus zulke oogkleppen op hebt dat de rest van de wereld echt met zijn bek vol tanden daarnaar aan het kijken is en dat je dat dus zelf niet kan zien.]

Respondent Emme, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, April 30, 2021.

³⁶⁵ Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk, “Combining,” 124.

predominantly common among Black participants.³⁶⁶ In this regard, it is in accordance with Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk's conceptualisation of the notion, in which the benefits are presumed to bear upon the dominant claim-making group; it is for this reason that they are willing to endure the costs. However, this motivate was not exclusive to this group; a number of POC and White individuals also analysed the costs and benefits and concluded that the potential benefits justified their protest participation.³⁶⁷

In these respondents' view, the advantages of protest expanded beyond this social group. Indeed, they envisioned the beneficial element - the disappearance of black Pete, as well as – for some – a recognition of the racism that is present in the Netherlands – to incorporate a more comprehensive change that bears on Dutch society as a whole. This perspective on instrumentality, in which the cost-benefit do not strictly pertain to one social group, reframes the matter. Protestors that are not Black may not directly reap the rewards of protest in its narrow definition, however, their ideological underpinning nevertheless allows them to make a cost-benefit analysis.³⁶⁸ The benefit for them is then that potentially, an injustice is addressed.

There are three elements that predominantly affected the cost-benefit analysis that respondents engaged in. These are safety, the social environment and the location. They are discussed below.

³⁶⁶ Out of the 8 individuals that identified as black, 5 described their cost-benefit considerations. Respondent Asha, interview by author, The Hague, April 11, 2021; Respondent Gregory, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 12, 2021; Respondent Imani, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 18, 2021; Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021; Respondent Earl, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021.

³⁶⁷ Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Djuna, interview by author, Zoom, May 21, 2021; Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021; Respondent Nicole, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 27, 2021; Respondent Rai, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 2, 2021.

³⁶⁸ In this regard, the notion ideology informs the instrumental motive. A similar connection is made in Jacquelin van Stekelenburg, "Moral Incentives," in *the Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social & Political Movements. Volume 2: F-Pe*, eds. David A. Snow et al. (West-Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 771.

4.3.4.1. Safety

The safety of protestors during the event is a relevant element to incorporate in their cost-benefit analysis due to the violent atmosphere of the protest. As described in Chapter 1, physical violence has frequently occurred during anti-black-Pete protests. Moreover, participants are often confronted with verbal abuse, like racial insults and threatening language. Nia, a Black woman who was present during a KOZP protest to accompany her girlfriend in 2019, described what occurred when they were confronted with individuals that opposed their presence: “they were saying very explicit things to Merel about what she was doing with a Black person and where and how. And then I took a couple of deep breaths and I only said: gee, do you think that’s normal to say? After which someone told me: go eat some bananas! [laughs]”.³⁶⁹

Some of the participants feared physical violence by the audience and initially felt discouraged from protest participation because of it.³⁷⁰ However, this ultimately did not outweigh the benefits of protest. Furthermore, Black protestors posited that there is an inherent cost of violence in the existence of a Black person. When discussing his considerations, Huey, a Black protest organiser, stated: “You know that people want to die for *Zwarte Piet*, so that he stays alive. You know that. But the safety [of not protesting] did not outweigh the racism that people experience. I can think about my safety, but there is nothing more unsafe than having to live with racism.”³⁷¹

³⁶⁹ [toen gingen ze dus tegen Merel ook hele expliciete dingen zeggen over wat zij wel niet allemaal met een zwarte persoon deed en waar en hoe. En toen ging ik even een paar keer ging ademen, en dus zei ik alleen maar: goh, vind je dat normaal dat je dat zegt? Waarna weer iemand zei van ga lekker bananen eten! [lacht].] Respondent Nia, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 18, 2021. Merel is a pseudonym for respondent six.

³⁷⁰ Respondent Emme, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, April 30, 2021; Respondent Caroline, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 6, 2021; Respondent Imani, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 18, 2021.

³⁷¹ [Je weet dat mensen willen doodgaan voor zwarte piet, dat ‘ie in stand blijft. Je weet dat. Maar de veiligheid [van het niet protesteren] woog niet op tegen het racisme dat mensen meemaken. Ik kan wel aan mijn veiligheid gaan denken, maar er is niets onveiliger dan moeten leven met racisme.] Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021.

4.3.4.2 Social environment

The second element that impacted some individuals' decision to join a protest against black Pete was the reaction of their social environment. The fear of a negative response from an individual's social milieu prevented various respondents from protesting.³⁷² This was also the case for Emme: "I was very scared of my social environment, what they might think of it. ... Yes, now it's really banal but I do think that there was a lot of pressure for me not to do it, because then you might become that annoying Emme that only complains about black Pete [laughs].³⁷³ For Emme, her experience with burn-out eventually led her to disregard the opinions of her social group. Nevertheless, her fear is justifiable; a number of protestors have described how their social relationships were negatively affected due to their overt opposition of black Pete.³⁷⁴

Indeed, engagement in the opposition of black Pete may have far-reaching consequences. For example, protestor Christina was terminated from her job after her position vis-à-vis black Pete was advertised online. She also experienced severe social alienation and violent messages: "I know where you live and I'm going to shoot you through the head with a kalasjnikov", she recalled, was her first threat.³⁷⁵ She has since taken measures to secure her home. Nevertheless, the prospect of change outweighs the cost for Christina: "[i]t's just that, if you don't do anything, nothing will change. That's it, and that is the choice I make every day

³⁷² E.g. Respondent Emme, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, April 30, 2021; Respondent Imani, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 18, 2021; Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021.

³⁷³ [ik was echt heel erg bang voor mijn sociale omgeving, wat die ervan zou vinden ... Ja, nu heel stomme banale dingen maar ik denk wel dat echt zo'n druk was voor mij om dan dat niet te doen, want dan werd je misschien die vervelende [eigen naam] die alleen maar zeurt over zwarte Piet [lacht].] Respondent Emme, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, April 30, 2021.

³⁷⁴ Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Imani, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 18, 2021; Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021; Respondent Huey also described how other participants' relationships have been affected by their opposition to black Pete during an interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

³⁷⁵ [Ik weet waar je woont en ik schiet je door je kop met een kalasjnikov.] Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021.

... but the price is high. It costs us birthdays. It costs us family members.”³⁷⁶

4.3.4.3 Location

An important facilitator of protest participation that has eluded social psychological theories yet proved highly relevant in my research, is the location of the protest. Social psychologists acknowledge the necessity of a ‘supply’ of protest in relation to participation; i.e. opportunity (there must be a protest to attend) and access to information (the individual must be able to know that a protest is happening).³⁷⁷ Yet, it appears that in protest against black Pete, the location is an additional factor in the motivation of individuals’ participation. Indeed, various respondents noted that it affected their cost-benefit analysis. For a number of protestors, it was the catalyst of their participation; it was when a protest was organised in ‘their city’ that they made the decision to participate for the first time.³⁷⁸ This could be conceived as an additional pragmatic benefit in an instrumental analysis; it bears on protestors’ desire to promote change in a place that they identify with: “[b]lack Pete? Not in my hometown.”³⁷⁹

4.4 Moral Shock

Evidently, an individual’s belief that black Pete is racist does not automatically translate to their protest participation. Several respondents noted that they opposed black Pete

³⁷⁶ [Het is gewoon als je niets doet, dan gaat er geen verandering komen. Dat is het en dat is de keuze die ik elke dag maak.] [het kost ons heel veel. Het kost ons verjaardagen. Het kost ons familieleden.] Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021.

³⁷⁷ Bert Klandermans, “The Demand and Supply of Participation: Social Psychological Correlates of Participation in a Social Movement,” in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, eds. David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 360-79.

³⁷⁸ Respondent Emme, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, April 30, 2021; Respondent Merel, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 19, 2021; Respondent Imani, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 18, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Nicole, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 27, 2021; Respondent Noah, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021.

³⁷⁹ Original wording. Respondent Noah, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021.

long before they joined a physical protest; they were already outspoken about their aversion for black Pete online or in their social environment.³⁸⁰ It was a convergence of various circumstances that led them to engage in protest, however, respondents often identified a specific moment of moral shock that served as catalyst for their physical participation.

The concept moral shock was coined by James M. Jasper in his book *The Art of Moral Protest* to describe the moment that “an event or piece of information so upsets someone that [they become] open to the possibility of protest, sometimes even in the absence of active recruitment.”³⁸¹ For protestor Douglas, a Black man who began attending anti-black-Pete protests in 2014, moral shock occurred when he was confronted with the images and videos of Gario and Afriyie’s 2011 arrest: “[t]hat really touched me. I thought: whatever happens, I have to stand there too. In any case, I have to be there to give weight in the form of my own body, to stand there, to defend where necessary. And make it a bit clear to people that this is unacceptable.”³⁸²

A similar process occurred for Amaya, a mother of two boys who had been actively following the anti-black-Pete movement online for several years. In 2018, as she watched the news, she saw the small group of protestors in Eindhoven that were accosted by an audience of hundreds of individuals. Amaya felt she could no longer stay home:

³⁸⁰ Respondent Caroline, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 6, 2021; Respondent Sophie, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 7, 2021; Respondent Merel, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 9, 2021; Respondent Gregory, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 12, 2021; Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Imani, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 18, 2021; Respondent Amaya, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Nicole, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 27, 2021; Respondent Earl, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021; Respondent Azara, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 1, 2021; Respondent Rai, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 2, 2021.

³⁸¹ Jasper, *The Art*, 106.

³⁸² [Toen raakte me dat wel heel erg. Ik dacht: wat er ook gebeurt, ik moet daar ook staan. Ik moet er in ieder geval staan om gewicht te geven in de vorm van mijn eigen lichaam, omdat daar te staan, om eventueel te verdedigen waar het nodig is. En die mensen een beetje duidelijk maken dat dit niet kan.] Respondent Douglas, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 28, 2021.

The turning point came when I saw that demonstration in Eindhoven and what happened there, those twelve people standing there in front of the whole crowd. That's when I thought: no, this is just not possible anymore. This is simply not acceptable anymore. Yes, that was the turning point for me and then I thought: no, I'll be there next year. Something must be done, it just has to be over.³⁸³

Amaya, outraged by the protestors' treatment, attended a protest the subsequent day.³⁸⁴ It is striking in the case of the social movement of black Pete that for a number of protestors, their experience of moral shock is related not to black Pete. Rather, it concerns the treatment of the protestors. Like Douglas and Amaya, a number of respondents identified moments during which protestors against black Pete were accosted or faced violence as the catalyst for their decision. In addition to their opposition of the figure, it was their dismay at the racism and violence that the protestors were subjected to that ultimately drove them to join.

In his discussion of the concept, Jasper presupposed that the occurrence of moral shock predominantly transpires among those that are directly affected by the event due to group ties.³⁸⁵ This is in accordance with the social psychological inclination to center group identity in discussions regarding protest motivation. However, the concept moral shock merits expansion; those that do not identify as part of a community may still be mobilised by a shocking event that affects a group due to their shared values. As ideological beliefs constitute the fundament of protest participation, the concept of moral shock can be applied to a variety

³⁸³ [De omslag kwam er vooral toen ik die demonstratie in Eindhoven zag. En wat daar zo, ja, die twaalf mensen die daar stonden. Tegenover die hele meute toen dacht ik van: nee, dit kan gewoon niet meer. Dit kan gewoon niet meer. Ja, daar was voor mij de omslag en toen dacht ik: nee, volgend jaar ben ik erbij. Er moet gewoon wat gebeuren, het moet gewoon klaar zijn.] Respondent Amaya, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

³⁸⁴ Respondent Amaya, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

³⁸⁵ Jasper, *The Art*, 103-106.

of protestors inside and outside of the primarily affected group.

The effect of moral shock on those that protest for ideological reasons is evident; as individuals are confronted with an event that is incommensurable with their values, they experience anger and/or sadness, which motivates them to participate in a protest.³⁸⁶ However, moral shock may also work to amplify other motivational factors. For example, if one identifies with the group that is affected, an individual might feel the need to prevent further harm to the group by joining a protest. Similarly, for those that protest out of solidarity, the occurrence of a specific event that results in a strong sense of unease with the state of affairs, might strengthen their motivation to support those directly affected through protest. Finally, with regard to instrumental motives, moral shock is likely also a relevant factor. For an individual that is weighing their protesting options, being confronted with something that outrages them might change their outlook on protesting negatively (by increasing the cost of participation) or positively (by strengthening their conviction that change is a worthy necessity). Among the respondents, their experiences with moral shock affected their cost-benefit analysis in an activating sense; it strengthened their underlying conviction that protest was the right choice, regardless of the cost.

Thus in addition to the factors ideology, identity, instrumentality and solidarity, the notion of moral shock is an important element of protest participation. In the social movement against black Pete, it solidified existent motivations and increased the feelings of outrage and discomfort that drives individuals to protest.

³⁸⁶ The notion of anger as an amplifier of ideological motivation is also proposed in Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk, "Combining," 95.

4.5 Conclusion

Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk's integrative model provides a valuable starting point for the analysis of movement participation. The researchers' framework identifies several relevant motivational elements of individual protest; however, they are not all-encompassing. This is due in part to our different application of the model. While Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk sought to design an overarching model that informs researchers regarding the strength of individuals' motivation, I aimed to map the different motivations present among anti-black-Pete protestors. In this quest, I found that context matters; it is important to consider the constellation of the individuals that protest as this bears relevance to what drives them.

In the case of opposition to black Pete, the dominant identity group is the Afro-Dutch community. For Black respondents, their identity is an important element of their protest. They seek recognition for their grievances and combat the existence of black Pete and racism, by which they are directly negatively affected. In this regard, their protest is personally and collectively meaningful. This is not applicable to protestors that are outside of the dominant group, yet there are numerous individuals in this category that are nevertheless engaged in protest. Their motivations vary, as the meaning of their participation is different and appears to be more strongly related to social ties. This might include a desire to display their solidarity or to express of their values.

While social movement research acknowledges that collectives are constructed and negotiated, there appears to be little space for discussion on identities outside of the dominant group and their assessment of protest-making decisions. The ideas that inform Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk's model comply with traditional forms of movement participation, during which protest was organised along the lines of the interests of a distinctive social group and information was distributed along formal social organisation

networks.³⁸⁷ The contemporary wave of anti-black-Pete protest, particularly since KOZP's move to decentralise demonstrations, does not rely on these techniques and thus attract a more varied group of participants.

To accommodate an account of protest participation drivers that is more conscientious of these differences, I proposed the conceptualisation of ideology as the underlying foundation of protest participation. This is an important element of protest motivation that was identified by the great majority of the respondents. There is a shared ideological conviction among this group regarding the existence of black Pete as a form of racism; they protested as they believed it was the right thing to do. To accommodate for nuances with regards to group identity, I supplemented the framework's concepts with the notion of solidarity. Instrumental considerations remained relevant among protestors, albeit they were less commonly mentioned than identity and ideology. Finally, the notion of moral shock serves as an amplifier of protest motivation. Anger remains a relevant aspect, interwoven with identity (in the shape of grievances) and ideology (pertaining to a sense of moral outrage).

³⁸⁷ Their research examined a protest concerning retirement rights. The average participant was 48 years old and sixty-nine percent of respondents were members of an organisation affiliated to the social movement that organized the demonstration. See Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk, "Combining," 96.

Chapter 5 Performing Opposition in the Realm of Contention

This chapter documents how protestors engage in the performance of opposition against black Pete in the realm of contention. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the claim-making that occurs during this performance. Through this exploration, a deeper understanding regarding the manners in which anti-black-Pete protestors contest the meaning of black Pete is obtained. The sub-questions that guide this chapter are: *what are the claims expressed by protest participants during their performance of opposition?*, *how do individuals perform opposition against black Pete?* and *how do anti-black-Pete protest participants navigate the realm of contention?*

To analyse the narratives, symbols and acts employed to communicate opposition, it is valuable to zoom in on a specific protest event. Below, I will provide a description of an anti-black-Pete protest in Den Bosch in 2019, building on testimonies provided by respondents Caroline, Sophie, Tim, Julia and Nicole, who attended this demonstration separately from each other. The account is supplemented by news articles and a recording of the livestream published by Den Bosch Kan Het on their Facebook page.³⁸⁸ After chronicling the events in Den Bosch, I will deconstruct the performance of opposition by analysing its core elements. Subsequently, the realm of contention is discussed.

³⁸⁸ Den Bosch Kan Het, “Live Stream Den Bosch Kan Het,” Facebook Video, 01:09:42, November 17, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/denboschkanhet/videos/410061146566924>; “Rookbommen Gegooid bij Intocht Sint in Den Bosch: ‘Schaam Je Kapot!’,” *Algemeen Dagblad*, November 17, 2019, <https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/rookbommen-gegooid-bij-intocht-sint-in-den-bosch-schaam-je-kapot~a18505f2/>; Johan van Grinsven, “Spitsroeden lopen tussen kinderfeest en protest bij Bossche intocht Sinterklaas,” *Algemeen Dagblad*, November 17, 2019, <https://www.ad.nl/den-bosch/spitsroeden-lopen-tussen-kinderfeest-en-protest-bij-bossche-intocht-sinterklaas~a640d9eb/>.

5.1 Analytic Frame

5.1.1 Performance of Opposition

As noted in Chapter 3, sociologist Ron Eyerman utilises performance theory to study how social movements ‘move’.³⁸⁹ He describes how processes of collective identification develop through the performance of opposition. Eyerman utilises this notion to develop a theory of group formation by engaging with the emotions and cognitive processes that “fuse individuals ... into focused and directed social forces.”³⁹⁰

The idea of studying protest as a performance of opposition is valuable. It allows for a dynamic, multifaceted analysis of symbolic acts of communication with attention to the corporality of opposition.³⁹¹ It is thus a highly suitable approach for examinations of meaning-making processes. However, in his attempt to account for a broad range of social movement processes, Eyerman’s notion of performance remains rather abstract. To operationalise this concept, I have constructed a definition that builds on Eyerman’s work, informed by the data derived from my coding category ‘performance of protest’.³⁹² I define the *performance of opposition* as a physical, intentional, public communication of a claim during which actors use symbolic gestures in order to achieve social, political and/or cultural aims. This performance occurs in front of an audience on a stage that is meaningful to the participants.³⁹³

5.1.2 Realm of Contention

Despite Eyerman’s acknowledgement of the political nature of performance, his theory fails to incorporate processes of contention. Furthermore, while performance theory emphasises the existence of an audience that must be ‘moved’ during a protest, there is a lack

³⁸⁹ Eyerman, “Performing,” 193.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 207.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 193.

³⁹² Please refer to Appendix 4 for an overview of the codes that compose the category ‘performance of protest’.

³⁹³ Eyerman, “Performing,” 210.

of scholarship on the interaction between the audience and the performers.³⁹⁴ This touches on a neglected area in the literature on social movement. Despite respondents' emphasis on the importance of the setting and the audience during interviews, I found that analyses of their engagement with their protest environment was largely absent from the literature on the performance of protest. This requires academic attention. I posit that the analysis of performance requires not only a study of the act, but also an examination of the interactive setting in which performance occurs. Specifically, it is valuable to consider the factors that restrict the performance of opposition. In this regard, I draw from the field of contentious politics. As noted in Chapter 4, analyses of the societal and political structures that facilitate and restraint social movements has been executed by a number of scholars.³⁹⁵ However, an examination of the actors and factors that affect social movement participants during a performance of opposition has yet to be achieved.

In order to account for the interactive, dynamic nature of protests against black Pete, I introduce the concept realm of contention. The realm of contention is a term I encountered in an academic article by Edmund W. Cheng, who mentioned the "realm of contention" in a publication on the diffusion of political activism in Hong-Kong. In the article, Cheng builds on Tilly and Tarrow's contentious politics in order to examine the dynamic interaction between grassroots activists and the state. Unfortunately, Cheng neglects to provide a definition of the term. While Cheng and I share the recognition of the state as a limiting or facilitating actor of collective action, I posit that the term requires expansion. In my conceptualisation, the realm of contention concerns the vigorous setting in which the claims

³⁹⁴ Fortunately, a number of scholars have begun to map the 'players' that exist in the setting of a performance of opposition, albeit while using different terminology and without the lense of performativity. An example of a book that combines various scholars' view on this subject is Jan Willem Duyvendak and James M. Jasper's book *Breaking Down the State: Protestors Engaged* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015).

³⁹⁵ See, for example Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow, *Contentious Politics* (Boulder: Paradigm, 2006); Hanspeter Kriesi, "Political Context and Opportunity," in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, eds. David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 67-90.

expressed by performers of opposition are contained. It is a site of contestation in which parties act to prevent, control, facilitate or subvert the performance of opposition. In section 5.4, I apply the realm of contention to anti-black-Pete protest.

5.2 Case: Den Bosch Kan Het 2019

On Sunday November 17, 2019, collective action group Den Bosch Kan Het³⁹⁶, a local chapter of national protest collective KOZP, organised a protest in Den Bosch at the city's St. Nicholas parade. Those who had signed up for the protest met at a station outside of Den Bosch from which they travelled to the protest location together by bus under police escort.³⁹⁷ The atmosphere in the bus was predominantly cheerful; protesters were excited to speak out against black Pete.³⁹⁸ The bus dropped the protestors off near their designated protest stage, separated from the audience and the parade by security fences.

To facilitate the understanding of the position of the protestors vis-à-vis the parade and the audience, some visual information is required. In Figure 3, the route of the St. Nicholas parade is schematically represented by the yellow arrows.³⁹⁹ True to the lore, St. Nicholas arrived by water on a boat. In Den Bosch, this boat traversed the river Dommel, after which the boat was docked at the St. Janssingel. The parade progressed on land during which St. Nicholas is moved in a coach carried by horses.⁴⁰⁰ The protestors against black Pete are identified at the top of the image as “ABP group” in Figure 3. The grey striped lines represent

³⁹⁶ [Den Bosch Can Do It]. “It” here refers to the abolition of black Pete.

³⁹⁷ This is a common occurrence during anti-black-Pete protests. Citing safety concerns, the organisation is generally required by the municipality to meet at a different station and travel to the designated location by bus and with police escort. Respondent Merel, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 9, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

³⁹⁸ Respondent Caroline, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 6, 2021; Respondent Tim, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 24, 2021.

³⁹⁹ Author's representation.

⁴⁰⁰ Omroep Brabant, “Voor- én Tegenstanders Zwarte Piet Lijnrecht tegenover Elkaar in Den Bosch,” Youtube Video, 02:34, November 17, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bvbSUK4N1NQ&ab_channel=OmroepBrabant.

the security fences installed by the police, behind which people were gathered. The blue agents designate police personnel. The bus at the Wilhelminabrug and Havensingel denotes the Mobiele Eenheid (hereafter ME) whose vans blocked the bridge on the left side of the procession. Additional ME buses were stationed on the north side of Buitenhaven. The unidentified individuals (in black) refer to the audience, consisting of a “pro-Pete” faction that is concentrated at the corner of the St. Janssingel and Visstraat, as well as spectators of the ceremony. On the left side of the protestors there is an additional river: the Dieze.

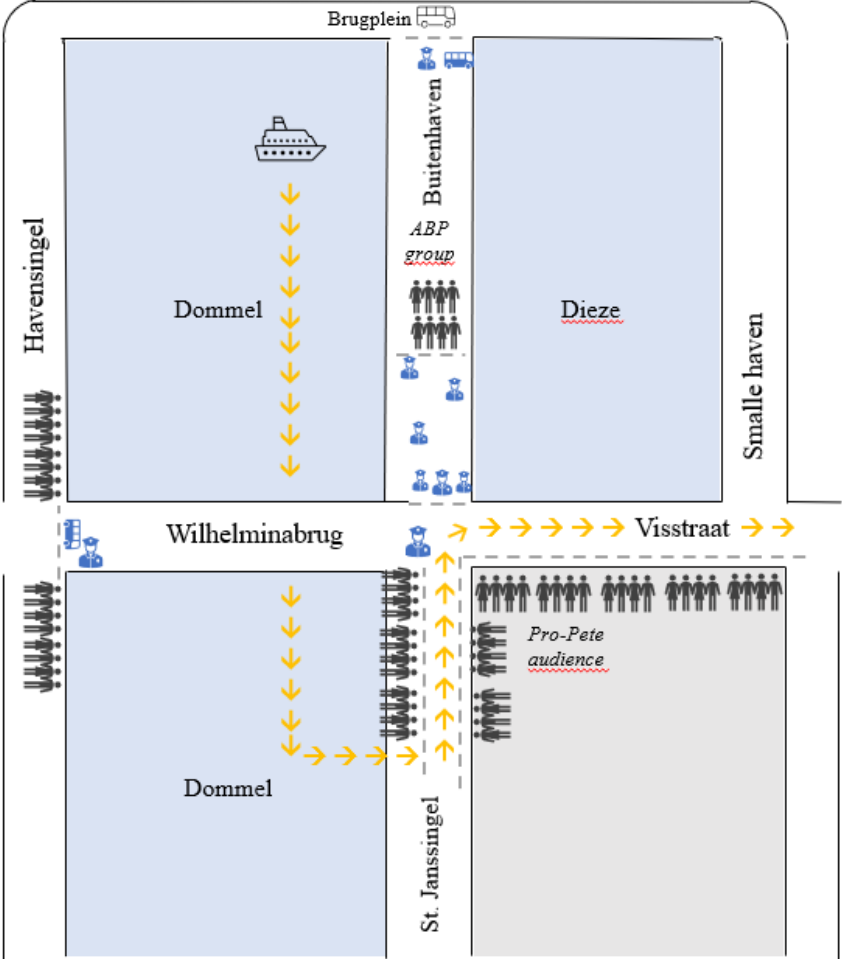


Figure 3. Visualisation of the Protest Setting in Den Bosch in 2019.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰¹ Schematic representation by the author.

As they exited the bus, protestors began chanting anti-black-Pete slogans in a call-and-response style. When St. Nicholas and tens of Petes passed by the protestors on the river, the group turned their signs and slogans toward the boat. “No more blackface,” they chanted to the boat. The Petes, the majority of which were in blackface, waved at them.⁴⁰² After the boat passed, the police guided the protestors along the road toward the parade. The protestors had been informed by the organisation about the highly regulated nature of the location in advance, yet the participants were nevertheless dismayed when confronted with the limitations they were required to abide by. “We were sort of along the water, and then at the end there was a big street where the parade would go through as well. And there was a sort of blockade. So that we really needed to go to the designated area and that we could not move or continue walking. ... I think it was a bit of a disappointment, like: oh, we’re really only allowed to let our voice be heard in this tiny space.”⁴⁰³ The parade was set to take place at a distance of approximately 15 meters away from the group⁴⁰⁴ and initially, vans from the riot police [ME] were partly blocking their view and visibility.⁴⁰⁵

The protestors, a group of approximately 100 people, were wearing predominantly black apparel as well as t-shirts and sweaters with anti-black-Pete slogans. Organisers handed out stickers with the slogan “Black Pete is Racism”. There were three large banners held in front of the security fences. Two banners were professionally printed in the signature style of KOZP, stating “Black Pete Is Racism” and “Den Bosch Can Do It”. An

⁴⁰² Omroep Brabant, “Voor- én Tegenstanders.”

⁴⁰³ [We waren soort van langs het water en dan aan het einde daarvan was een grote straat waar ook een parade doorheen kwam. En daar stond een soort van blokkade. Dus dat we echt naar zo'n vak moesten en dat we ook niet konden bewegen of niet verder konden lopen. ... Het was wel volgens mij eventjes een domper van oh ja, we mogen echt maar op dit hele kleine postzegeltje dit geluid laten horen.] Respondent Caroline, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 6, 2021.

⁴⁰⁴ The approximation of 15 meters is derived from the video in the article “Rookbommen Gegooïd.” I was able to confirm a distance of 13 to 15 meters after establishing the location via the livestream and subsequently measuring the distance via Google Maps.

⁴⁰⁵ Respondent Sophie, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 7, 2021; Respondent Tim, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 24, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Den Bosch Kan Het, “Live Stream,”; “Rookbommen Gegooïd.”

additional banner of a homemade variety read: “Staying Silent About Our Colonial Past Is Violence”. Similarly, there were signs distributed by KOZP, which displayed various messages related to their cause, like *Den Bosch Can Do It* and *Party For Every Child*.⁴⁰⁶ Protestors also carried homemade signs displaying additional anti-racism messages, like “Black Children Matter”⁴⁰⁷.



Image 2. A Protestor’s View of the Anti-black-Pete Protest in Den Bosch.⁴⁰⁸

Despite their initial frustration regarding the location and the police cordon, the protestors were determined to make a statement: “we made a lot of noise. We had megaphones, we chanted and yelled.”⁴⁰⁹ The protestors used slogans like ‘No More Blackface’, ‘Black Pete is Black Grief,’⁴¹⁰ and ‘Kick Out Zwarte Piet’, “Party for every child”.⁴¹¹ “Once the people started passing and we were there with those signs and the slogans

⁴⁰⁶ [Den Bosch Kan Het]; [Feest voor Ieder Kind].

⁴⁰⁷ Original text.

⁴⁰⁸ Den Bosch Kan Het, “Impressie KOZP Den Bosch Kan Het Demonstratie 17-11-2019,” Facebook, November 19, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/denboschkanhet/photos/136414231104437>.

⁴⁰⁹ [we hebben heel veel geluid gemaakt. We hadden megafoons en we hebben gewoon gechant en geroepen.] Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

⁴¹⁰ [Zwarte Piet Is Zwart Verdriet].

⁴¹¹ [Feest voor Ieder Kind]

starting the protest, I thought that felt really powerful.”⁴¹² Indeed, the act of collectively voicing their opposition to black Pete was a positive and powerful experience for many of the participants. “The feeling of connectedness grew as the protest progressed. It just feels really good to be able to let that sound be heard and to do it together ... Some of the slogans were really cheerful and happy and strong and very powerful and because of that, so positive.”⁴¹³ Other slogans directly addressed those involved in the festivities, e.g. “Den Bosch, shame on you”, “Mayor, shame on you”.⁴¹⁴

As the imminent arrival of St. Nicholas and his Petes announced itself with the sound of the accompanying brass band playing St. Nicholas songs, the protestors’ chants grew louder. However, their sound was quickly overpowered by one of the black Petes accompanying Sint. The Pete, who was situated on a motorbike behind the coach that carried St. Nicholas, accelerated the engine numerous times, resulting in loud roars from the machine.⁴¹⁵ Frustration grew among the protestors. Some initiated a new chant aimed specifically at the police: “we want to go to the front!”⁴¹⁶ While some of the participants joined in the chant, others chose not to. After a moment, Afriyie, who was present as one the protest leaders, introduced a new chant: “We are not visible!”⁴¹⁷ Many followed his lead. As St. Nicholas and the Petes passed, the protestors returned to their traditional “Party For Everyone” chant.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹² [toen het, eenmaal de mensen er langskwamen, wij met die borden en ook een soort van leuzen enzo het protest begonnen, vond ik dat heel veel krachtig voelen.] Respondent Caroline, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 6, 2021.

⁴¹³ [Het gevoel van verbondenheid groeide ook wel naarmate de demonstratie ook vorderde. Het voelt gewoon heel fijn om dat geluid te kunnen laten horen en dan ook samen met elkaar. ... Sommige leuzen waren ook heel opgewekt en vrolijk en sterk en heel krachtig en daardoor zo positief.] Respondent Sophie, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 7, 2021.

⁴¹⁴ [Den Bosch, schaam je] and [Burgemeester, schaam je]

⁴¹⁵ Den Bosch Kan Het, “Live Stream,”; Van Grinsven, “Spitsroeden.”

⁴¹⁶ [Wij willen naar voren].

⁴¹⁷ [Wij zijn niet zichtbaar!].

⁴¹⁸ [Feest voor iedereen].

Opposite the protestors, on the corner of the St. Janssingel and Visstraat, pro-black-Pete individuals positioned themselves to address the protestors and the parade. The audience consisted of a mix of parents with children, some of whom yelled at the anti-black-Pete group to “sod off.”⁴¹⁹ Supporters of the local football club were also present at the parade. Earlier that week, they had called on the residents of Den Bosch to counter the “absurd” protest against black Pete via their Facebook page.⁴²⁰ Dressed in black Pete attire and with faces painted black, the group displayed a banner stating “M-Side <3 Zwarte Piet”⁴²¹ and sang a well-known St. Nicholas song that has become popular among black Pete defendants for the lyrics “St. Nicholas, who doesn’t know him? St. Nicholas, St. Nicholas and *of course* black Pete [author’s italics].”⁴²² As Pete revved the engine, a chorus of cheers erupted among the group. When St. Nicholas passed, an individual threw a smoke bomb in the direction of the anti-black-Pete faction.⁴²³

The negative sentiments toward protestors were not solely expressed by the football enthusiasts. “In Den Bosch, it was one big.. The parade, as well as the people watching it, and the kids: everyone was really angry at us. ... We were actually able to protest very well, in the sense that there was a nice atmosphere and we all felt strong and connected, which is a nice feeling. But in the meantime, there was a threatening mob standing there.”⁴²⁴ After the police instructed the protestors to return to the buses, Julia noticed that the group was at risk of

⁴¹⁹ [Oprotten!] Van Grinsven, “Spitsroeden.”

⁴²⁰ Quoted in Bart Gotink, “Fans FC Den Bosch Willen ‘Massaal’ Steun Geven aan Zwarte Piet bij Intocht, Mikkers Houdt ME achter de Hand,” *Eindhovens Dagblad*, November 15, 2019, Nexis Uni.

⁴²¹ The M-Side are a highly active branch of Den Bosch football supporters. They are often labelled (and some self-identify) as hooligans. See, for example Wilmer Heck, “Hoe Kwam de Samenwerking tussen Hooligans en Politie bij de Avondklokrellen Tot Stand?,” *NRC Handelsblad*, July 5, 2021, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2021/07/05/de-m-side-van-fc-den-bosch-bepaalde-de-regels-zelf-wel-a4049945>.

⁴²² Sinterklaas, wie kent hem niet, Sinterklaas, Sinterklaas, en natuurlijk zwarte Piet”]. Omroep Brabant, “Voor- én Tegenstanders.”

⁴²³ Omroep Brabant, “Voor- én Tegenstanders.”

⁴²⁴ [Het was in Den Bosch één grote, zowel de optocht, als de mensen die aan het kijken waren, en de kinderen; iedereen was echt heel boos op ons ... we hebben we eigenlijk heel goed kunnen demonstreren in de zin van we hadden er wel sfeer in en voelden ons allemaal sterk wel en met elkaar. En dat is dan een fijn gevoel. Maar goed, ondertussen staat die dreigende menigte daar.] Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

potentially violent confrontation: “at one point we had to go back, turn around and walk to the bus. And in Den Bosch you have these little alleys. And through those alleys, I saw those people running there. They followed us, parallel to us, and they wanted to get to us through those alleys. And then the police interfered very harshly with the riot police, dogs, horses. In the end, they didn't reach us, but they were very close. I really felt like it was pure hatred.”⁴²⁵

As the protestors re-entered the buses and prepared to return to the train station, bystanders accosted the group by tapping on the bus, yelling, and gesturing. “What stood out to me the most is that when we got back to the bus there was a family standing there. White father, White mother, two children and that mother was screaming. And the father grabbed his crotch. And his son who stood with two middle fingers in the air. And his daughter was screaming too.”⁴²⁶

While the public's hostility was unnerving for some of the participants,⁴²⁷ they were generally content with their performance.⁴²⁸ On the bus, they exchanged stories about the protest from their different points of view. By the time the group had returned to the station, the adrenaline they felt had largely subsided.⁴²⁹ After a few final words from the organisation, the protestors went their separate ways.

⁴²⁵ [op een gegeven moment moesten wij terug, ons omdraaien en naar de bus lopen. En in Den Bosch heb je van die zijstraatjes. En dus door die zijstraatjes zag ik daar die mensen rennen. Die volgden ons zeg maar parallel aan ons en die wilden proberen door die steegjes bij ons te komen. En toen trad de politie heel hard op en de ME, honden, paarden en dus uiteindelijk kwamen zij niets bij ons, maar wel heel dichtbij. Toen voelde ik heel erg van dit is echt pure haat.] Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Den Bosch Kan Het, “Live Stream.”

⁴²⁶ [Wat mij het meest bij is gestaan is dat er toen we terug waren bij de bus dat er een gezin stond. Witte vader, Witte moeder, twee kinderen en die moeder die zat te schreeuwen. En die vader die greep in zijn kruis. En zijn zoon die stond met twee middelvingers op. En zijn dochter stond ook te schreeuwen.] Respondent Sophie, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 7, 2021.

⁴²⁷ Respondent Caroline, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 6, 2021; Respondent Sophie, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 7, 2021; Respondent Tim, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 24, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

⁴²⁸ Respondent Sophie, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 7, 2021; Respondent Tim, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 24, 2021.

⁴²⁹ Respondent Tim, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 24, 2021.

5.3 Elements of the Performance of Opposition

The example of the protest in Den Bosch incorporates all the relevant aspects of the performance of opposition. In this regard, it offers an entryway into a broader analysis of anti-black-Pete protest, as it allows me to enlighten the various features of the performance of opposition against black Pete. By discussing the material symbols, scripts, the body and the location, I elucidate the claims the individuals that protest black Pete aim to convey during their performance of opposition. Each element is discussed below.

5.3.1 Script

The script of a performance of opposition concerns the narratives that protestors employ to contextualise their protest.⁴³⁰ Scripts “give [performances] wider meaning by connecting them to a collective past, as well as the present situation.”⁴³¹ It is the background against which the performance takes place. The central narrative of anti-black-Pete protestors is that black Pete is a racist caricature, whose existence symbolises racism against Black people in The Netherlands.

In this context, racism refers to a structural system of inequality between Black and White people that is rooted in colonialism and slavery. The reasoning is that Black individuals have historically been consciously and unconsciously treated as inferior to the White standard, which continues to affect their existence today.⁴³² While the existence of racism remains a topic of contention in the Netherlands, the condemnation of slavery is generally agreed upon. By linking the subjugation of Black people during transatlantic slavery to the position of Pete as a servant of St. Nicholas, Pete’s mythic origins are rejected; instead, the figure becomes entrenched in a controversial historic practice. The manner in which colonialism continues to

⁴³⁰ Eyerman, “Performing,” 199.

⁴³¹ Eyerman, “Performing,” 208.

⁴³² Schols, “Keeping,” 115-17.

shape societal practices is thus emphasised. This is also evident in the statements displayed on the banners in Den Bosch, like the sign that proclaimed “Staying Silent About Our Colonial Past Is Violence.”

In addition to the positioning of black Pete as a representation of an enslaved person, a more abstract claim is made regarding contemporary society that challenges the idea of equality. It refers to the notion of Black people in the Netherlands as “second-class citizens”.⁴³³ “It’s about more than black Pete. It’s about equal participation in the Netherlands, in Dutch society.”⁴³⁴ As noted in Chapter 1, various academics have posited that the dominant identity of the Dutch nation is reserved for those who are perceived as White.⁴³⁵ Indeed, the weaponisation of White Dutch identity is a prominent instrument in the defense of black Pete; the figure is represented as an essential part of ‘Dutch culture’.⁴³⁶ Despite their Dutch citizenship, Black individuals are constructed as the Other.⁴³⁷ One of the implicit narratives of anti-black-Pete protests thus constitutes a claim to Dutch identity: “We are not leaving. This is my country too. And we belong here too.”⁴³⁸

A final element of the script of anti-black-Pete performance concerns a transnational tradition of anti-racism movement, referencing a shared pan-African past.⁴³⁹ Protestors embed their activism against black Pete in a broader history of resistance against racial injustice. This is evident particularly in the communication of anti-black-Pete organisations. For example, in 2015, KOZP organised a ‘Freedom Ride’ to the national arrival ceremony in Meppel.⁴⁴⁰ The

⁴³³ [Tweederangsburger]. Schols, “Keeping”, 194-95.

⁴³⁴ [Het gaat om meer dan zwarte Piet. Het gaat om als gelijke meedoen in Nederland, in de Nederlandse samenleving.] Respondent Tim, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 24, 2021.

⁴³⁵ Wekker, *White Innocence*, 7.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 148-49.

⁴³⁷ Schols, “Keeping”, 117-20.

⁴³⁸ [Wij gaan niet weg. Dit is ook mijn land. Wij zijn hier ook. En we horen hier ook.] Respondent Amaya, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021. The importance of Dutch identity in claim making among anti-black-Pete protestors is also recognised by Mestdagh, “Slavernij,” 74-6.

⁴³⁹ Mestdagh, “Slavernij,” 128.

⁴⁴⁰ “Freedom Ride To Meppel,” *Stop Blackface*, Accessed May 28, 2021, <https://stopblackface.com/kozp/freedom-ride-to-meppel/>.

connection to the U.S. civil rights movement is evident. This is also reproduced by the emphasis on the non-violent approach to activism adopted by various organisations, including references to Martin Luther King.⁴⁴¹ During other protest events, notions of ‘Black Power’ were invoked by protestors by chanting “Amandla Awethu”,⁴⁴² a chant that was popularised in the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa.⁴⁴³ The social movements referenced were generally criticised during their emergence, yet are portrayed in a more favourable light today. By creating a connection to these movements, the anti-black-Pete protestors position themselves as being on the ‘right side of history’.



Image 3. Anti-Black-Pete Demonstrators Perform Opposition in Meppel in 2015.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴¹ “15 november, Gouda: Actie Tegen Zwarte Piet bij Landelijke Sinterklaasintocht,” *Doorbraak*, September 25, 2014, <https://www.doorbraak.eu/15-november-gouda-actie-tegen-zwarte-piet-bij-landelijke-sinterklaasintocht/>. While the majority of the respondents expressed their support for this approach, it is important to note that not everyone that opposes black Pete endorses non-violence. This was noted by various respondents, for example Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Jamal, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 20, 2021; Respondent Azara, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 1, 2021.

⁴⁴² [Power to Us].

⁴⁴³ Schols, “Keeping,” 235.

⁴⁴⁴ Martin Kuiper, “Kick Out Zwarte Piet Kwam Niet naar Meppel Om Te Rellen,” *NRC Handelsblad*, November 14, 2015, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2015/11/14/kick-out-zwarte-piet-kwam-niet-naar-meppel-om-te-r-1559561-a288186>.

5.3.2 Material Symbols

5.3.2.1 Clothing

As that the contemporary anti-black-Pete social movement grew after public outrage over t-shirts, it should come as no surprise that protestors' clothing are an important symbol in their performance. T-shirts and sweatshirts displaying the original 'Black Pete Is Racism' text are worn with pride in various designs.⁴⁴⁵ The apparel that portrays anti-black-Pete sentiments is generally hidden by protestors until they are at the protest location in order not to provoke aggression.⁴⁴⁶ An additional popular clothing choice among protestors is the all-black outfit. Some protestors wear black berets and sunglasses, an apparent nod to the U.S. Black Panther Party.⁴⁴⁷ To accessorise, protestors wear stickers on their jackets with the *Black Pete is Racism* slogan. Some wear a button with the number 1873, which references the abolishment of slavery in the former Dutch colonies.⁴⁴⁸

5.3.2.2 Signs, Banners and Stickers

Perhaps the most well-known banner used in anti-black-Pete protests features the text "Black Pete Is Racism", printed on an image of *pepernoten*, which are small cookies distributed by the Petes to children during the parade. There are several other banners frequently displayed during anti-black-Pete protest in support of the movement's narrative. Examples include "Listen To Black Voices, Don't Make Blackfaces" and various iterations of "The Netherlands Can Do It"⁴⁴⁹, relevant to the city in which the protest occurs (e.g. "Den Bosch Can Do It").

⁴⁴⁵ Respondent Amaya, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Noah, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021.

⁴⁴⁶ Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021; Respondent Amaya, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

⁴⁴⁷ Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021.

⁴⁴⁸ Annemarie de Wildt, "Dit is de Man achter Halsema's '1873'-Button," *OneWorld*, June 5, 2020, <https://www.oneworld.nl/lezen/discriminatie/racisme/dit-is-de-man-achter-halsemas-1873-button/>.

⁴⁴⁹ [Nederland Kan Het].

In 2016, KOZP introduced a new, cohesive design for their banners and signs which has become an identifier of the black Pete movement. The design features white and yellow letters on a black background and the red, white and blue colours of the Dutch flag are displayed below the text. Since the establishment of various local KOZP chapters in 2018, new banner designs replaced the Dutch flag with provincial flags, relevant to the location of the faction. It underlines the protestors' claim to 'Dutchness', reframing their actions as an expression of national and local identity: "[e]ven though I am Black, I am Dutch and that means that I too have the right to an opinion about our traditions."⁴⁵⁰ In addition to the standardised style of KOZP signs, protestors often bring their own signs.



Image 4. Anti-black-Pete Protestors Perform Opposition in Leeuwarden in 2017 during a KOZP Demonstration.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵⁰ [Ook al ben ik Zwart, ik ben ook een Nederlander en dat betekent dat ik ook recht heb op een mening over tradities.] Respondent Imani, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 18, 2021.

⁴⁵¹ Karin Sitalsing, "De Discussie over Zwarte Piet Speelt Niet Alleen in de Randstad," *Trouw*, December 2, 2017, <https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/de-discussie-over-zwarte-piet-speelt-niet-alleen-in-de-randstad~bc052bd7/>.



Image 5. Anti-black-Pete Protestors Display a Banner underneath the Erasmusbridge in Rotterdam in 2016.⁴⁵²



Image 6. Anti-black-Pete Protesters Perform Opposition in Venlo in 2020 during a Demonstration Organised by KOZP.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵² "200 Tegenstanders Zwarte Piet Opgepakt in Rotterdam," *NOS Nieuws*, November 12, 2016, <https://nos.nl/artikel/2142733-200-tegenstanders-zwarte-piet-opgepakt-in-rotterdam>.

⁴⁵³ "Vier Arrestaties onder Zwarte Piet-aanhangers bij Demonstraties in Venlo," *Het Parool*, November 21, 2020, <https://www.parool.nl/nederland/vier-arrestaties-onder-zwarte-piet-aanhangers-bij-demonstraties-in-venlo~b2544030/>.

5.3.3 Chants

While some of the early protests against black Pete were silent, the majority have incorporated sound.⁴⁵⁴ The most prominent sound is collective vocalisation, as chanting has become an integral part of the performance of opposition against black Pete. There are four general categories of chants. The chants are often initiated by protest organisers who utilise a megaphone to amplify their message. They follow specific rhythms.

The first category is an expression of aversion to black Pete. It contains perhaps the most well-known slogan of anti-black-Pete protest: “Kick Out Zwarte Piet”. A similar example is “No More Blackface” or “Black Pete Is Not Acceptable”⁴⁵⁵. Through these yells, protestors voice their opposition to the figure black Pete. The second category of chants serves to cement the anti-black-Pete movement in a broader context of anti-racism. Examples include the slogan “Black Pete is Black Grief”, which is a direct reference to the 1994 activists against black Pete, as well as “No Justice, No Peace”, which is commonly utilised during protests against racial injustice.⁴⁵⁶ The fact that these slogans are in English contributes to the international contextualisation.

The third category of chants is identified by its moral character. These chants serve to impart shame upon the audience. They share a similar structure, in which the object of shame is named, followed by the words “shame on you”⁴⁵⁷, e.g. “Mayor, shame on you, sponsors, shame on you, Den Bosch, shame on you”.⁴⁵⁸ Incidentally, those that lead the chants choose to name specific companies and organisations that sponsor the national or local parade.⁴⁵⁹ The

⁴⁵⁴ For an early example, see “Tegenstanders Zwarte Piet keren intochten de rug toe,” *Algemeen Dagblad*, November 12, 2013, <https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/tegenstanders-zwarte-piet-keren-intochten-de-rug-toe~a7b8f325/>.

⁴⁵⁵ [Zwarte Piet Kan Niet].

⁴⁵⁶ Ben Zimmer, “No Justice, No Peace,” *Language Log*, July 15, 2013, <https://languagelog.ldc.upenn.edu/nll/?p=5249>

⁴⁵⁷ [Schaam je].

⁴⁵⁸ [Burgemeester, schaam je, sponsors, schaam je, Den Bosch, schaam je]

⁴⁵⁹ Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021; Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021.

yells are also directed at the audience for their presence at the ceremony, e.g. “Parents, shame on you”⁴⁶⁰. The final category of chants incorporates an appeal to the audience, inviting the observers to imagine an alternative celebration of St. Nicholas. Examples are: “Black Pete Is Not Necessary”⁴⁶¹, “Party For Your Child, Party For My Child”⁴⁶².

5.3.4 Location

The location of the performance of opposition against black Pete is the *arrival ceremony*. It carries great significance for the protestors. Huey, who is involved in the organisation of protests, reasons:

We have to be there, the moment when the Netherlands choose to come together *en masse* to be racist. To celebrate a children's party at the expense of others. And every time they try to hide us somewhere, like the children who don't belong. Like the group that's screwing things up. While racism is screwing things up.⁴⁶³

The protestors’ presence at the arrival ceremony allows them to directly face the object of their protest, black Pete. Additionally, they are able to confront hundreds of people at local St. Nicholas arrivals, while national ceremonies draw an audience of tens of thousands of people on location and more than a million individuals via the national broadcast.⁴⁶⁴ It is thus of

⁴⁶⁰ [Ouders, schaam je].

⁴⁶¹ [Zwarte Piet Hoeft Niet].

⁴⁶² [Feest Voor Jouw Kind, Feest Voor Mijn Kind].

⁴⁶³ [We moeten daar zijn, het moment waar Nederland er voor kiezen om massaal bij elkaar te komen en racistisch te zijn. Om een kinderfeest te vieren ten koste van anderen. En men probeert ons iedere keer ergens te verstoppen, als de kinderen die er niet bij horen. Als de groep die de boel aan het verzieken is. Terwijl racisme de boel aan het verzieken is.] Respondent Huey, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

⁴⁶⁴ Respondent Gregory, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021; “Eerste Sinterklaasjournaal van 2020 Trekt Ruim 1,4 miljoen Kijkers,” *Hart van Nederland*, November 10, 2020, <https://www.hartvannederland.nl/nieuws/kijkcijfers-eerste-sinterklaasjournaal>.

strategic and symbolic importance.

5.3.5 Body

A fundamental aspect of the performance of opposition against black Pete is corporality. In performance, participants embody their resistance against black Pete. Through their physical presence at the arrival ceremony, protestors' opposition to the caricature materialises. The tangible elements of their performance amplify protestors' message and provide narrative contextualisation, however, it is the presence of the body that holds significance; it represents an ideological *stance* against racism that supercedes racial divides.

Nevertheless, particular attention must be devoted to Black bodies in the performance of opposition against black Pete. If the St. Nicholas ceremony can be conceptualised as a site where national identity is performed, the presence of Black protestors could be interpreted as a claim to their space. It is a rectification of their position as perceived second-class citizens; they demand to be seen and heard as equals.⁴⁶⁵ Their presence attempts to redress the power dynamic that is inherent in racism. By performing opposition at the arrival ceremony they present a different view on the St. Nicholas celebrations, demonstrating that it is not a festive event for all of Dutch society.

5.4 Elements of the Realm of Contention

Despite their efforts, the message that anti-black-Pete protestors aim to convey is not always well received by the audience. Indeed, as noted by Huey above, there have been

⁴⁶⁵ Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021; Respondent Huey, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021; Respondent Chanou, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 28, 2021.

numerous attempts to halt black Pete opposition.⁴⁶⁶ To account for the factors and parties that impact the protestors' ability to perform opposition, I introduce the realm of contention. In the case of the social movement against black Pete, it consists of three elements: the audience, state representatives, and institutional constraints.⁴⁶⁷

5.4.1 Audience

The audience refers to the individuals that observe the performance of protest. Their composition is constantly shifting.⁴⁶⁸ In the case of the anti-black-Pete performance in Den Bosch, the audience consisted of the spectators of the parade, St. Nicholas, the black Petes, the pro-Pete performers and the police and ME. Audience members are not a passive recipient of a performance of opposition; their actions impact the protest. For example, when the black Pete on the motorcycle in Den Bosch roared his engine, it effectively silenced the performance of opposition. Indeed, the use of sound is frequently employed by audiences to affect the performance of opposition against black Pete. Their behaviour impacts protestors' ability to perform as well as their appraisal thereof.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁶ Respondent Leidira, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 7, 2021; Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Imani, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 18, 2021; Respondent Djuna, interview by author, Zoom, May 21, 2021; Respondent, Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021; Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Nicole, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 27, 2021; Respondent Douglas, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 28, 2021; Respondent Chanou, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 28, 2021; Respondent Rai, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 2, 2021. See also Schols, *Keeping*, 237-40, Donker, "Changing", 50-54 and Mestdagh, "Slavernij," 56-61.

⁴⁶⁷ One may argue that the media is an additional fourth element that impacts the performance of opposition. Indeed, its presence can influence protestors' and audience actions. However, its effects are predominantly palpable post-protest when articles are published and media is shared. As a result, a discussion of its impact is outside the scope of this thesis.

⁴⁶⁸ James M. Jasper, "Introduction: Players and Arenas Formerly Known as the State," in *Breaking Down the State: Protestors Engaged*, eds. Jan Willem Duyvendak and James M. Jasper (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 10.

⁴⁶⁹ In a number of cases, protestors were forced to halt their performance before its start due to mentions of a hostile audience, which resulted in strong feelings of dissatisfaction. This was described by Respondent Rai, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 2, 2021. See also Niek Megens and Ewoud ten Kleij, "Wijkt Grondrecht voor Intimidatie in Zwolle?," November 19, 2018, *De Stentor*, Nexis Uni; Marscha van der Vlies, "Intocht Met Twee Gezichten," *Leeuwarder Courant*, November 19, 2018, Nexis Uni.

A particularly poignant example occurred in Dokkum in 2017, where a small number of protestors arrived during the St. Nicholas arrival ceremony despite the highway blockades. They swiftly became recipients of antagonistic language including frequent use of the N-word, gestures, and physical intimidation. As they entered the designated protest location, some audience members took off their belt and began wielding it against the barricades to mimic the sound of lashes.⁴⁷⁰ The environment was deemed highly unsafe; the individuals were no longer allowed to perform opposition. For those present in Dokkum, it was a haunting experience.⁴⁷¹

Evidently, the individuals that comprise the audience form a relevant faction in the realm of contention; they are active participants that may influence the performance of protest against black Pete.

5.4.2 State Representatives

State representatives merit specific categorisation as their presence in the capacity of the government endows them with a distinctive status. Their repertoire of action is larger than that of other audience members; they retain a monopoly on the legitimate use of force.⁴⁷² In the case of the social movement against black Pete, the state representatives present are generally the police and the ME.⁴⁷³ Their role is two-sided; while they must facilitate protestors' right to demonstration, they must also enforce any conditions established by the municipality and control public order.⁴⁷⁴ Consequently, their impact on protest performances

⁴⁷⁰ Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021; Respondent Earl, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Donatella della Porta and Herbert Reiter, "Policing Protest," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social & Political Movements. Volume 3: Pe-Z*, eds. David A. Snow et al. (West-Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 937.

⁴⁷³ During a number of arrival ceremonies, the mayor is also present to accompany St. Nicholas. However, this is a ceremonial role.

⁴⁷⁴ Della Porta and Reiter, "Policing Protest," 938.

is ambivalent. In the case of Den Bosch, state representatives restricted the performance of opposition by rejecting protestors' demand to adjust their location, while the pro-Pete group was allowed to position itself on the St. Nicholas parade route. Yet, the police facilitated the anti-black-Pete protest by limiting access to the participants, possibly preventing instances of violence by other audience members. This was particularly relevant toward the end of the protest, as individuals aimed to reach the group.

In addition to the impact on the performance of opposition, state representatives' presence affects the sense of safety among participants. Some protestors feel that state actors value safeguarding the current state of affairs over their right to demonstration and freedom of expression.⁴⁷⁵ The police's failure to prevent past violent incidents against the protestors as well as their own use of violence against protest participants has strengthened these sentiments.⁴⁷⁶ The sense of distrust toward state representatives among protest participants is further exacerbated by the intimidation that protestors have encountered during their performance of opposition.⁴⁷⁷ They feel that the police adopted a particularly hostile attitude toward the protestors. For example, while protesting in Rotterdam in 2016, Christina overheard a police officer tell his colleague about the group: "They should cuff these guys and throw them in the Maas [river]."⁴⁷⁸

Hence, the relationship between protestors and state representatives is best described as ambivalent; while participants recognise the importance of the police presence to safeguard

⁴⁷⁵ Respondent Jamal, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 20, 2021; Respondent Djuna, interview by author, Zoom, May 21, 2021; Respondent Huey, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Azara, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 1, 2021.

⁴⁷⁶ Respondent Leidira, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 7, 2021; Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021; Respondent Earl, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021. See also Van Laarhoven, "En Dan,"; Krieger, "Hoe Elvin,"; Sebastiaan Quekel, "Aytmara (39) naar 'Geheime Locatie' na Rellen in Maastricht: 'We Werden Omsingeld door Hooligans'," *Algemeen Dagblad*, November 16, 2020, Nexis Uni.

⁴⁷⁷ Respondent Gregory, interview by author, Amsterdam, May 26, 2021; Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021; Respondent Earl, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 31, 2021.

⁴⁷⁸ [Ze zouden die gasten geboeid in de Maas moeten gooien.]

them from other audience members, they are concerned about potential aggression by the police.⁴⁷⁹ It can thus be ascertained that state representatives are able to significantly impact the protestors' experience.

5.4.3 Institutional Constraints

Institutional constraints refer to the overarching dimensions of protest that are dictated by state institutions. They incorporate the conditions that are outlined by municipalities in order to authorise the protest.⁴⁸⁰ For example, during the protest in Den Bosch, the location of the performance was designated by the mayor in accordance with the police. This impacted the performance of opposition due to the performers' significant distance from the St. Nicholas parade. This was in stark contrast with the pro-Pete group, which was allowed in close vicinity to the parade by the mayor, who reasoned that their protest had a "childfriendly character."⁴⁸¹

Additional institutional measures that impact the performance of protest are limitations regarding language and sound. Respondents that were involved in protest organisation recounted several instances during which state authorities aimed to restrict the protestors' performance.⁴⁸² For example, Christina was informed that she was not allowed to protest under the name "Kick Out Zwarte Piet" or to use banners in their signature style when she

⁴⁷⁹ Respondent Tim, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 24, 2021; Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021; Respondent Amaya, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021.

⁴⁸⁰ The right to demonstration is outlined in the Dutch constitution as well as in European law. Municipalities are thus not formally endowed with the power to authorise protests. One of the conditions of public demonstrations in the Netherlands is that protests are formally announced in advance. Municipalities subsequently formulate the rules that protestors and protest organisations must abide by. They are also endowed with the ability to ban the protest. See Amnesty International, "Mensenrechten in Nederland," *Amnesty International*, Accessed May 14, 2021, <https://www.amnesty.nl/mensenrechten-in-nederland/demonstratierecht>.

⁴⁸¹ [Kindvriendelijke karakter]; quoted in Gotink, "Fans FC Den Bosch."

⁴⁸² Respondent Leidira, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 7, 2021; Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Imani, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 18, 2021; Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021; Respondent Nicole, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 27, 2021; Respondent Rai, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 2, 2021.

organised an anti-black-Pete protest in Easttown in 2018.⁴⁸³ Similarly, multiple respondents noted that the municipality and police exercised a ban on the use of noise amplifiers like megaphones during protests against black Pete.⁴⁸⁴ The use of excessive restrictions by municipalities was denounced by the National Ombudsman.⁴⁸⁵ In the negotiations that occur in preparation of the protest, respondents express a sense of intimidation, particularly by the police.⁴⁸⁶ Particularly, individuals with limited protest organisation experience feel they have no choice but to abide. As Rai described, reflecting on the first time they organised a protest against black Pete: “we were just a group of naive students. I did not know anything about my rights at all. And I just let myself be intimidated by the police and the municipality.”⁴⁸⁷

Institutional constraints severely affect the performance of opposition. They particularly impact protestors’ ability to be seen and heard, which are meaningful objectives for the majority of the respondents.⁴⁸⁸ As a result, protestors’ sense of satisfaction with their performance of opposition is partly determined by the support of the municipal actors.

5.4.4 Navigating the Realm of Contention

During a performance of opposition, protest participants endeavour to communicate their claims to their audience. In addition, they navigate the response of the recipients, as well

⁴⁸³ Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021. Easttown is not the original name of the town; it is a pseudonym to protect the privacy of the respondent.

⁴⁸⁴ Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Nicole, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 27, 2021. See also Patrick van 't Haar, “Buma: Regels voor Protesten rond Intocht,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, November 16, 2019, Nexis Uni.

⁴⁸⁵ “Demonstratierecht Nationale Ombudsman: Gemeenten Zijn Te Snel met Verbieden van Demonstraties,” *NRC Handelsblad*, March 15, 2018, Nexis Uni; I was unable to verify whether the use of megaphones was also restricted in Den Bosch in 2019, however, videos of the protest demonstrate Afriyie refraining from using the megaphone as the St. Nicholas parade passes. He resumes its use after the parade has passed. See Den Bosch Kan Het, “Live Stream.”

⁴⁸⁶ Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021; Respondent Nicole, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 27, 2021; Respondent Rai, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 2, 2021.

⁴⁸⁷ [wij waren zo'n groepje naïeve studenten. Ik wist helemaal niks over wat mijn rechten zijn en zo. En ik liet me gewoon intimideren door de politie en de gemeente.] Respondent Rai, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, June 2, 2021.

⁴⁸⁸ Out of the 25 respondents, 23 individuals identified a desire to be seen and heard as a prominent objective of their protest.

as the additional restraints that affect their performance. The realm of contention is the space of negotiation in which this occurs. As various actors attempt to exercise control over, or influence a performance of opposition, movement actors may choose to accept, reject or mitigate these efforts. This occurred in Den Bosch, for example, as participants voiced their frustration with their lack of visibility due to their assigned location. It is important to recognise, however, that the repertoire of actions that are available to protestors is limited by its potential repercussions, which include violence and arrest.⁴⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the protestors are able to exercise agency through their performance and subsequent interaction with the realm of contention.

⁴⁸⁹ See, for example, Arjen Schreuder, "Plotseling Grijpt de Politie in," November 17, 2014, *NRC Handelsblad*, Nexis Uni; Jorritsma, "Dan Pakken."

Conclusion

Protest is a meaningful subversive phenomenon. Social movements are an important driver of social change, albeit its actors do not necessarily succeed in achieving their goals. Nevertheless, they uncover implicit societal structures and rules by challenging them.⁴⁹⁰ Individuals that engage in social movement express dissatisfaction with important social phenomena, like power structures, social behaviour, culture and language.⁴⁹¹ Additionally, social movements are important sites of identity construction.⁴⁹² Evidently, social movements merit examination and social scientists have eagerly engaged in this for centuries. Through an examination of anti-black-Pete efforts, this thesis has provided additional insights to the field of social movement. Consequently, it has produced a small contribution to a deeper understanding of human behaviour and social life.⁴⁹³

Findings

Throughout this thesis, I have examined the meaning of protest for individuals that oppose black Pete. In exploring this, I have indicated that the social movement against black Pete must be conceptualised as an effort to combat racism in the Netherlands and to redress the second-class position that a number of protestors feel that Black individuals are assigned. To further illustrate this point, I will answer the sub-questions that have been addressed throughout this thesis. I will subsequently present the answer to the research question that has guided this thesis and reflect on the academic significance of this thesis.

⁴⁹⁰ Jasper, *The Art*, 13.

⁴⁹¹ Snow, "Social Movements," 1201.

⁴⁹² Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, "Individuals," 108.

⁴⁹³ David A. Snow et al., "Introduction," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social & Political Movements. Volume 1: A-E*, eds. David A. Snow et al. (West-Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), xlii.

1. What Are the Protest Participation Motives That Drive Individuals To Engage in the Performance of Opposition?

Among anti-black-Pete protestors, the most prominent element of protest participation motivation is ideology. This refers to individuals' willingness to assert their values and to express their dismay with the existence of black Pete and racism underlies their decision to join a protest. Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk previously identified group identity as the integrative element of protest participation; they found that individuals' identification with a social group or category has a strong positive influence on their motivational strength.⁴⁹⁴ While it was not the dominant participation motive among the respondents, I found that group identity was nevertheless a relevant factor; some of the Black respondents were motivated to protest because they considered it an opportunity to combat the practice of blackface, the use of 'black Pete' as an insult and to improve the societal position of Black individuals.

The instrumentality motive was also present among a number of participants. This refers to a process in which individuals consider the costs of protest, e.g. the potentially negative response of their social environment and physical violence, to be worth the benefits of protest, e.g. the potential to enact societal change. In addition to identity, ideology and instrumentality, I distinguished solidarity as the fourth protest participation motive. Solidarity pertains to shared feelings of support regarding the dominant group. This factor was mentioned by a number of White and POC respondents. They described their participation in protest as a means to display of solidarity with those negatively affected by racism.

In addition to the four motives, I pointed to the importance of moral shock as a catalyst for protest participation. It refers to the moment an individual is confronted with an event that is so upsetting that it leaves them open to protest.⁴⁹⁵ In the case of the social

⁴⁹⁴ Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, and Van Dijk, "Combining."

⁴⁹⁵ Jasper, *The Art*, 106.

movement against black Pete, moral shock often occurs when potential participations witness a violent confrontation between the protestors and the audience. This sparks outrage, strengthening individuals' willingness to join a demonstration. Moral shock thus amplifies existent motivations.

2. What Are the Claims Expressed by Protest Participants during Their Performance of Opposition?

In Chapter 1, I introduced the academic literature regarding the social movement against black Pete. It incorporated a discussion on the work of Mestdagh, Donker and Schols, who all have endeavoured to examine the opposition that anti-black-Pete protestors have engaged in.⁴⁹⁶ The narratives that they introduced in their work are in accordance with those expressed by the respondents in this thesis. The claims that are articulated by anti-black-Pete protestors are incorporated in the script of their performance of opposition. The script refers to the frames that protestors employ to contextualise their protest. It is important to note that these narratives, while employed strategically during a performance of opposition, are meaningful for the protestors. They provide insight into their interpretation of their actions.

The central claim of anti-black-Pete protestors is that black Pete is a racist caricature, whose existence symbolises racism against Black people in The Netherlands. The second claim is that the figure black Pete is a reference to slavery and Dutch colonialism. Its celebration in contemporary society illustrates the reproduction of inequality between Black and White people that originated during this historical period. The final claim expressed by protestors during their performance of opposition concerns Dutch national identity. It is particularly relevant to Black protestors. By embodying their resistance to black Pete during

⁴⁹⁶ Mestdagh, "Slavernij,"; Donker, "Changing,"; Schols, "Keeping."

the arrival ceremony, they assert their right to equal participation in the Netherlands, including in Dutch traditions.

3. How Do Individuals Perform Opposition against Black Pete?

The performance of opposition is a concept I operationalised in order to facilitate a dynamic examination of protest. It is informed by Ronald Eyerman's article on the performance of protest, supplemented by the elements visible in digital recordings of anti-black-Pete protest as well as those discussed by respondents.⁴⁹⁷ The performance of opposition is an intentional, physical and public assertion. Individuals perform opposition by employing symbolic gestures in front of an audience on a stage that is meaningful to the participants to achieve social, political and/or cultural aims.

During demonstrations against black Pete, individuals practice opposition through their clothing, signs, banners, stickers, chants and body. Protestors utilise these items to communicate their script, to express their claims and to encourage change. For example, the Dutch flag on the signs designed by KOZP indicate Dutch citizenship. Similarly, protestors' black apparel, commonly worn with the text 'Black Pete Is Racism', references their central claim and connects them to international anti-racism efforts. The body represents a literal and symbolic stance against the existence of black Pete and racism in the Netherlands. By utilising these elements to communicate their dissent, protestors perform opposition at a highly symbolic location: the site of St. Nicholas' arrival ceremony.

4. How Do Anti-Black-Pete Protest Participants Navigate the Realm of Contention?

It is advantageous to conceptualise the setting of the performance of protest as a

⁴⁹⁷ It draws on Eyerman, "Performing," 210.

dynamic space in which a number of actors interact. To understand how protestors navigate the realm of contention, it is necessary to elucidate the concept. The realm of contention is a space in which institutional constraints, state representatives and the audience restrict and/or facilitate the protestors. There are myriad ways in which these (f)actors can impact the performance of opposition. For example, institutional constraints, like the location of the protest or the use of megaphones, affect the ability of protestors to be visible and audible. Similarly, audiences can utilise noise or their physical presence to limit the protestors' performance. State representatives like police officer, have a particularly ambivalent effect on the performance of protest. They may choose to restrict or halt a protest; however, they are also a facilitating actor by forming a barrier between the protestors and other audience members.

Protestors navigate the realm of contention by electing to accept, refuse or mitigate the limitations invoked. There are myriad ways in which protestors negotiate their position; they have a vast repertoire of options at their disposal ranging from compliance to outright rejection. In the example of Eindhoven in Chapter 1, participants chose to continue their performance of opposition despite the raw eggs propelled at them. In this regard, one may argue that they accepted the conditions of their protest. Contrarily, in the case of Den Bosch in 2019, the protestors aimed to mitigate the restrictions by verbalising their frustration with their position vis-à-vis the parade.

In Conclusion: What Moves Individuals To Perform Oppositon?

This thesis concludes that individuals that oppose black Pete are moved to participate in the performance of opposition in the realm of contention during the arrival ceremonies of St. Nicholas in the Netherlands between 2014 and 2020 by a sense of injustice regarding racism against Black individuals, which is materialised in the performance of black Pete.

Through their physical presence at the St. Nicholas arrival ceremony, protestors embody their resistance to racism in The Netherlands. Protest participation is thus meaningful because it provides an opportunity to declare one's indignation with the state of affairs.

The significance of this research is twofold. First, it contributes to a rather meagre body of empirical work on the social movement against black Pete. Indeed, it is one of few academic investigations into the perspectives of anti-black-Pete protestors. It offers additional knowledge on the motivations and experiences of some of the individuals engaged in the opposition of black Pete by discussing how they conceptualise the meaning of their actions. Centring the accounts of protest participants allows them to contribute to the construction of academic knowledge regarding their lived experience. It is my ambition that this will facilitate an improved understanding of resistance to black Pete.

Secondly, this thesis offers a theoretical contribution to the field of social movement studies. I have attempted to demonstrate that the combination of social psychology, performance theory and political science/contentious politics offers rich insights into the drivers and experiences of protestors. While much of the experience of protest participants is context-specific, it is my hope that the indicators presented in the redesigned model of protest motivation can be employed by other researchers to further our understanding of what drives protestors. In addition to the model, I developed the concepts performance of opposition and realm of contention by drawing on a set of indicators derived from protestors' personal accounts. This analytical framework offers an interactive lens to study protest by combining empirical material with academic concepts.

Limitations

Semi-Structured Interviews

The majority of the data that is presented in this thesis is derived from semi-structured interview with individuals. Qualitative interviews are a valuable tool to gain insight into people's understanding of their experiences. It can produce valuable information about a number of abstract topics, e.g. beliefs, values, emotions, narratives, and identity.⁴⁹⁸ However, when investigating individuals' perception, researchers are confronted with a double hermeneutic; they aspire to obtain knowledge by making an academic interpretation of actors' interpretation of their social world.⁴⁹⁹ To mitigate this complication, I utilised interpreting questions in interviews, offering tentative summaries of the protestors' accounts in order to verify my comprehension of the material. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that the data presented in this thesis is informed by my own interpretations' of respondents' interpretations. Consequently, its insights do easily not lend themselves to generalisation.

Sampling

An additional limitation is related to the sampling of respondents. While this thesis aims to present the views of a diverse number of anti-black-Pete protestors, the majority of the individuals that were interviewed have ties with KOZP. This is due to an initial research focus on this social movement organisation, as well as my selective sampling strategy. It became evident during my research that the boundaries between participation and association shifted for a number of respondents as the social movement developed. Several interviewees attended their first KOZP protest without connections to the organisation, yet became more

⁴⁹⁸ Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 479.

⁴⁹⁹ Demmers, *Theories*, 17.

actively involved in the collective as it developed and decentralised.⁵⁰⁰ Despite this nuance, the perspective of unaffiliated protest participants might be underrepresented in this thesis.

Topic Sensitivity

While this research focuses on anti-black-Pete protest, it is also concerned with questions of ‘race’. Race and racism are highly sensitive and contested topics; there are myriad conceptualisations of its workings. Some scholars propose to forgo the mention of race in academia, arguing that it lacks nuance and that employing the categorisation of race inadvertently reifies the very imbalance it is aiming to address.⁵⁰¹ However, while it is generally agreed that ‘race’ is a socially constructed category, its effects on society have a tangible impact.⁵⁰² Furthermore, race was a central theme among the respondents. It is for this reason that I chose to incorporate the categories Black and White despite their potential to reduce the nuances of human difference. I attempted to mitigate this by incorporating the additional denominator ‘People of Colour’ and by allowing respondents to choose their own racial, national and/or ethnic identification.⁵⁰³ Nevertheless, the intricacies of race warrant an extensive discussion approached with great sensitivity that is outside the scope of this thesis.

⁵⁰⁰ Respondent Leidira, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 7, 2021; Respondent Christina, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 13, 2021; Respondent Djuna, interview by author, Zoom, May 21, 2021; Respondent Betül, interview by author, telephone interview, May 24, 2021; Respondent Janay, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 25, 2021; Respondent Julia, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 26, 2021; Respondent Douglas, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 28, 2021; Respondent Chanou, interview by author, Microsoft Teams, May 28, 2021.

⁵⁰¹ Kalunta-Crumpton, “The Inclusion,” 130.

⁵⁰² Alice Bradbury, “A Critical Race Theory Framework for Education Policy Analysis: the Case of Bilingual Learners and Assessment Policy in England,” *Race Ethnicity and Education* 23, no. 2 (March 2020): 243, DOI: [10.1080/13613324.2019.1599338](https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2019.1599338); Miriyam Aouragh, “‘White Privilege’ and Shortcuts to Anti-Racism,” *Race and Class* 61, no. 2 (September 2019): 16-20, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396819874629>.

⁵⁰³ Schols provides a similar reasoning in “Keeping”, 90.

Future Research

Rather than proposing a single direction for future research, it is my belief that the subject of anti-black-Pete protest merits an overall increase of examination. There are a number of research perspectives on this social movement that have yet to be explored. A particularly interesting research opportunity concerns the role of emotions. While emotions are a highly important aspect of protest, they are understudied.⁵⁰⁴ In this thesis, I made an effort to recognise the role of emotions, however, additional research into its effects on the experience of protest is warranted.

A second venue for research on the social movement of black Pete I propose is a sequel to Schols' work on anti-black-Pete protestors' contestation of institutional structures.⁵⁰⁵ As noted in Chapter 1, Schols focuses on events that transpired in 2013 and 2014. Since her publication, the attitude of contemporary Dutch society toward anti-black-Pete protestors appears to have shifted.⁵⁰⁶ Furthermore, the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020 have sparked increased societal interest in the topic of racism.⁵⁰⁷ While KOZP's protesting efforts have been supplemented by an engagement in societal dialogue since its inception, it appears that the organisation has gradually gained increased legitimacy as an expert on institutional racism.⁵⁰⁸ In 2021, a coalition of organisations, among which KOZP, published the *Zwart Manifest*,⁵⁰⁹ a roadmap to "combat institutionalised anti-Black racism and to promote Black emancipation" in twelve societal domains.⁵¹⁰ It would be elucidating to learn how KOZP's

⁵⁰⁴ This point is also made by Jasper in *The Emotion of Protest*, x.

⁵⁰⁵ Schols, "Keeping."

⁵⁰⁶ Lubbe and Kester, "Draagvlak."

⁵⁰⁷ KOZP and its local chapters were involved in the organisation of these protests in a number of cities. See Donker, "Changing," 96.

⁵⁰⁸ See, for example, Ton de Lange, "Vroege 'Kick-Off' van Zwarte-Pietendiscussie," *IJmuider Courant*, February 21, 2015, Nexis Uni; Willemien Schenkeveld, "Jerry Afriyie Komt Praten in Zaanstad," *Noordhollands Dagblad*, November 13, 2018, Nexis Uni; Stef Altena, "Blokkeerders en KOZP Stappen Even uit Bubbels," *Leeuwarder Courant*, November 16, 2018, Nexis Uni.

⁵⁰⁹ [Black Manifest].

⁵¹⁰ [institutioneel anti-zwart racisme bestrijden en Zwarte emancipatie bevorderen.] "Zwart Manifest," *Zwart Manifest*, Accessed March 11, 2021, <https://zwartmanifest.nl/zwart-manifest/>.

position in the political arena has transformed and how its members may consequently have expanded their repertoire of contention.

In addition to the recommended research on anti-black-Pete protest, I posit that the concept realm of contention merits expansion. In this thesis, I provided a definition and an initial application of the notion to the case of anti-black-Pete protest. Future research could incorporate an analysis of the performance of opposition and the realm of contention in different social movements. Further development of these concepts facilitates the synergy of different disciplines within social movement research and promotes an interactive approach to protest.

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Appendix 1 List of Respondents

Code	Name (pseudonym)	Racial/National/Ethnic Identifiers of Choice		Age	Gender	Education	Medium	Date Interview	Length Interview
R1	Asha	Aruban/Surinamese	Black	25	Woman	University of Applied Sciences	In-person (The Hague)	11-4-2021	52:04:00
R2	Emme	Dutch	White	28	Woman	University of Applied Sciences	Microsoft Teams	30-4-2021	52:36:00
R3	Caroline	Dutch	White	32	Woman	University of Applied Sciences	Microsoft Teams	6-5-2021	57:39:00
R4	Sophie	Dutch	White	31	Woman	University	Microsoft Teams	7-5-2021	59:57:00
R5	Leidira		Black or Mixed	26	Woman	University of Applied Sciences/University	Microsoft Teams	7-5-2021	36:59:00
R6	Merel	North-Netherlands	White	30	Woman	University	Microsoft Teams; In-Person (Amsterdam)	9-5-2021; 19-5-2021	01:13:02 ; 01:03:00
R7	Gregory		Black	34	Man	University	Microsoft Teams; In-Person (Amsterdam)	12-5-2021; 26-05-2021	00:48:28 ; 01:18:52
R8	Christina	Aruban	Woman of Colour	48	Woman	Intermediate Vocational Education/University of Applied Sciences	Microsoft Teams	13-5-2021	01:48:51
R9	Imani		Black	39	Woman	University of Applied Sciences	Microsoft Teams	18-5-2021	01:02:51
R10	Nia	From Amsterdam	Black/Woman of Colour	31	Woman	University of Applied Sciences	In-person (Amsterdam)	18-5-2021	01:05:24
R11	Jamal	Surinamese/Dutch	Black/Person of Colour	40	Man	University of Applied Sciences	Microsoft Teams	20-5-2021	01:33:02
R12	Djuna	Human Race of the Kalinya Terewuyu nation		31	Woman	Pre-vocational secondary education/enrolled in University	Zoom	21-5-2021	01:12:30

R13	Tim	Dutch	White	23	Man	University	Microsoft Teams	24-5-2021	00:56:52
R14	Betül	Turkish/Dutch	Woman of Colour	23	Woman	University of Applied Sciences	Telephone	24-5-2021	01:14:43
R15	Janay	Afrocuraaoan	Black	31	Woman / none	University of Applied Sciences	Microsoft Teams	25-5-2021	02:25:24
R16	Amaya	Surinamese/Dutch	Black or Mixed	49	Woman	University of Applied Sciences	Microsoft Teams	26-5-2021	01:01:36
R17	Huey	Ghanaian Dutch	Black	40	Man	Self Education	In-Person (Amsterdam); Microsoft Teams	26-5-2021	01:16:47; 01:09:25
R18	Julia	Dutch	White	49	Woman	University of Applied Sciences	Microsoft Teams	26-5-2021	01:06:06
R19	Nicole	Dutch	White	41	Woman	University of Applied Sciences	Microsoft Teams	27-5-2021	01:22:55
R20	Douglas		Black	38	Man	University	Microsoft Teams	28-5-2021	01:02:31
R21	Chanou	Fijian	Woman of Colour	44	Woman	University of Applied Sciences	Microsoft Teams	28-5-2021	01:34:48
R22	Noah	Dutch	White	20	Man	Intermediate Vocational Education	Microsoft Teams	31-5-2021	00:55:30
R23	Earl	Dutch Surinamese	Black	51	Man	University of Applied Sciences	Microsoft Teams	31-5-2021	00:55:36
R24	Azara	Black African	Black	31	Woman	University	Microsoft Teams	1-6-2021	01:24:36
R25	Rai	Dutch	White	36	Non-Binary	University of Applied Sciences	Microsoft Teams	2-6-2021	00:52:39

Appendix 2 List of Newspaper Articles

Date	Title of Article	Author	Source
14-11-2011	Demonsteren tegen Zwarte Piet Is Gevaarlijk	Hans Beerekamp	NRC Handelsblad
15-11-2011	Zwarte Piet Verpest voor Velen het Feest'	Patrick Meershoek	Het Parool
16-11-2011	De Politie Greep Veel Te Hard in	Wout Maas	Metro
16-11-2012	Zwarte Piet, Wie Mag Hem Niet?	Maaïke Boersma	Noordhollands Dagblad
16-11-2012	Het Is Weer Discussie-Over-Zwarte-Piet-Tijd	Maaïke Boersma	De Stentor
19-11-2011	Een T-Shirt Is Niet Bedreigend	Martijn Verwaaijen	Algemeen Dagblad
28-11-2012	Kijk Maar naar Zijn Dommige Gedrag; is Zwarte Piet Racisme?	Hassan Bahara	De Groene Amsterdammer
10-5-2013	Bezwaren tegen Zwarte Piet bij Intocht	Unknown	De Stentor
10-5-2013	Protest tegen Sinterklaas	Unknown	De Telegraaf
18-10-2013	Dreigende Sfeer bij 'Zwarte Piet-Protest'	Unknown	De Telegraaf
23-10-2013	Nu Wankelt Piet Pas Echt	Bram van der Heijden and Roel Ophelders	De Limburger
24-10-2013	Een Niet Te Stoppen Sneeuwbal	Martijn van Beeten	AD/Utrechts Nieuwsblad
24-10-2013	Pietdiscussie Is Niet Meer Te Stoppen	Martijn van Beeten	Leeuwarder Courant
31-10-2013	Intocht Sint in Amsterdam Mag Doorgaan	Jaap Stam	De Volkskrant

7-11-2013	Protest tegen Zwarte Piet tijdens Intocht van Sint	Unknown	Het Parool
7-11-2013	Piet Draagt Geen Ooring bij Amsterdamse Intocht	Unknown	Nederlands Dagblad
9-11-2013	Zwarte Piet 2.0: Laffe Polderpiet Of Stap naar Compromis?	Cyril Rosman	Tubantia
12-11-2013	Tegenstanders Piet Keren Intochten de Rug Toe	Joeke Berg	Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau
13-11-2013	Zwarte Piet Krijgt Ruggen Te Zien	Unknown	Noordhollands Dagblad
15-11-2013	Intocht Sinterklaas Extra Beveiligd in Rotterdam	Grieteke Meerman	Metro
16-11-2013	Honderden bij Protest tegen Zwarte Piet	Jules van der Leeuw	Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau
16-11-2013	Geen Bodyguards voor Sinterklaas en Zwarte Piet	Michael Ramaker	Trouw
16-11-2013	Zwarte Pietdemonstrant Wordt Genegeerd'	Dagmar Aarts	Ijmuider Courant
17-11-2013	Protest tegen Zwarte Piet in Amsterdam	Eric Wendel	Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau
17-11-2013	Enthousiasme en Protest bij Intocht Sint	Joeke Berg Nederhof	Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau
17-11-2013	Amsterdam Tevreden over Intocht Sinterklaas	Marieke Serruys	Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau
18-11-2013	Woede Smeult onder Protest 'Zwarte Piet Niet'	Wilfred Simons	Ijmuider Courant
18-11-2013	Stil Protest tegen Zwarte Piet	Unknown	Trouw
18-11-2013	Urenlang Zwijgen Zij, tegen Piet	Unknown	NRC Handelsblad
18-11-2013	Zwijgende Actievoerders, Vertrapte Pepernoten	Sander van Walsum	De Volkskrant

18-11-2013	Stilte Overstemt Gejuich voor Sinterklaas Niet	Unknown	Metro
18-11-2013	Laten We 'T Zo Houden'	Dennis Greijn	De Gelderlander
18-11-2013	Antipietenprotest in Amsterdam	Unknown	Spits
18-11-2013	Intocht Sint en Piet Zonder Al Te Veel Rumoer Aangekomen	Unknown	NRC Next
23-11-2013	Gevlekte Pieten bij Intocht Ijburg	Patrick Meershoek	Het Parool
29-1-2014	Met Dank Aan Zwarte Piet; Nieuw Fatsoen: Allochtone Assertiviteit	Hassan Bahara	De Groene Amsterdammer
29-3-2014	Politieke Correctheid Maakt Dit Feest 'Zwart'	Unknown	AD/Amsterfoortse Courant
7-1-2014	Slavernijherdenking Verstoord Door Protest	Eric Wendel	Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau
7-2-2014	Racisme in Nederland? Kom Nou!	Maaïke van Houten	Trouw
7-4-2014	Schaf Zwarte Piet Af	Unknown	Haarlems Dagblad
7-5-2014	Zwarte Piet	Unknown	AD/Amsterfoortse Courant
15-8-2014	Van Der Laan: Piet Zwarte Knecht Af	Unknown	Leeuwarder Courant
29-8-2014	Protest tegen Zwarte Piet Verstomt Niet	Unknown	Metro
29-8-2014	Kortjes	Unknown	Nederlands Dagblad
25-9-2014	Protest bij Intocht Sinterklaas	Ruud Witte	AD/Groene Hart
11-10-2014	Piet Mag Blijven, Maar Wel Anders	Addy de Jong	Reformatisch Dagblad
15-10-2014	Zwarte Piet Verschiet van Kleur	Freke Remmers and Kim Jacobs	Limburgs Dagblad
16-10-2014	En een Nazi- Protest Wel?	Eefje Oomen	AD/Amsterfoortse Courant
18-10-2014	Arrestaties bij Intocht Sint in 2011 Onterecht	Freke Remmers	De Stentor

22-10-2014	Leefbaar Mijdt	Mark Hoogstad	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
24-10-2014	Kindergezichten Zwart bij Intocht	Unknown	Haarlems Dagblad
28-10-2014	Laat Lodewijk Lachen	Unknown	Financieel Dagblad
29-10-2014	Protest Zwarte Piet Wordt 'Netjes'	Unknown	AD/Groene Hart
6-11-2014	Tegenstanders Zwarte Piet Gokken Op 200 Mensen	Eefje Oomen	AD/Groene Hart
6-11-2014	Mail	Unknown	AD/Groene Hart
7-11-2014	Kortjes	Unknown	Nederlands Dagblad
12-11-2014	Hoe Kon het Zover Komen	Hans Nijenhuis and Tom Vennink	NRC Next
12-11-2014	Demonstratie in Rotterdam op Komst tegen Piet	Leon van Heel	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
13-11-2014	Anti-Piet Protest bij Amsterdamse Intocht	Judith Katstra	Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau
13-11-2014	Grote Steden: Geen Extra Maatregelen voor Sint	Judith Katstra	Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau
15-11-2014	Actievoerders Willen Protest tegen Zwarte Piet op Goudse Markt	Unknown	AD/De Dordtenaar
15-11-2014	Negentig Aanhoudingen bij Intocht Sinterklaas	Gert Jan Wijma	Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau
15-11-2014	Onrust bij Intocht Sinterklaas	Gert Jan Wijma	Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau
16-11-2014	Sinterklaas Met Roetpieten in Amsterdam	Judith Katstra	Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau
16-11-2014	Anti-Piet Protest Begonnen in Amsterdam (2)	Judith Katstra	Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau
17-11-2014	Plotseling Grijpt de Politie in	Arjen Schreuder	NRC Handelsblad
17-11-2014	Wild Geraas Verstoort Intocht	Unknown	Trouw

17-11-2014	Controverse rond Zwarte Piet	Bas Blokker	NRC Handelsblad
17-11-2014	Waarom Geen Trollen en Elfjes?'	Roel van Leeuwen	Leidsch Dagblad
17-11-2014	Alleen Maar Verliezers	Unknown	Metro
17-11-2014	'Had Leuke Dag Kunnen Zijn'	Annemieke van Dongen	De Limburger
17-11-2014	Gouda	Unknown	Algemeen Dagblad
19-11-2014	90 Arrestaties bij Intocht	Marianka Peters	Goudse Post
20-11-2014	Laat Student Keuze Maken	redactie	NRC Handelsblad
29-11-2014	De Inpoldering van Zwarte Piet; Hoe de Roetpiet Zijn Intrede Deed Reconstructie	Thijs Broer	Vrij Nederland
1-12-2014	Schouderklopjes voor Zwarte Bep	Anike van de Wijngaard	Leidsch Dagblad
3-12-2014	Wij Willen Niet Nederland Bashen; Anti-Racisme met een Superieure Glimlach	Hassan Bahara	De Groene Amsterdammer
4-12-2014	Toch Zingen en Springen in Beijum	Jurre van den Berg	De Volkskrant
24-12-2014	Sinterklaas Is Hoe Dan Ook een Kinderfeest'	Luc van den Oever	AD/Groene Hart
26-1-2015	Protest Ongezien Vinden Ze het een Stomme Film	Bas Blokker	NRC Handelsblad
21-2-2015	Vroege 'Kick-Off' van Zwarte-Pietendiscussie	Ton de Lange	Ijmuider Courant
3-3-2015	Vreedzaam	Robert Vuijsje	De Volkskrant
24-4-2015	Iedereen Weet Toch Dat Zwarte Piet Kwetst'	Peter van den Belt	AD/Groene Hart
3-5-2015	Nieuw Offensief van Tegenstanders Zwarte Piet	Eefje Oomen	De Stentor
2-7-2015	Slavernij Protest tegen Zwarte Piet tijdens Herdenking	Unknown	Ijmuider Courant
2-7-2015	Zwarte Piet onder Vuur in Meppel	Hilbrand Polman	Dagblad van het Noorden

2-7-2015	Pijn van Slavernij Vandaag Nog Voelbaar	Jan-Dirk van Scheyen	Reformatorisch Dagblad
12-9-2015	Zwarte Piet Hoort in een Museum: Bekijk 'M Daar'	Eefje Oomen	BN/De Stem
12-9-2015	Anti-Pieten bij Intocht met 'Luid Protest'	Eefje Oomen	AD/Utrechts Nieuwsblad
17-9-2015	Luid Protest tegen Zwarte Piet Meppel	Unknown	Dagblad van het Noorden
30-9-2015	Protest tegen Piet op Juiste Plek'	Peter van den Belt	AD/Groene Hart
7-10-2015	Burgemeester Hoort Kick Out Zwarte Piet	Rosa Timmer	Dagblad van het Noorden
14-10-2015	Schoorsteenpiet Dumpt Zwarte Piet	Ed van Tellingen	Dagblad van het Noorden
14-10-2015	Pieten Met Roetvegen bij Intocht in Meppel	Anton van Noorel	De Stentor
20-10-2015	Opnieuw Actie tegen Zwarte Piet bij Landelijke Intocht	Unknown	Trouw
20-10-2015	Prominente' Plek voor Anti-Piet Protest	Jaap Selles	De Stentor
21-10-2015	Antirascisten Nu Beter Voorbereid	Ton de Lange	Ijmuider Courant
13-11-2015	Weg Met Zwarte Piet, maar Wij Zijn Geen Boeman'	Ed van Tellingen	Dagblad van het Noorden
14-11-2015	Politiebegeleiding bij Protest Intocht Sint	Unknown	Reformatorisch Dagblad
14-11-2015	Van Dieuwertje Hoeft Piet Niet Meer Zwart	Unknown	De Gooi- en Eemlander
16-11-2015	Touwtrekken om Zwarte Piet, Zonder Trauma's	Martin Kuiper	NRC Handelsblad
16-11-2015	Rustig Protest tegen Pieten in Meppel	Unknown	Reformatorisch Dagblad
16-11-2015	Rustig Pieten-Protest	Unknown	Eindhovens Dagblad
16-11-2015	In Meppel Zit Iedereen Even Recht	Jurre van den Berg	De Volkskrant

16-11-2015	Fijn Kinderfeest, Ondanks Alles	Michael Amsman and Ewoud Ten Kleij	De Stentor
30-11-2015	Protest bij Zapp Sinterklaasfeest	Unknown	BN/De Stem
30-11-2015	Verhit Pietenprotest	Maarten Venderbosch	Utrechts Nieuwblad
30-11-2015	Betogers Zorgden voor Dreigende Sfeer'	Patrick Meershoek	Het Parool
1-12-2015	Schoolbestuur Bedreigd om Verbannen van Zwarte Piet	Unknown	AD/Groene Hart
2-12-2015	Piet Is Gewoon Piet, Hoor!'	Salwa van der Gaag	AD/Rivierenland
4-12-2015	Roetpiet Is een Stads Type	Nadia Ezzeroili and Jeroen Visser	Brabants Dagblad
30-12-2015	Ronald Biemolt Heeft de Smaak te Pakken	Rosa Timmer	Dagblad van het Noorden
15-2-2016	Nu Ook in Friesland: Protest tegen Swarte Pyt	Karin de Mik	NRC
15-2-2016	Swarte Pyt Is Hier Zwart van het Roet'	Niels Markus	Het Parool
15-2-2016	Ook In Grouw Mag Piet Niet Zwart Zijn	Unknown	AD/Haagse Courant
23-9-2016	Je Protesteert Daar Waar het Effect Heeft'	Hassan Bahara	De Volkskrant
23-9-2016	Boete Dreigt voor Activist tegen Piet	Cyril Rosman	De Stentor
23-9-2016	OM Eist Forse Boete voor Anti-Pietactivist	Cyril Rosman	AD/Utrechts Nieuwsblad
6-10-2016	Ik Ga Door Tot het Einde van Zwarte Piet in Nederland'	Hassan Bahara	De Volkskrant
7-10-2016	Anti-Pietactivist Krijgt Geen Straf of Boete	Unknown	De Twentsche Courant/Tubantia
31-10-2016	'Kom Allemaal naar Leiden'	Robert Toret	Leidsch Dagblad
1-11-2016	Demonstratie tegen Zwarte Piet	Unknown	Reformatorisch Dagblad
2-11-2016	Protest Tegenstanders Zwarte Piet bij Intocht Sinterklaas	Merike Woning	Metro

2-11-2016	Protest voor en tegen Zwarte Piet bij Intocht	Unknown	Noordhollands Dagblad
2-11-2016	Actievoerders voor en tegen Zwarte Piet Gaan Demonstreren	Unknown	Trouw
3-11-2016	Ook Leiden Strijdtoneel Zwarte Piet	Loman Leefmans	Leidsch Dagblad
5-11-2016	Nijmeegse Actie tegen Zwarte Piet	Frank Hermans	De Gelderlander
9-11-2016	Aankomst van Sinterklaas Is 'Risicowedstrijd'	Sandra Don	AD/Amersfoortse Courant
11-11-2016	Intocht Sint Als een Risicowedstrijd	Bart Dirks	De Volkskrant
11-11-2016	Maassluis Doet Alles Om Intocht Leuk Te Houden	Elsje Jorritsma	NRC
11-11-2016	Door Controle voor de Sint	Sandra Don and Cyril Rosman	Het Parool
11-11-2016	Kind Bij Intocht door Veiligheidspoort	Sandra Don and Cyril Rosman	Algemeen Dagblad
12-11-2016	200 Tegenstanders Zwarte Piet Opgepakt in Rotterdam	Unknown	NOS
12-11-2016	Oproep Politie en Weesp tegen Onrustige Intocht	Valentijn Bartels	De Gooi- en Eemlander
12-11-2016	Racisme Is Niet Slechts een Mening'	Anna Portella	Dagblad van het Noorden
14-11-2016	Sint, Piet, Pepernoten en Protest	Daniel Schinkel	De Gooi- en Eemlander
14-11-2016	Normale' Intocht onder Strenge Politieregie	Hans Marijnissen	Trouw
14-11-2016	Intocht Is Anders, Wel Feestelijk	Sandra Don and Erik Oosterom	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
14-11-2016	In Rotterdam Was het Wél Hommeles	Marjon Bolwijn	De Volkskrant
15-11-2016	'Weespers Zijn Geen Racisten'	Unknown	De Gooi- en Eemlander
15-11-2016	Pietprotest bij Hartebrugkerk	Binnert Jan Glastra	Leidsch Dagblad

15-11-2016	'Ik Werd Belaagd met Gebalde Vuist'	Valentijn Bartels	De Gooi- en Eemlander
16-11-2016	Verdachte Rond Protest tegen Zwarte Piet Vrij	Unknown	Reformatorisch Dagblad
16-11-2016	Anti-Pietenprotest Op Komst bij Groot Sinterklaasfeest in Ahoy	Nadia Berkelder	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
17-11-2016	Protest in Geleen rond Discussie Zwarte Piet	Unknown	Limburgs Dagblad
17-11-2016	Paardenpoep	Sander de Kramer	De Telegraaf
18-11-2016	Weer Protest tegen Piet	Ivar Penris	AD/Utrechts Nieuwsblad
18-11-2016	Dan Pakken We Gewoon Alle Demonstranten Op	Elsje Jorritsma	NRC Handelsblad
18-11-2016	Voetjes Afvegen met Onze Rechten	Asha ten Broeke	De Volkskrant
19-11-2016	Tegendemonstratie bij Sint	Jos van den Kamp	Limburgs Dagblad
19-11-2016	Kinderfeestje	Mark Hoogstad	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
21-11-2016	Amnesty: Betogers tegen Zwarte Piet in Geleen Gecensureerd	Thomas Rueb	NRC Next
21-11-2016	Amnesty: Burgemeester Cox Pleegt Censuur bij Protest	Jos van den Camp	Limburgs Dagblad
21-11-2016	Intocht Sint in Grimmige Sfeer	Diederik de Groot	Leidsch Dagblad
22-11-2016	Experts Halen Hard Uit naar Burgemeester	Rik van Hulst	Limburgs Dagblad
25-11-2016	Waarschuwing Demonstranten	Unknown	De Telegraaf
25-11-2016	Pietprotest Mag Slechts op Afstand	Unknown	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
28-11-2016	Protest tegen Zwarte Piet Verloopt Rustig	Eefje Savelkoul	Metro
7-12-2016	Demo' Zwarte Piet Wekt Ergernis	Stephan Jongerius	Brabants Dagblad
16-12-2016	'Protest Lokale Zaak'	Rik van Hulst	De Limburger

18-1-2017	Links Protest Klinkt Weer in De Straten	Rosanne Kropman	Trouw
14-2-2017	Rotterdam Agenten Niet Vervolgd voor Geweld tegen Anti-Piet-Activist	Unknown	NRC
17-2-2017	Anti-Piet-Betoger Niet Vervolgd	Unknown	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
3-10-2017	Burgemeester Wil Overleg over Sintdemonstraties	Unknown	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
5-10-2017	Dit Is Mijn Bijdrage aan een Beter Nederland'	Petra Vissers	Trouw
2-11-2017	Dokkum 'Te Ver' voor Piet-Protest	Cyril Rosman	Leeuwarder Courant
2-11-2017	Vol Verwachting Klopt het Hart Van Dokkum'	Cyril Rosman	AD/Amersfoortse Courant
13-11-2017	Toch Protest Van Kick Out Zwarte Piet Gepland bij Intocht van Sinterklaas	Unknown	Metro
13-11-2017	Protest Gepland bij Intocht Zwarte Piet	Unknown	Reformatorisch Dagblad
14-11-2017	Oproep Tot Vreedzaam en Constructief Pietenprotest	Tim Fierant	Leeuwarder Courant
16-11-2017	Vera Vogel onder Vuur Nazwartepietenprotest	Janske Mollen	De Stentor
17-11-2017	'Activisten Horen Niet tussen Onze Kinderen in Dokkum!'	Unknown	De Telegraaf
17-11-2017	Pietenblokkades' Afgelast na Druk OM	Tim Fierant	Leeuwarder Courant
18-11-2017	Witte Piet? Alle Papa's Worden Hier dan Herkend'	Jan-Dirk Verheij	AD/De Dordtenaar
18-11-2017	Piet	Mirjam de Winter	NRC Handelsblad
18-11-2017	Demonstratie Dokkum tijdens Intocht	Unknown	Reformatorisch Dagblad

20-11-2017	‘Twijfel Aan Zwarte Piet Is Mij Al Genoeg’	Bas Blokker and Sheila Kamerman	NRC next
20-11-2017	En Dan Snijdt een Auto de Bus Af	Kasper van Laarhoven	NRC Next
20-11-2017	Zwarte Piet Is Nog Springlevend	Malika Sevil	Het Parool
20-11-2017	Blokkade op Snelweg Houdt Protest tegen	Unknown	Metro
20-11-2017	Mooie Intocht In Schaduw van Pietencontroverse	Goos Bies	Leeuwarder Courant
20-11-2017	Snelwegblokkade Zet Pietendiscussie op Scherp	Goos Bies	Dagblad van het Noorden
20-11-2017	Inzamelings voor Blokkade-Actie	Goos Bies	Leeuwarder Courant
20-11-2017	Tegen De Grondwet, Toch Heldhaftig?	Unknown	Leeuwarder Courant
21-11-2017	Zwarte Piet Burgemeester Verbod Protest in Dokkum Wegens Zwaar Vuurwerk	Unknown	NRC Next
21-11-2017	Grondrechten Staan Hier onder Druk	Sinan Çankaya	De Volkskrant
21-11-2017	Zwartgemaakt op Web	Unknown	De Telegraaf
22-11-2017	Zware Straf Dreigt na Blokkade op A7	Unknown	Het Parool
23-11-2017	Geen Sprekers, Pietendiscussie Afgelast	Olger Koopman	De Stentor
23-11-2017	Meningsuiting	Arend van Wijngaarden	Dagblad van het Noorden
28-11-2017	Uitschelden Anti-Pieten Bestraft	Gijs Beukers	De Volkskrant
29-11-2017	Blokkeerders A7: Protest Welkom in Dokkum	Marscha van der Vlies	Dagblad van het Noorden
1-12-2017	Manifestatie Dokkum Mag Twee Uur Duren	Tim Fierant	Leeuwarder Courant
4-12-2017	Tevredenheid na Protest tegen Zwarte Piet	Unknown	Nederlands Dagblad
4-12-2017	En Wéér naar Dokkum, Dit Keer Onder Begeleiding van de ME	Maud Effting	De Volkskrant
4-12-2017	Protest Rustig in Dokkum	Karin de Mik	NRC Next

4-12-2017	Pietendiscussie Is Meer Dan Randstadprobleem'	Karin Sitalsin	Trouw
5-12-2017	Chronologisch Overzicht van Incidenten Met Zwarte Piet in de Aanloop naar het Sinterklaasfeest Dit Jaar	Unknown	NRC Handelsblad
5-12-2017	'Deze Discussie Houdt Niet Op na 6 December'	Tanja Koopen	Noordhollands Dagblad
29-12-2017	Alles Wat Ik Doe, Wordt Negatief Vertaald'	Tonny van der Mee	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
15-3-2018	Demonstratierecht Nationale Ombudsman: Gemeenten Zijn Te Snel met Verbieden Van Demonstraties	Unknown	NRC Handelsblad
23-3-2018	Sint Niet Welkom voor Intocht Op Televisie	Cyril Rosman	Het Parool
30-4-2018	De Hooligans Konden Gewoon Doorlopen	Unknown	NRC Handelsblad
21-6-2018	Nederland Is een Safe Space voor Witte Mensen'	Thijs Broer en Tim Luimes	Vrij Nederland
21-9-2018	Nog Steeds Onvrede over Intocht	Jitske-Sophie Venema	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
28-9-2018	'Racistenfeestje, Nee Dank U'	Willemien Schenkevel	Noordhollands Dagblad
11-10-2018	Actie van De Blokkeerfriezen Is Fout, Maar Verklaarbaar'	Mitchell Esajas and Jerry Afriyie	Het Parool
11-10-2018	We Houden Juist van Nederland'	Stef Altena	Dagblad van het Noorden
11-10-2018	Activisten: Blokkeerfriezen Moeten Verplicht op Cursus	Patrick Meershoek	Het Parool
12-10-2018	Anti-Pieten Dienen Hun Eisenlijst In	Marcel van Lieshout	De Volkskrant
12-10-2018	Racismeverwijt van KOZP Steekt Blokkeer-Friezen	Stef Altena	Leeuwarder Courant

12-10-2018	Activisten Eisen Pietenworkshop	Victor Schildkamp	Brabants Dagblad
12-10-2018	'Politie Negeerde Demonstranten'	Unknown	De Gooi- en Eemlander
12-10-2018	VIDEO: Jerry en Jenny Niet Samen Aan Tafel	Unknown	RTL Late Night
18-10-2018	Zaanstad Spreekt met Organisaties over Protest bij Intocht Sint	Sander van Mersbergen	Het Parool
26-10-2018	Verbod Piet-Protest 2016 Was Terecht'	Unknown	De Volkskrant
3-11-2018	Strengere Controle bij Intocht	Sander van Mersbergen	De Limburger
5-11-2018	Kick Out Zwarte Piet Demonstreert Niet in Zaanstad	Unknown	Het Parool
6-11-2018	Protesten op Til tegen Zwarte Piet	Adrienne de Koning and Denis van Vliet	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
6-11-2018	Actie tegen Zwarte Piet bij Intocht	Unknown	De Gelderlander
6-11-2018	Kick Out Zwarte Piet Demonstreert in Stad	Unknown	Dagblad van het Noorden
6-11-2018	Actie bij Intocht Sinterklaas	Sophie Kuitens	Noordhollands Dagblad
6-11-2018	Betoging bij Helderse Intocht	Kasper Duin	Noordhollands Dagblad
6-11-2018	Kick Out Piet Mikt op Zwolle en Apeldoorn	Hanne Koops	De Stentor
6-11-2018	Sinterklaashuis Weer Beveiligd, Oproep Actie	Unknown	AD/De Dordtenaar
6-11-2018	KOZP Demonstreert Ook in Dokkum	Unknown	Leeuwarder Courant
7-11-2018	Protest tegen Zwarte Piet op Plein Pure Provocatie'	Ingrid de Groot	AD/Haagsche Courant

7-11-2018	Groep Wil Protest tegen Zwarte Piet Tegenhouden	Marischka de Jager	Haarlems Dagblad
7-11-2018	KO Zwarte Piet Heeft Nog Geen Toestemming	Hedzer Faber	Noordhollands Dagblad
7-11-2018	Zwarte Piet Demonstratie	Unknown	Goudse Post
7-11-2018	Gouda Weer Decor van Piet-Protest	Peter van den Belt	AD/Groene Hart
7-11-2018	Oproep tot Piet-Protest	Unknown	AD/Groene Hart
7-11-2018	Protest tegen Piet bij Intocht Tilburg	Hein Eikenaar	Brabants Dagblad
9-11-2018	Protest bij Intocht Eindhoven	Rob Burg	Eindhovens Dagblad
10-11-2018	Stadjers Willen Protest Kick Out Zwarte Piet	Unknown	Dagblad van het Noorden
12-11-2018	Protest tegen Sinterklaasjournaal bij Hilversum Mediapark	Unknown	Het Parool
13-11-2018	Harde Kern NEC In Actie tegen Anti-Pietbetogers	Harm Graat and Saskia Wassenaar	De Gelderlander
13-11-2018	Jerry Afriyie Komt Praten in Zaanstad	Willemien Schenkeveld	Noordhollands Dagblad
13-11-2018	Het Gevaar van een Radicale Agenda	Unknown	De Telegraaf
13-11-2018	Supporter Wil Vechten voor Piet	Unknown	Reformatorisch Dagblad
14-11-2018	Geen Protest bij Intocht Sint'	Geert Willems	De Gelderlander
14-11-2018	Veilig Zigzagt Sint over de Zaan	Hans Marijnissen	Trouw
15-11-2018	Protest tegen Zwarte Piet Zwolle Mag Niet op Plek Intocht	Francisca Muller and Jeroen Pol	De Stentor
15-11-2018	KOZP Geïnspireerd door Martin L. King'	Mannus van der Laan	Dagblad van het Noorden
15-11-2018	Pietenprotest in Negen Gemeenten	Dirk Waterval	Trouw

16-11-2018	Sinterklaasintocht Kick Out Zwarte Piet Blaast Demonstratie Nijmegen Af Vanwege Hooligans	Kasper van Laarhoven	NRC Next
16-11-2018	Twee Acties Kick Out Zwarte Piet in Den Haag bij Intocht Sint	Maaïke Kraaijeveld	AD/Haagsche Courant
16-11-2018	Kick Out Zwarte Piet Is Niet Blij	Graziella Gioia	AD/Haagsche Courant
16-11-2018	KOZP: Demo Leeuwarden Wordt 'Muzikaal Protest'	Stef Altena	Leeuwarder Courant
16-11-2018	Hoe Hou Je Pietprotest Gezellig?	Francisca Muller and Hanne Koops	De Stentor
16-11-2018	Blokkeerders en KOZP Stappen Even uit Bubbel	Stef Altena	Leeuwarder Courant
16-11-2018	Pietenprotest in Apart Vak	Unknown	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
16-11-2018	Toch Demonstratie KOZP in Den Helder	Casper Duin	Noordhollands Dagblad
17-11-2018	Vrees Voor Komst van Hooligans bij Intocht	Adrienne de Koning	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
17-11-2018	Zwarte Piet Gaat Verdwijnen	Unknown	Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant
17-11-2018	Kick Out Zwarte Piet: 'Wij Zijn Er'	Unknown	AD/Groene Hart
17-11-2018	Protest Niet in Buurt van Intocht Sint	Unknown	Brabants Dagblad
17-11-2018	Zeven Jaar in de Loopgraven voor Piet	Tjerk Gualthérie van Weezel	De Volkskrant
17-11-2018	Eén Protest bij Intocht Hoorn	Unknown	Noordhollands Dagblad
17-11-2018	Gemoedelijk Kinderfeest met Ouderwetse Pieten en Demonstranten	Patrick Meershoek	Het Parool
17-11-2018	Amstelveense Intocht Rustig, op een Enkele Middelvinger na	Roelf Jan Duin	Het Parool

17-11-2018	Clash Dreigt bij Antipietendemonstratie	Rob Burg and Chiel Timmermans	Eindhovens Dagblad
17-11-2018	Wij Zijn Niet Uit Op Rellen'	Saskia Wassenaar	De Gelderlander
17-11-2018	Activisten Betogen in Zestien Gemeenten	Unknown	AD/Haagsche Courant
17-11-2018	Liveblog	Unknown	Nu.nl
18-11-2018	Siegheilen voor Zwarte Piet	Christopher Pugmire	VICE
19-11-2018	Rookbom Maakt in Één Klap Einde aan Dialoog'	Adrienne de Koning	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
19-11-2018	Wijkt Grondrecht voor Intimidatie in Zwolle?	Niek Megens and Ewoud ten Kleij	De Stentor
19-11-2018	Jacht op Relschoppers	Chiel Timmermans	Eindhovens Dagblad
19-11-2018	Protest Blijft Uit bij Intocht van Sinterklaas	Unknown	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
19-11-2018	Alsof Er in Elke Stad een 'Risicoduel' Was; Elk Jaar Minder Feestelijk; de Balans van Afgelopen Weekend: Rellen rond de Intocht; Sinterklaasintocht	Herman Staal	NRC Next
19-11-2018	Ongebreideld Racisme Voert Even de Boventoon in Eindhoven	Wilmer Heck	NRC Handelsblad
19-11-2018	Ik Ben Bang, Je Voelt Je Ongewenst'	Willem Schoonen	Trouw
19-11-2018	Uitbundig Feest Met een Grimmig Randje	Carla van der Wal	AD/De Dordtenaar
19-11-2018	Sinterklaasintocht Anno 2018: Protesten en Aanhoudingen	Paul Driessen and Erik van Hest	Brabants Dagblad
19-11-2018	Uitbundig Feest Met een Grimmig Randje	Unknown	Eindhovens Dagblad
19-11-2018	Grapjes	Stevo Akkerman	Trouw
19-11-2018	Iedereen Gehoord in Oer-Hollands Tafereel	Patrick Meershoek	Het Parool
19-11-2018	Intocht met Twee Gezichten	Marscha van der Vlies	Leeuwarder Courant
20-11-2018	PSV Vs. Kick Out Zwarte Piet	Thijs Zonneveld	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad

20-11-2018	Kopstuk van Pegida Was Infiltratiepiet	Adrienne de Koning	AD/Rotterdams Dagblad
22-11-2018	Politieonderzoek naar Nijmegen Rechtsaf en Harde Kern van NEC	Stephen Friedrichs	De Gelderlander
22-11-2018	Tussen Vuurwerk en Boksbeugels	Marco van Kampen	De Limburger
4-12-2018	Kickoutactie Afgeblazen	Anne Kompagnie	AD/Haagsche Courant
3-1-2019	Tijdgebrek, Argwaan, Hooligans en de Knieval voor Geweld	Kasper van Laarhoven	NRC Handelsblad
23-1-2019	Burgemeesters Unknown met Regels Demonstraties	Kasper van Laarhoven	NRC Handelsblad
7-2-2019	Wéér een Pietenprotest, Nu tegen Swarte Pyt	Cyril Rosman	AD/Groene Hart
9-2-2019	Columnist Moet de Waarheid Serieus Nemen	Anemoon Langenhoff	Brabants Dagblad
11-2-2019	KOSP Roept Veilig, Vanaf de Overkant	Stef Altena	Leeuwarder Courant
15-3-2019	Pietprotest bij Duinen 'Aanfluiting'	Delano Weltevreden	Noordhollands Dagblad
25-3-2019	Geweld Verstopt Zich in Grappen, Stereotypes en Leugens — en Overvalt Ons	Tori Egberman	Global Voices Online
24-5-2019	Kick Out Zwarte Piet Geen Extremistische Organisatie'	Kasper van Laarhoven	NRC Handelsblad
2-7-2019	Een Eitje op Je Hoofd Is Geen Geweld'	Kasper van Laarhoven	NRC Handelsblad
4-7-2019	Cel- en Werkstraffen voor Intochtsgegeweld	Max Steenberghe	Eindhovens Dagblad
17-9-2019	'Het Tast de Democratie Aan Als Er Geen Ruimte Is voor Anti-Pietgeluid'	Janne Chaudron	Trouw
18-9-2019	NTR Schrappt Laatste Zwarte Piet	Kasper van Laarhoven	NRC.NEXT
23-10-2019	Actie tegen Zwarte Piet bij Intocht in Dordrecht	Niels Dekker	Algemeen Dagblad

1-11-2019	Opnieuw Protest tegen Zwarte Piet in Nijmegen	Maarten Reith	De Gelderlander
1-11-2019	Kick Out Zwarte Piet naar Den Bosch	Bart Gotink	Brabants Dagblad
1-11-2019	Een Paar Schoorsteenpieten op de Dommel Is Onvoldoende	Unknown	Brabants Dagblad
1-11-2019	Pietenprotest bij Intocht Sint Den Bosch Is 'Jammer': 'We Hadden Dit Liever op Ander Moment Gezien'	Bart Gotink	De Gelderlander
1-11-2019	'Intocht Zonder Protest'	Hans Brandma	Noordhollands Dagblad
1-11-2019	Opnieuw Protest tegen Zwarte Piet	Unknown	De Gelderlander
6-11-2019	Alkmaar Gaat Akkoord met Pietenprotest	Unknown	Alkmaarse courant
6-11-2019	Jorritsma Hoopt op Demonstratievrije Intocht van Sint	Vanda van der Kooi	Eindhovens Dagblad
8-11-2019	De Pieten Lopen bij Bosjes Weg	Kasper van Laarhoven	NRC Next
8-11-2019	Bijeenkomst van Kick Out Zwarte Piet in Den Haag Hevig Verstoord, Vier Mensen Aangehouden	Eveline Acda-de-Ruiter	De Stentor
9-11-2019	Kick Out Zwarte Piet Niet van Plan Protestactie af Te Blazen	Bart Lelieveld	Algemeen Dagblad
9-11-2019	Ook Actie voor Zwarte Piet bij Intocht Sint	Rien Kort	Dagblad van het Noorden
11-11-2019	Ook in Den Bosch Extra Beveiligers voor Kick Out Zwarte Piet: 'We Moeten Onze Veiligheid Waarborgen'	Bart Gotink	Algemeen Dagblad

11-11-2019	Toch Weer Demonstratie tegen Zwarte Piet in Eindhoven	Vanda van der Kooi	Eindhovens Dagblad
12-11-2019	Extra Beveiligers Zwarte Piet Protest	Unknown	Brabants Dagblad
12-11-2019	Beveiligers bij Protest Intocht Sint	Bart Gotink	Brabants Dagblad
12-11-2019	KOZP Dubt over Piet-Protest	Petra Bies	Noordhollands Dagblad
12-11-2019	KOZP Moet op Zoek naar Nieuwe Demonstratieplek: 'Kinderfeest Moet Niet in Gedrang Komen'	Bart Lelieveld	Algemeen Dagblad
12-11-2019	Demonstranten In Rij voor Sinterklaasintocht	Martijn Mak	Dagblad voor West-Friesland
13-11-2019	Demonstratieverbod voor Twee Pro-Zwartepiet-Activisten in Nijmegen	Frank Hermans	Algemeen Dagblad
13-11-2019	Protest tegen Piet op Topplek	Dominic Schijven	Noordhollands Dagblad
13-11-2019	Meer Politie op Straat tijdens Sinterklaasintocht Alkmaar	Unknown	Algemeen Dagblad
13-11-2019	Burgemeester Den Haag Rekent op Meer Demonstranten bij Intocht	Unknown	Het Parool
14-11-2019	Extra Maatregelen bij de Intocht van Sinterklaas	Dominic Schijven	Alkmaarse Courant
14-11-2019	KOZP Demonstreert Niet bij Intocht in Den Helder	Petra Bies	Helders Courant
15-11-2019	Kick Out Zwarte Piet Schrappt Protest in Hoorn	Unknown	Algemeen Dagblad

15-11-2019	Fans FC Den Bosch Willen 'Massaal' Steun Geven aan Zwarte Piet bij Intocht, Mikkers Houdt ME achter de Hand	Bart Gotink	Eindhovens Dagblad
15-11-2019	Haags KOZP-Protest Wijkt Uit om Gevaar, in Hoorn Protest Juist Geschrap	Unknown	Trouw
15-11-2019	Protest Met Dertig Man bij Intocht'	Albert Sok	AD/De Dordtenaar
16-11-2019	Burgemeesters Kunnen Weinig Doen aan de Kleur van Zwarte Piet (Maar Hij Verandert Vanzelf)	Hans Marijnissen	Trouw
16-11-2019	Den Haag Hangt Vol Met Protestposters waarop KOZP-Voorman is Afgebeeld Als Zwarte Piet	Yamilla van Dijk	Algemeen Dagblad
16-11-2019	Ook Fans van Zwarte Piet naar Den Bosch	Bart Gotink	Brabants Dagblad
16-11-2019	Zo Werd het Gewelddadig	Hassan Bahara and Nadia Ezzeroili	De Volkskrant
16-11-2019	Als Enige in de Vier Grote Steden Is de Haagse Piet Nog Zwart	Titia Ketelaar	NRC Handelsblad
16-11-2019	Pegida Haakt Af, Wel Protest KOZP bij de Intocht Van Nijmegen	Stephen Friedrichs and Maarten Reich	De Gelderlander
16-11-2019	Pegida-Voorman Opgepakt, Sommige Demonstraties Verlopen Grimmig	Unknown	BN/De Stem
16-11-2019	Veel Politie op de Been bij Rustig Verlopen Sinterklaas-Intocht Apeldoorn	Unknown	Trouw
16-11-2019	Mikkers: 'Maak Er Vooral een Mooi Feest Van'	Bart Gotink	Brabants Dagblad
16-11-2019	Zo Verliepen de Demonstraties rond de Intocht: 'Laat Je Land Maar in de Steek!'	Unknown	Tubantia

16-11-2019	Haagse Sintintocht Grotendeels Feestelijk Verlopen: Politie Verricht in Totaal Vijf Aanhoudingen	Yamilla van Dijk	Algemeen Dagblad
16-11-2019	Sinterklaas Aangekomen, Demonstranten naar Huis (Gesloten)	Unknown	Nu.nl
16-11-2019	Buma: Regels voor Protesten Rond Intocht	Patrick van 't Haar	Leeuwarder Courant
17-11-2019	Spitsroeden Lopen tussen Kinderfeest en Protest bij Bossche Intocht Sinterklaas	Johan van Grinsven	Eindhovens Dagblad
18-11-2019	Blauwbekken voor en tegen Zwarte Piet	Rob Bakker and Nina Bakker	Brabants Dagblad
18-11-2019	Politiemacht Houdt Acties bij Intocht in Toom; Sinterklaas; Politiemacht houdt Activisten bij Intocht Strak aan de Teugel	Thijs Niemantsverdriet	NRC Handelsblad
18-11-2019	'Zoveel Politie, Treurig'	Sjors Moolenaar	De Gelderlander
18-11-2019	Vrolijke Intocht met Ruw Randje	Anne Kompagnie and Maaïke Kraaijeveld	AD/Haagsche Courant
18-11-2019	Nog Voor Sint Er Is, Zijn De Pegida-Pieten Aangehouden	Elsbeth Stoker	De Volkskrant
18-11-2019	Wild Geraas bij Intocht Sint Liep Nergens Echt uit de Hand	Rianne Oosterom	Trouw
18-11-2019	Het Protest tegen Piet Is Terug op Curaçao	Kees Broere	De Volkskrant
18-11-2019	Politiemacht Houdt Acties bij Intocht in Toom	Thijs Niemantsverdriet	NRC.Next
18-11-2019	Demonstratie Anti-Pietengroepen in Eindhoven Gaat Niet Door	Iris van den Berg	Algemeen Dagblad
20-11-2019	Intocht Heerhugowaard met Extra Politiemacht	Gerard van Engelen	Noordhollands Dagblad
21-11-2019	Tilburg Stopt met Zwarte Piet	Bas Vermeer	BN/De Stem

22-11-2019	Geen Sint in Zuilen na Bedreigingen	Unknown	De Telegraaf
25-11-2019	Waarom Praat U Niet Met Ons, Premier Rutte?	Jerry Afriyie, Naomie Pieter, Elvin Rigtters, Jessica de Abreu and Mitchell Esajas	NRC Handelsblad
25-11-2019	Uit Protest om Locatie Geen KOZP-Demonstratie	Matthie Bergman	Noordhollands Dagblad
26-11-2019	Burgemeester Eindhoven Wil Geen Zwarte Pieten-Protest tussen Winkelend Publiek	Diede Hoekstra	De Gelderlander
30-11-2019	Vreedzaam Zwarte Piet Protest in Binnenstad Eindhoven, Agenten Houden Gebied Scherp in de Gaten	Carin Beenen	Algemeen Dagblad
5-12-2019	Zolang Je Ons Ziet, Verandert Nederland'	Rasit Elibol and Coen van de Ven	De Groene Amsterdammer
7-2-2020	Naar Rechter om Betere Plek Intocht Swarte Pyt	Unknown	Noordhollands Dagblad
8-2-2020	Protest tegen Swarte Pyt Mag, Maar Wel aan Overkant Van Kanaal	Unknown	De Stentor
8-2-2020	Protest tegen Swarte Pyt	Unknown	Amersfoortse Courant
6-4-2020	Rutte Denkt Voortaan Anders over Zwarte Piet: Dit Is het Laatste Wat Je Wilt	Unknown	Algemeen Dagblad
6-6-2020	Akwasi Deelt Doodsbedreigingen na Zwarte Piet-Uitspraken	Unknown	De Telegraaf
7-6-2020	Op Curaçao Zijn De Zwarte Pieten Én Sinterklaas Geveld	Kees Broere	De Volkskrant
8-6-2020	Hoe Meer Aandacht, Hoe Meer We Nadenken over Racisme'	Sanne Schelfaut	Tubantia

9-6-2020	FC Den Bosch Ziet Geen Reden om in Te Haken op Demonstratie tegen Racisme: 'Dit Is Groter Dan de Club'	Annemiek Steenbekkers	Algemeen Dagblad
11-6-2020	Demonstratieverbod Sint-Intocht Mocht	Harriët Salm	Trouw
12-6-2020	Kick Out Zwarte Piet Demonstreert in November in Dordrecht	Rianne Smit	Algemeen Dagblad
13-6-2020	Demonstraties van Kick Out Zwarte Piet in November	Unknown	AD/De Dordtenaar
13-6-2020	Kick Out Zwarte Piet Richt Pijlen op Gouda	Peter van den Belt	AD/Groene Hart
13-6-2020	Kick Out Zwarte Piet Demonstreert Opnieuw	Unknown	Leeuwarder Courant
11-7-2020	'Geen Zwarte Piet? Dan Ook Geen Demonstratie bij de Intocht Van Sinterklaas in Den Helder'	Delano Weltevreden	Noordhollands Dagblad
24-8-2020	Roetveegpiet en Protest bij Logeerhuis van Sint Nicolaas in Apeldoorn	Johannes Rutgers	Algemeen Dagblad
14-9-2020	'Veel Ruimte' in Publieke Debat, Maar Reacties op Gargards Livestream Sint-Intocht Gingen Justitie Te Ver	Irene de Zwaan	De Volkskrant
16-9-2020	KOZP Pikt Grijs Piet Niet en Kondigt in Breda Acties Aan Met 'Impact'	Palko Peters	Algemeen Dagblad
18-9-2020	KOZP Wil in Tilburg Recht op Zichtbaar Demonstreren	Kim Spanjers	BN/De Stem
22-9-2020	Anti Zwarte Piet Comité in Tilburg 'Voelt Zich Erin Geluisd' Vanwege Verplaatsen Demonstratie in 2018	Henk van Ingen	Brabants Dagblad

4-11-2020	Demonstratie tegen Grijs Piet in Eindhoven op 22 November	Mark Wijdeven	Algemeen Dagblad
10-11-2020	Ook Zonder Optocht 'Gewoon' Protest tegen Zwarte Piet	Unknown	De Telegraaf
11-11-2020	Kick Out Zwarte Piet Demonstreert in Venlo tegen Grijs Piet	Unknown	Algemeen Dagblad
12-11-2020	Wordt 2020 het Jaar Dat Zwarte Piet de das Omdoet?	Robin Goudsmit	Trouw
12-11-2020	Actiegroep Demonstreert op Meerdere Plekken tegen Zwarte Piet	Unknown	Noordhollands Dagblad
13-11-2020	Kick Out Zwarte Piet in de Startblokken voor Nieuwe Demonstraties	Unknown	Metro
13-11-2020	Demonstratie tegen Zwarte Piet Zondag op Vrijthof in Maastricht	Unknown	Noordhollands Dagblad
14-11-2020	Protest tegen Zwarte Piet Eindigt met Gedoe	Connie Vertegaal	Noordhollands Dagblad
14-11-2020	Met de Sint Online Verandert Ook het Actievoeren	Nynke van Verschuer	NRC
14-11-2020	Kick Out Zwarte Piet Ziet Af van Grote Demonstratie	Maarten Reith	De Gelderlander
14-11-2020	Demonstratie tegen Zwarte en Grijs Piet in Breda: 'We Willen Graag Neutrale Pieten'	Geert Nijland	PZC
14-11-2020	Tóch Geen Protest in Schijndel	Robert van Lith	Brabants Dagblad
14-11-2020	Vijf Mensen Krijgen de Pleinen Vol	Thijs Niemantsverdriet	NRC

14-11-2020	Sinterklaas Aangekomen bij Dieuwertje Blokkade, Ontvangen door Burgemeesters En Kinderen	Unknown	Metro
15-11-2020	Tegenstanders van Kick Out Zwarte Piet Slaags met ME	Unknown	Trouw
15-11-2020	Honderden Tegendemonstranten Verstoren Protest KOZP, Vijf Arrestaties	Paul van der Steen, Floor Bouma and Noor Zwolsman	NRC
15-11-2020	ME Grijpt In bij Demonstratie KOZP in Maastricht	Unknown	Het Parool
16-11-2020	De Activist Turft Zwarte Pieten vanuit Huis	Nynke van Verschuer	NRC.Next
16-11-2020	Vuurwerk Arrestaties bij Rellen Rond Protest tegen Zwarte Piet	Unknown	Haarlems Dagblad
16-11-2020	“Sommigen Nog Verstijfd van Angst”	Sebastiaan Quekel	De Limburger
16-11-2020	Demonstratie tegen Zwarte Piet Wordt Geen Confrontatie	Geert Nijland	Brabants Dagblad
16-11-2020	Verhitte KOZP-Demonstratie; Agent Raakt Gewond, Politie Verricht Vijf Aanhoudingen	Unknown	De Telegraaf
16-11-2020	Aytmara (39) naar ‘Geheime Locatie’ na Rellen in Maastricht: ‘We Werden Omsingeld Door Hooligans’	Sebastiaan Quekel	Algemeen Dagblad
18-11-2020	Treffen Dreigt om Zwarte Piet	Wout van Arendsbergen and Max Wijdeven	Eindhovens Dagblad
21-11-2020	Aanhoudingen bij Protest tegen Zwarte Piet	Unknown	De Telegraaf
21-11-2020	Zwarte Piet-Onrust in Venlo: Zingen, Dansen en Matten met de Politie	Thijs Niemantsverdriet	NRC
21-11-2020	Vier Aanhoudingen Rondom Anti-Zwarte Pietprotest in Venlo	Unknown	Noordhollands Dagblad

22-11-2020	Kick Out Zwarte Piet Blaast Demonstratie in Eindhoven Af	David van Unen	NRC
22-11-2020	Pietenprotest in Eindhoven Afgelast na Spanningen	Ron van Kuijk	De Telegraaf
22-11-2020	Vier Mensen Aangehouden Die ‘Tegengeluid Wilden Laten Horen’ op Anti-Zwarte Pietprotest in Venlo	Unknown	Trouw
22-11-2020	Kick Out Zwarte Piet Schrappt Grote Actie in Eindhoven; Demonstratie Pegida Gaat Wél Door	Ad de Koning	Eindhovens Dagblad
28-11-2020	Zwartepieten in Limburg	Sjors van Beek and Léon Janssen	De Limburger
8-12-2020	‘Kick Out Zwarte Piet Zal Doorgaan tot Zwarte Piet Volledig Verdwenen Is’	Cyril Rosman	Tubantia

Appendix 3 Interview Guide

1. Consent

Before recording

- Have you read the information letter?
- Do you have any questions regarding the information letter?
- Brief explanation of my thesis and the reasoning behind the interview
- Do you agree to record this interview? You may stop at any moment and you do not have to provide an explanation. You have the right not to respond to any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering.

While recording

- I would like to ask you if you agree to this conversation being recorded for scientific purposes?
- The information that you share during this conversation will be obtained and stored for scientific purposes as stated in the information letter. Do you consent to this?
- Do you have any other questions?

2. Thematic questions

- Could you tell me when your interest in protesting against black Pete began?
- When did you first decide to go to a protest against black Pete?
- Could you take me along into your memory of that day?
 - How did you feel?
 - Were there other groups present during the protest? Did you notice anything about that?
- Why did you decide to attend a protest?
 - How did you feel?
 - Anti-black-Pete protestors have met violent responses in the past; did this factor into your decision? If so, how?
- Could you tell me which other protests you have attended?
- Was there a protest that you attended against black Pete that was particularly memorable for you?
 - Why?
 - Could you take me along with you into that memory?
- Were there notable differences between the protests that you attended?
 - What made your experience different?
- What is the message you aim to communicate during a protest?
 - And to whom?
 - Do you believe your message corresponds with that of KOZP?
- Do you believe that your reasons to attend anti-black-Pete protests correspond with those of other protestors?
 - Are there notable differences?
- When do you consider the protest to be a success?

- What is your objective?
- Is there anything else about your experience that you would like to share?
- Do you have any additional questions?

3. Identification questions (for potential comparison among demographic groups)

- Could you tell me how you identify in terms of ethnicity, race and/or nationality?
- Could you tell me how you identify in terms of gender identity?
- Could you tell me about your education?
- Could you tell me your age?

Appendix 4 List of Categories and Codes

Category	Code	Subcodes							
Protest antecedents	Preparation	Transport			Social group		Safety measures		
Protest antecedents	Motives	Identity	Instrumental		Ideology	Grievances	Solidarity	Location	
Protest antecedents	Awareness of protest	Ties to organisation			Friends/family		Social media		
Protest antecedents	Choosing not to go	Against peaceful protest		Fear of social environment		Negative previous experience		Fear of physical violence	
Protest antecedents	Emotions	Affective		Reactive		Moods	Urges		
Performance of protest	Objectives	Be seen	Voice heard	Disrupt	Add to mass	Moral signal	Political pressure	Media attention	Identity signal
Performance of protest	Emotions	Affective		Reactive		Moods	Urges		
Performance of protest	Movement	Form	Nonviolence		Script	Symbols		Disagreement	
Performance of protest	Setting	Location			Atmosphere	Measures of control		Group	
Performance of protest	Violence	Police	Counterprotestors		Audience		Protestors		
Post-protest	Reflection	Emotions		Tactics		Action	Atmosphere	Violence	
Post-protest	Objectives	Abolish BP	Spark dialogue		Awareness		Political change		Moral shift