

FRAMING DIVERSITY

*Configurations, Representations and Encounters of
Diversity in the Dutch Society*

Pre-master thesis

Pre-Master Human Geography

Geography, Planning and Environment

Management Faculty

Radboud University Nijmegen

August 2018

Corinna Weber

Framing Diversity - Configurations, Representations and Encounters of Diversity in the Dutch Society

Pre-master thesis

Pre-Master Human Geography

Geography, Planning and Environment

Management Faculty

Radboud University Nijmegen

August 2018

Student: Corinna Weber (s1010241)

Supervisor: Prof. dr. P.M. Ache

Second Reader: Dr. O. T. Kramsch

Word count: 18682

Abstract

As a result of migration, countries and especially urban landscapes are becoming more diverse, representing a variety of ethnic, racial, cultural, national and religious identities. This poses different challenges for multicultural cities in how to deal with their increasing diversity. In many European cities, a trend towards polarisation and fragmentation can be witnessed. The movement towards nationalism and homogenization is supported by populist radical-right parties. This thesis aims to contribute to an understanding of the current diversity processes in the Netherlands. By doing so, this thesis builds on the diversity framework as developed by Vertovec, investigating configurations of diversity, representations of diversity and encounters of diversity. By analysing integration and immigration policies in the Netherlands and using the case of the Ketikoti Festival in Amsterdam, this thesis aims to understand how diversity is configured, represented and encountered in Dutch society.

Keywords: *diversity, migration, integration, culture, festivals, Ketikoti, Amsterdam*

Table of Contents

List of Figures	III
List of Tables	III
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Relevance and Research Objective	2
1.2 Thesis Outline	3
2. Theoretical Framework.....	4
2.1 Configurations of Diversity	4
2.1.1 Migration and configurations of super-diversity	5
2.2 Representations of Diversity	6
2.2.1 Immigration and Integration Policies and Representations of Diversity	6
2.2.2 Populist Radical-Right Parties and Representations of Diversity	9
2.3 Encounters of Diversity	10
2.3.1 Cultural Hybridization and Encounters of Diversity	11
2.3.2 Festivals and Encounters of Diversity	11
2.4 Conceptual Framework of Diversity.....	12
3. Methodology.....	14
3.1 Research Strategy and Research Questions	14
3.2 Data Collection Methods	15
3.2.1 Participant Observation.....	16
3.2.2 Unstructured Interviews.....	17
3.2.3 Media Analysis.....	17
3.2.4 Secondary Policy Analysis.....	17
3.3 Limitations	17
3.4 Conceptual Model	18
4. Configurations of Diversity	20
4.1 Historical background and demographic structure.....	20
4.2 Configurations of Diversity in Amsterdam	22
4.3 Concluding remarks.....	22

5. Representations of Diversity.....	23
5.1 Analysis of Immigration and Integration Policies in the Netherlands	23
5.1.1 Development of immigration policies	23
5.1.2 Concluding remarks.....	26
5.2 Analysis of the influence of Populist Radical-Right Parties on policy-making.....	27
5.2.1 Populist radical-right parties in the Netherlands	27
5.2.2 Populist radical-right parties and immigration and integration policies	28
5.2.3 Concluding remarks.....	31
6. Encounters of Diversity.....	32
6.1 Ketu Koti Festival Amsterdam	32
6.1.1 Historical background.....	32
6.1.2 Festival Activities	33
6.2 Concluding remarks.....	48
7. Conclusion.....	51
7.1 Main findings	51
7.2 Policy recommendations	53
7.3 Recommendations for further research	53
References	54
Appendix.....	59

List of Figures

Figure 1: Conceptual framework of Diversity	13
Figure 2: Conceptual Research Model of Diversity	18
Figure 3: Immigration to the Netherlands between 2007 and 2017	21
Figure 5: Info panel on slavery at the Ketikoti Festival	33
Figure 6: Bigri Spikri	35
Figure 7: Pan-African flag with fist.....	35
Figure 8: People watching and documenting the parade	37
Figure 9: White participant swinging national flag of Curaçao	37
Figure 10: Sign against slavery	38
Figure 11: Slavery Monument in the Oosterpark.....	39
Figure 12: Libation at the commemoration ceremony	40
Figure 13: Ground plan of the Ketikoti Festival in Oosterpark	43
Figure 14: Visitors standing and sitting in the green grass area	43
Figure 15: Impression of the atmosphere at the Ketikoti Festival	44
Figure 16: Surinamese barbeque at the Ketikoti festival	44
Figure 17: Nigerian food at the Ketikoti Festival	45
Figure 18: Commercial stand at the Ketikoti Festival	45
Figure 19: Traditional music performance at the Ketikoti Festival	47

List of Tables

Table 1: Migrants stocks in the Netherlands by age and gender	21
Table 2: Artists at Ketikoti Festival.....	46
Table 3: Reading and debate activities Ketikoti Festival	47

1. Introduction

Contemporary landscapes have been shaped and transformed by the settlement of diverse groups of immigrants (Ehrkamp 2005). This also the case for the Netherlands with its long history of immigration from populations all over the world (Entzinger 2014). In the Dutch capital Amsterdam, the ethnic minority population is becoming the majority. The city has around 800.000 inhabitants of whom 49.5% are native-born and 50.5% have a foreign background (Delhaye and van de Ven 2014). These different ethnic groups are bringing their own cultural repertoires and aesthetic traditions. Consequently, the urban landscapes are becoming more diverse, representing a variety of ethnic, racial, cultural, national and religious identities (Delhaye 2008; Martiniello 2014). This diversity is not going to disappear, quite the opposite, it is continuing to grow (Martiniello 2014).

This poses different challenges for multicultural cities in how to deal with their increasing diversity. In many European cities, a trend towards polarisation and fragmentation can be observed (Martiniello 2014). The formation of residential segregated neighbourhoods, social and economic exclusion and ethnic and racial discrimination are perceived as a significant issue in contemporary urban societies and thus have been prominent discourse on public and political agendas across Europe (Musterd and Deuloo 2010; Phillips 2010). As Martiniello (2014) argues, processes of ethnocultural diversification and the processes of reconstruction of social, economic and political inequality are highly interrelated. This becomes especially apparent when analysing the immigration and integration policies of European countries.

The Netherlands is a good example of a society, which shifted from being open and multicultural towards an attitude of preservation of national identity and social cohesion. This is manifested in the country's immigration and integration policy. The country turned from having a multicultural immigration and integration policy approach to a neo-assimilationist policy. A basic assumption of the assimilationist approach is that a society can not be cohesive if their members do not share common values and beliefs. Assimilationists believe that immigrants can only be accepted as full and equal citizens when they assimilate into the national culture and show exclusive loyalty to their country of settlement (Parekh 2000). Those opinions and thus the tendency towards nationalism and homogenization are supported by populist radical-right parties. Their ideology is based on the belief that national identity is "under threat from foreign cultures" and hence immigration needs to be reduced extensively (Akkerman 2018, p.1). Those parties have achieved a growing electoral support in many European countries over the last decades and have politicized immigration issues. Moreover,

they accomplished to stir up public anxieties about immigration, especially against immigrants from Muslim countries, establishing strong anti-immigration positions in the public debate and presenting cultural differences such as religion as the cause of integration problems (Entzinger 2014). Hence, those political parties have become significant players in the political landscape and are therefore able to impact immigration and integration policy making, which led to anti-immigration and anti-diversity agendas and discourses in the Netherlands (Akkerman 2018).

Immigration and integration policies are an example of how diversity is framed and represented in a society. They set the wider framework for a society for how diversity is being perceived and dealt with. However, this can differ from how diversity is actually encountered. Encounters of diversity usually happen on a day to day level or in other forms of cultural exchange on a local level. For instance, one way minority communities express their cultural diversity is through festivals. A festival serves as a "communicative scenery for manifestations of ethnicity and cultural unity with the special objective to demonstrate and experience a particular identity" (Kuutma 1998, p. 79). Moreover, festivals provide a platform to articulate social issues and challenge the views of the larger society. According to DiMaggio & Fernández-Kelly (2015), expressive behaviours are seen as significant in processes of immigrant mobility and adoption. Additionally, by facilitating social interactions, festivals are useful tools to promote ethnic understanding and cross-cultural education, which can reduce the amount of tensions within a society (Jepson et al. n. d.). Consequently, festivals as platforms of diversity encounters can also be seen as a means of contesting the political and societal representations of diversity, outlined above, which support anti-immigration and anti-diversity tendencies.

1.1 Relevance and Research Objective

With increasing immigration movements, globalisation processes and the resulting rise of multicultural cities the challenges of diversity become more and more evident. Herein lies the societal relevance of this research. In order to counteract nationalistic tendencies and polarisation processes it is important to understand how a society frames and deals with its increasing diversity. As diversity is not a widely researched concept, this research is academically relevant in its aims to contribute to a better understanding of how diversity is configured, represented and encountered in the Netherlands and thus in Dutch society.

In order to explore diversity in its different facets, this research makes use of Vertovec's (2009) diversity framework. The framework consists of 3 domains of diversity: configurations, representations and encounters of diversity. The diversity configurations are visible in structural and demographic conditions. Representations of diversity refers to how diversity is

imagined and framed. The last domain, encounters of diversity, shows how diversities are actually experienced (Vertovec 2009). By examining these three domains a more complete assessment of diversity in Dutch society is possible.

For that purpose, statistical data on the Dutch demographic composition is used to get an overview of the diversity configurations. In order to get an idea how diversity is represented the development of the immigration and integration policies over time will be analysed. Furthermore, the influence of populist radical-right parties in the Netherlands on the policy-making will be considered. For the last domain, encounters of diversity, an ethnic festival in Amsterdam will be examined. The festival is organized by the Surinamese community in Amsterdam in order to celebrate and commemorate the abolition of slavery. Thereby, the festival aims to communicate cultural traditions of the ethnic community and raise awareness of social issue they are challenged with based on the colonial past and slavery. The objective of this research is to get an understanding of how diversity is experienced during the festival. For that purpose, a research question was developed, which reads as follows: *How is diversity configured, represented and encountered in Dutch society?*

1.2 Thesis Outline

First, chapter 2 presents the concepts and theories that serve as framework for this research. Chapter 3 presents the methodology used for this research, elaborating on the methods that were used. The following chapters 4, 5 and 6 present and analyse the findings of the research: First, chapter 4 elaborates on immigration and configurations of diversity in the Netherlands in general and Amsterdam in particular. Chapter 5 provides an analysis of immigration and integration policies in the Netherlands. Chapter 6 then looks at encounters of diversity using the case of the Ketikoti festival in Amsterdam. Finally, chapter 7 presents a conclusion, aimed at answering the main research question.

2. Theoretical Framework

In order to better understand the issues discussed in the introduction and to lay the theoretical foundation for this research, this chapter elaborates on the concept of diversity. Diversity is a term which can be defined in many different ways depending on the context. Therefore, the starting point is a broad definition based on Vertovec (2009). He describes diversity as “modes of differentiation” (p. 9). These differentiations manifest themselves by ways of “social organisation such as age, gender, sexuality, nationality and ethnicity by which people, from context to context, situation to situation, mark themselves and others as different” (Vertovec 2009, p. 9). Meissner (2016) adopted that definition and refers to diversity as “continuous negotiations of difference” (p. 557). For Zapata-Barrero et al. (2017) the term can also be used to describe the composition of Western societies in terms of their increased diversity due to immigration. Parekh (2000) sees diversity as an “inescapable fact of modern life” (p. 3). For the purpose of this research diversity is primarily referred to as cultural diversity.

The theory of this thesis is based on the diversity framework developed by Vertovec (2009). Vertovec’s diversity framework is aimed at making diversity more tangible, allowing for more practical approaches for the measurement of diversity. The diversity framework consists of three dimensions: (1) configurations of diversity, (2) representations of diversity and (3) encounters of diversity, which will be elaborated upon in the following sections.

As this research investigates diversity in relation to immigration processes and ethnic minorities, the overall context of immigration and diversity will be discussed in this chapter as well. Moreover, concrete aspects of diversity and immigration will be reviewed by looking at the context of immigration and integration policies. Finally, diversity will be examined from a cultural perspective, focusing of the role of festivals.

2.1 Configurations of Diversity

According to Vertovec (2009) the dimension “configurations of diversity” describes how diversity appears in structural and demographic conditions. He thus refers to this domain as structure related. More concrete, in order to characterize the configuration of diversity in a society or on a local level it is necessary to look at statistics and data categories used to quantify ready-made categories such as ethnic and religious groups. However, as he points out, those statistics are not static, which becomes visible when looking at the changing migration patterns over the years. Consequently, the nature of those ready-made categories changes and becomes more complex. He further states that therefore traditional patterns and characteristics of, for example ethnic groups, are no longer representative. Vertovec (2009)

refers to this with the concept of super-diversity, which will be explained further in the following section.

Additionally, when looking at how diversity manifests itself, it is important to consider the political conditions of power and status of the research location. He thus suggests, that historical processes, migration histories and the conditions of the peoples' migration into the country need to be considered as well. This contributes to gain an understanding of a group's position within a social structure (Vertovec 2009).

2.1.1 Migration and configurations of super-diversity

Migration plays a central role in demographic and cultural change (Vanderwaeren 2014). Thus, immigration is a major source of cultural diversity (Parekh 2000). These demographic and cultural changes become visible when looking at current trends in migration flows. First of all, migrants' origins and destinations are much more diverse. Furthermore, the scope of migratory flows is increasing globally and motivations for migration are becoming more and more differentiated. Those can be political, economic, environmental or social motivations. None of them is more dominant than the other. Lastly, there is a clear trend towards feminized migration patterns as women move increasingly for economic reasons (Murray 2006). Hence, migration flows can no longer be seen as homogenous (Meissner 2016). Consequently, the levels of diversity within modern societies are increasing (Meissner 2016). Especially urban landscapes which are mainly affected by ongoing migration are representations of these diversifying diversities (Nicholls & Uitermark 2016). Vertovec (2007) created the term super-diversity in order to emphasize the described extension and deepening of diversity in contemporary society due global migration flows.

Looking at migration on a global scale, some clear spatial patterns can be observed. Western countries in Europe and also North America have been the most popular immigration destinations, and therefore immigration accounts for an increasing proportion of population growth in those areas. Especially in Europe, where immigrants have been the only source of population growth over the last twenty years. Consequently, immigrants have a significant impact on the population composition, which has led to migration being a highly politicized issue (Murray 2006). This supported the rise of nationalistic political groups, which see immigrants with their different culture and traditions as a threat to their national identity. Their point of view is that diversity brings many difficulties for society, which is reflected in their political agendas (Rowntree et al. 2012) This will be further discussed in the following section.

2.2 Representations of Diversity

The second dimension, “representations of diversity” refers to how diversity is imagined and thereby looking at images, symbols, representations and meanings. Vertovec calls this domain also the “mediating domain of meaning and of meaning management” (Vertovec 2009, p. 25). He names several ways of how diversity can be represented.

First of all, he refers to metaphors such as “melting pot”, ‘salad bowl’ and “mosaic” used in public and political discourses to communicate stereotyped images of ethnic diversities. Those images can be seen as socially constructed representations of reality and lead to the ready-made categories mentioned in the previous section on diversity configuration. The public space therefore plays a crucial role in the construction of diversity representations. This can be examined by looking at policy documents, public discourses in newspapers, political campaigns promoting anti-diversity or pro-diversity as well as looking at the results of public opinion polls. How political policies are supporting the objectification of ethnic minority groups by using those categories and their attributed representations to talk about them is visible when looking at the way how official policies are phrased. The term multiculturalism serves as a good example, which was a dominant expression in public policies over the past years. But since the term received a lot of criticism from all over Europe the wording in public discourses has changed to terms like integration and cohesion (Vertovec 2009).

Opinion polls demonstrate another way of representation of diversity. For instance, the Eurobarometer shows insights in public opinions and the people’s attitudes towards diversity. An additional way of looking at diversity from a more cultural perspective includes looking at the representations in media and arts such as film, literature, music, art festivals and visual arts. Nonetheless, not only the representations created in public space are determining how diversity is represented, also people themselves in their everyday use of words and thinking are constructing diversity. Other factors playing a part in imagining and representing diversity and relationships between groups are collective memories and histories (Vertovec 2009).

2.2.1 Immigration and Integration Policies and Representations of Diversity

Since World war II, the demographic composition of western nations has been impacted by mass migration. This has transformed mono-cultural nation states into diverse societies causing a dramatic change in the ethnic composition of the population. These new

demographic and cultural landscapes bring up challenges to traditional forms of policy development (Delhay and van de Ven 2014).

In order to get an understanding of how cultural diversity is impacted and represented by public policies it is important to get an understanding how policies develop over time in culturally diverse societies. Therefore, this section will elaborate on how policy-making processes work and how they are influenced by external factors.

Baumgartner and Jones (2005) state that policies are built on problem constructs, which are inherently normative and selective. Other authors have referred to this as problem framing. Frames are "underlying structures of belief, perception and appreciation", which enable ways of "selecting, organizing, interpreting and making sense of a complex reality to provide guideposts for knowing, analysing, persuading and acting" (Rein and Schön 1996, p. 91). Consequently, complex social problems are characterized by a large number of problem frames, which represent the different perceptions and realities related to them. Those frames are legitimized by different institutional structures supporting a given frame. This fosters biases by actors who share a given frame and are able to dominate the policy-making structure for a certain time period. However, this can be disrupted when the underlying policy frame and structure is effectively contested. This can happen for instance through specific key events which stir attention to facets that have been left out or when actors successfully claim authority over a given field (Scholten 2011). Baumgartner and Jones (2005) came to the conclusion that policy development over a longer period is characterized by relative stability interrupted by radical policy change when the structure and frames are redefined (Scholten 2011). Scholten (2011, p. 79) calls this "punctuated equilibrium". He points out that social problems such as immigrant integration are especially marked by those patterns of punctuated equilibrium.

In their research Baumgartner and Jones (2005) raised the question why governments decide to give attention to one problem rather than to another one and try to solve that one problem instead. They found that a decisive factor for policy making is the influence of public discourses (Baumgartner and Jones 2005). This is in particular evident when looking at the context of immigration and ethnic diversity. Over the past few years, immigrants have been portrayed by populist politicians and the media as a threat to the security of the nation state, social cohesion and the welfare system, claiming that immigrants do not want to integrate and governments have lost control over the situation. As a consequence, mainstream political parties and governments have been distancing themselves from multicultural policies that fostered the rights of cultural difference. This led to new policies ensuring that immigrants will integrate into the host country, even by involving coercive measures. Thus, policies have moved away from liberal oriented approaches to rather narrow and restrictive ones (Vasta 2007).

This supports Bennett's (2001) outline on the history of cultural policies. According to him, the history of public policies is also related to the development of societies as nation-states. He argues that they are closely linked to processes through which people and ethnic groups are defined in terms of a particular culture. Those classifications are used to construct the history of a nation as those of a particular people who possess a distinctive culture having a connection with a particular territory. Bennett (2001, p. 27) calls them "fabricated histories", which have the power to determine the terms by which people perceive their relations with each other and define their identities. Benedict Anderson termed this phenomenon "imagined communities" (Delhaye and van de Ven 2014, p. 76), which consist of people who are seen as similar, with a shared common identity and a common culture based on a shared history and linked to a particular territory. These nationalist mappings have a strong tendency to homogenize: one people, one country, one culture and one nation. These homogenizing tendencies show little tolerance for differences that do not reflect the national narrative. In some cases, those differences are linked to the history of racism and its intersections with the history of colonialism, which has played a crucial part in the nation formation in Europe and other parts of the world (Parekh 2005).

These homogenization tendencies of nations hold challenges especially for minority groups to maintain their identity and distinctiveness in the face of the homogenising force of national cultures. Therefore, fostering cultural diversity is important in order to reverse these tendencies (Bennett 2001). Thus, Bennett (2001) argued, public policies need to promote diversity rather than homogeneity and overcome the territorial logic of national culture. Therefore, it is necessary to rethink policy processes and mechanisms in order to promote an equal and democratic participation of all members of a diverse society. According to Parekh (2005), this reconstitution of the modern state is one of the greatest challenges of our time. Therefore, diverse societies have to balance between unity on one side and diversity on the other side. This means to acknowledge the rights and needs of ethnic minorities, but also recognising them as part of the society (Delhaye and van de Ven 2014). This benefits social cohesion as people get more attached to the majority culture when they feel culturally recognised (Parekh 2005).

Based on research findings from the last decades, several western countries have recognised forms of cultural diversity within their boundaries by putting diversity measures in place. However, these policies have also been criticised because of their lack of implementation. This led to rather pessimistic views on the success of diverse societies and gave reason to many European countries to declare its failure and thus turn to neo-assimilationist policy (Delhaye and van de Ven 2014). Assimilationists believe that immigrants can only be accepted as full and equal citizens when they assimilate into the national culture and show exclusive loyalty to their country of settlement. They argue that "a society can not

be cohesive and stable unless its members share a common national culture, including a common system of meaning and significance, a shared conception of the good life at personal and collective levels, and a shared body of customs, practices, habits, attitudes and collective memories" (Parekh 2000, p. 5). In contrast, if immigrants decide to keep close ties with their country of origin and practice their own traditions and thus remain different, they should not complain about being treated unequally and not be seen as part of the society (Parekh 2000). However, as Parekh (2000) points out, the assimilationist is "asking for a greater degree and range of unity than is possible or necessary" (p. 5). Thereby they create a deep suspicion of moral and cultural difference, because differences are seen as abnormal, deviant and sources of disorder (Parekh 2000).

The tendencies towards nationalism and homogenization are supported by populist radical-right parties. Those parties have achieved a growing electoral support in many European countries over the last decades and have politicized immigration issues. Hence, they have become significant players in the political landscape and have therefore been able to impact immigration and integration policy making (Akkerman 2018). This will be further explained in the following section.

2.2.2 Populist Radical-Right Parties and Representations of Diversity

Political parties typically get attention when they have their electoral breakthrough, which is enough to impact the composition of a government. The breakthrough can be achieved through conversion of voters from other parties or the acquisition of new voters or ones who did not vote before (Schain 2006). According to Schain (2006), even a short breakthrough can have a huge impact on public policies when "established parties adjust their agendas in reaction to this success" (p. 271).

Populist radical-right parties had their electoral breakthrough in the 1990s and since then have substantially increased their political influence in Western Europe. Although these different parties in different countries vary in detail, they all centre around the same ideology of exclusive nationalism at the expense of the acceptance of cultural diversity. According to Akkerman (2018) this ideology has three defining features: "a desire to dramatically reduce immigration, a belief that national identity is under threat from foreign cultures, and a deep distrust of elites" (p. 1). Akkerman (2018) further states that although they usually do not win elections, they nonetheless have managed to influence public opinion and set the immigration and integration agenda by forcing mainstream parties to take a position on these issues. Some of them made it into national governments by joining coalitions with centre-rights parties and

even guided immigration and integration policies without being in the government (Ackermann 2012).

The extremist right-wing parties accomplished to stir up public anxieties about immigration, especially against immigrants from Muslim countries. They establish strong anti-immigration positions in the public debate and furthermore centre the integration problems around cultural differences such as religion (Entzinger 2014). Electoral results are therefore not necessarily a defining factor for the influence and impact of political parties on the political agenda. Akkermann (2012; 2018) and Schain (2006) demonstrate how populist radical-right parties may influence immigration policy-making. For one, there is a direct influence by holding executive power. This means that those parties have entered the government in coalitions, for instance through ministerial posts or "formally supporting a minority government" (Akkerman 2018, p. 4). Through this way they can exert direct influence on coalition agreements and budgets. The indirect influence is gained through electoral success by influencing the policies of mainstream parties that may enter power. This is done by exercising pressure on their competitors. Especially centre-right wing parties are affected by this. They are forced to shift their policy agendas closer to those of their radical-right wing competitors to win back voters or to avoid losing them in the first place (Schain 2006).

2.3 Encounters of Diversity

The last domain of the diversity framework is "encounters of diversity", which deals with "how diversities are actually experienced or encountered" (Vertovec 2009, p. 23). From an anthropological perspective, this concerns processes of boundary making, boundary marking and different scenarios where diversity becomes more noticeable, or the opposite. If the configurations domain can be seen as the structure part of diversity, then encounters of diversity has to do with agency. One way diversity is being displayed by different groups is through multicultural festivals, which serve as a way of cultural celebration, but also as a place for contact between different groups of people. Moreover, modes of diversity encounters can be the different kinds of fusions and hybrids (Vertovec 2009).

2.3.1 Cultural Hybridization and Encounters of Diversity

"Culture is the weaving binding together the world's diverse social fabric"

(Rowntree et al. 2012, p. 26).

The idea of cultural hybridization in comparison to concepts like multiculturalism moves beyond the segregation of culture and implies inclusivity. Looking at migration from a multiculturalist perspective, arrival cultures may be accepted and tolerated, but aspects of their identity are made important means of differentiation. In contrast, cultural hybridity refers to situations where cultures mix to produce unique outcomes (Murray 2006).

The term cultural hybridization describes the interaction of people from different cultures in the same place in order to create something that previously did not exist (Murray 2006). It is a popular concept in social science in order to understand the rising global culture. In particular, it is used to study immigrant populations' challenges retaining a connection to their own culture of origin, but at the same time adopt to their new environment (Ryoo 2009). The term cultural hybridization therefore describes more than just the mere "mixing, blending and synthesising of different elements" (Vanderwaeren 2014, p. 67 f.). It refers more to the generation of new forms and connections within cultures. In other words, the transformation of cultural repertoires produced by the exchange of artistic expressions can be seen as cultural hybridization (Vanderwaeren 2014). However, this requires a "dialectic discourse and reflective interaction through which ideas, values and meaning clash and are negotiated and regenerated" (Wang and Yeh 2009, p. 188). Indeed, cultural hybridization can be seen as a "give and take among cultures that encounter each other [...]" (Wang and Yeh 2005, p. 177). Considering globalization and the growing ethno cultural diversity in our societies dealing with different cultural environments is not only relevant for people with migration background, but should be of importance for everyone (Vanderwaeren 2014).

2.3.2 Festivals and Encounters of Diversity

As this thesis researches diversity by looking specifically at cultural festivals, this section elaborates on the role of festivals as encounters of diversity. It also discusses the representations of cultural hybridity.

For the purpose of this research, only specific types of festivals are considered. Therefore, the focus lies on ethnic and cultural community festivals. In a broader sense, festivals are understood as a form of cultural performance, which is "scheduled, temporally and spatially bounded, programmed, characterized by co-ordinated public occasions and heightened occasions of aesthetic expression" (Kuutma 1998, p. 79). Ethnic festivals in particular provide a platform for cultural and ethnic expressions of minority communities.

According to Kuutma (1998), a growing desire for ethnic recognition and ethnic identity can be observed in the modern world. These are important aspects for minority groups in order to claim their place in a society. In fact, expressive behaviours are seen as significant in processes of immigrant mobility and adoption (DiMaggio & Fernández-Kelly 2015).

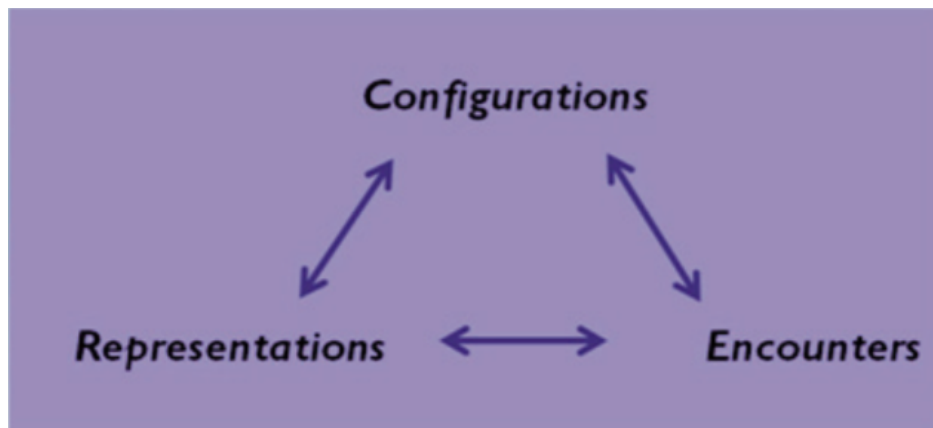
As immigrants cross borders they are dependent on communicative behaviours in order to meet the challenges of dislocation and settlement in a new environment. However, they often lack the linguistic skills and are not familiar with the customs of the host country so they are forced to fall back on aesthetic means, such as culinary arts, music, dance, arts and so on, in order to communicate with the wider society. Moreover, the cultural expressions are a way of claiming identity (DiMaggio & Fernández-Kelly 2015). Kuutma (1998) further states that ethnicity is an "observable and instrumental element of cultural communication" (p. 82). Thus, a festival serves as a "communicative scenery for manifestations of ethnicity and cultural unity with the special objective to demonstrate and experience a particular identity" (Kuutma 1998, p. 79). Festivals communicate a group's heritage and cultural roots by actively engaging the participants in cultural activities and performances. Those activities convey an impression of the concerns of the community and therefore providing a setting for expressing particular ethnicity. Moreover, festivals help to strengthen a group's identity, their sense of place as well as the power to act in their own interests and enables them to articulate social issues and challenge the views of the larger society.

Festivals can therefore be seen as demonstrations of community power. Moreover, by facilitating social interactions, they are useful tools to promote ethnic understanding and cross-cultural education, which can reduce the amount of tensions within a society (Jepson et al. n. d.). Participation in festivals provides a momentary opportunity for people from different cultural backgrounds to transcend differences and come together as a community in order to "rethink the boundaries of a community or to reconsider issues of race and ethnicity" (Brettell and Nibbs 2009, p. 693).

2.4 Conceptual Framework of Diversity

Vertovec (2009) integrated all three domains in a conceptual triad in which each domain is interrelated (Vertovec 2009). He further points out that in order to understand one domain you have to take aspects of the other two into account.

Figure 1: Conceptual framework of Diversity



(Source: Vertovec 2009, p. 26)

Looking at the conceptual framework from a research perspective, Vertovec (2009) indicates that there are different modes of changes between the domains. For instance, the changes enabled by encounters of diversity taking place on a day to day basis are much faster than the undergoing changes in terms of representations of diversity. More concrete, the adjustment of policy concepts takes much longer than people's initiatives on a local level (Vertovec 2009). In this sense, he also refers to his concept of super-diversity pointing out that migration patterns are much faster to change than the politicians can keep up with in their discourse and policies (Vertovec 2009).

3. Methodology

This chapter elaborates on the data collecting methods and other methodological considerations of this research that were applied.

3.1 Research Strategy and Research Questions

As diversity is not a widely researched concept, this research is more of explorative nature. This research aims to gain a fuller understanding of how diversity is configured, represented and encountered in the Netherlands and thus the Dutch society. The research approach used in this research is thus based on the main research question, which reads as follows: *How is diversity configured, represented and encountered in Dutch society?*

The diversity framework by Vertovec (2009) introduced in chapter 2 serves as the research foundation and structure for this thesis. In order to answer the main research question sub-questions have been derived based on the three domains of the diversity framework:

- 1) *How does diversity appear in structural and demographic conditions?*
- 2) *How are representations of diversity constructed through immigration and integration policies?*
- 3) *How is diversity articulated and experienced at the Ketj Koti Festival in Amsterdam? How are encounters facilitated among different populations which share the same urban space?*

According to Vertovec (2009), the dimension ‘configurations of diversity’ describes how diversity appears in structural and demographic conditions. For that purpose, statistical data on the demographic makeup of the Netherlands in general, and Amsterdam in particular, will be reviewed in order to establish the ethnic composition of the country and the city of Amsterdam. Moreover, when looking at how diversity appears, it is important to consider the political conditions of power and status of the research location. Vertovec (2009) suggests that historical processes, migration histories and the conditions of the peoples’ migration into the country need to be considered as well. This contributes to gain an understanding of a group’s position within a social structure. Therefore, chapter 4 provides a brief outline of the historical background of the Netherlands, with a focus on the colonial past and its resulting migration

patterns. This is based on secondary data through carrying out a literature analysis as well as using official statistical data from the government.

In order to study the diversity representations, chapter 5 provides an analysis of the development of immigration and integration policies over time in the Netherlands. During the analysis, it became clear that populist radical-right parties in the Netherlands have influenced the policy-making significantly and thus the discourses and representations of diversity. Therefore, the analysis was supplemented by reviewing the populist radical-right parties in the Netherlands and their impact on policy-making. Both the analysis of the policy development over time and the influence of populist radical-right parties on policy making were done by reviewing the existing literature and using research reports.

It is unclear however, to what extent the policies actually reflect and display the reality of cultural diversity in a society in terms of the actual lived experiences of diversity. Therefore, the third aspect of Vertovec's (2009) framework, diversity encounters, examines diversity from a more salient point of view by considering diversity encounters through cultural exchange. The domain is concerned with "how diversities are actually experienced or encountered" (Vertovec 2009, p. 23). One way diversity can be experienced and encountered is through multicultural festivals, which serve as a way of cultural expression, but also as a place for contact between different groups of people (Vertovec 2009). Therefore, the Ketikoti festival in Amsterdam was chosen as an example of how cultural diversity is displayed and can be experienced on a local level. The aim is to reflect on in what ways cultural diversity is represented at the festival and to assess to which extent it succeeds in facilitating encounters of diversity, respectively facilitating cultural exchange between people with different cultural and ethnic background. For this purpose, the author participated at the event in order to observe and capture the festival dynamics.

3.2 Data Collection Methods

As explained in the above section, different research approaches were used in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of diversity. This research has a strong focus on qualitative methods. Data is drawn from critical participant observation, photographic images, unstructured interviews as well as media and policy analysis. However, some secondary quantitative data was used in order to complement the qualitative data. Hence, these different data collection methods help to get a more nuanced understanding of the concept being researched by looking at it from different perspectives.

3.2.1 Participant Observation

The empirical data of this research was gained through participant observation and unstructured interviews of festival visitors supported by photographic images and further information from a media analysis on the festival reporting.

Ethnography is a qualitative research approach, mostly used in the field of cultural anthropology, aimed at studying the behaviours, values, beliefs and languages of a culture-sharing group in order to gain an understanding of how the group works. Ethnographic research builds on theoretical concepts which give the researcher a better understanding of the topic and the research purpose and further engages in fieldwork to gather relevant data (Creswell 2013). Participant observation is one of the most common methods in ethnography used to closely observe a group by immersing in their culture (Fetterman 2010). The researcher thereby participates in the activities of a cultural group at the site and is thus visible for the people under study, but is still maintaining a professional distance. The participation allows the researcher to develop a narrative account of a culture-sharing group by studying their social behaviours and interactions within their cultural context (Creswell 2013). This method therefore seems most suitable in order to get a good impression of the setup of the Keti Koti festival and understand how diversity is expressed through different cultural activities. Moreover, participating the festival was helpful to record the physical layout of the research location. This is essential for acquiring a complete picture of the festival.

An important part of doing observations is to keep an observational protocol and write accurate field notes. Taking the recommendations for an observational protocol from Creswell (2013), the protocol used for the festival observation consists of a description of the events and activities observed as well as the researcher's own reflection of her observations (appendix 1). Additionally, relevant questions as formulated by Bryman (2008, p. 417) that helped to guide the process were: "what do you see, what do you hear, what questions come up in your mind [...] etc."

The observation process was further structured according to the festival activities. Hence, every activity was treated as an independent event and observed and analysed as such. For example, the festival started with a traditional parade. The first part was to take descriptive notes of what was being observed. In the case of the parade the descriptive notes contained for instance: "participants wearing traditional colourful clothes, dancing and chanting to traditional music". The reflective notes would say: "the atmosphere is joyful and people seem to be proud to express and carry out their cultural traditions". To support the observations during the festival the researcher took pictures. The pictures were analysed and coded in the same way as the notes of the observations.

3.2.2 Unstructured Interviews

Another research method applied at the festival were unstructured interviews. An unstructured interview is characterized by its informal way of questioning the interviewee. It is done in a friendly and informal way. Usually, the questions aren't pre-prepared before and are rather based on the situation and on the responses of the interviewee, but some key questions can be formulated beforehand (Business Dictionary 2018). For this research, some interview questions were prepared before such as: "Why did you participate at the parade?", "How did you experience the parade?", "What is your impression of the festival?" or "Do you think you have a better understanding of the cultural meaning?". Other questions were asked based on the observations at the festival or follow up questions. For instance: "Do you feel like you learned something new in regards to the slavery past of the Netherlands?"

Interviewing some of the visitors helped to get an impression of the visitors' perception of the festival and thus another perspective on the festival besides the researchers own observations.

3.2.3 Media Analysis

Additionally, after the festival the researcher carried out a media analysis of the festival's media reporting in order to complement the own empirical data and get a more comprehensive picture as it was not possible to participate in all festival activities happening at the same time. Moreover, relevant people were interviewed for instance by the Dutch television channel NOS, which added additional depth to the analysis.

3.2.4 Secondary Policy Analysis

The policy development analysis is based on secondary data through literature research. Therefore, the analysis collected secondary data based on the research carried out by other researchers and put the information together.

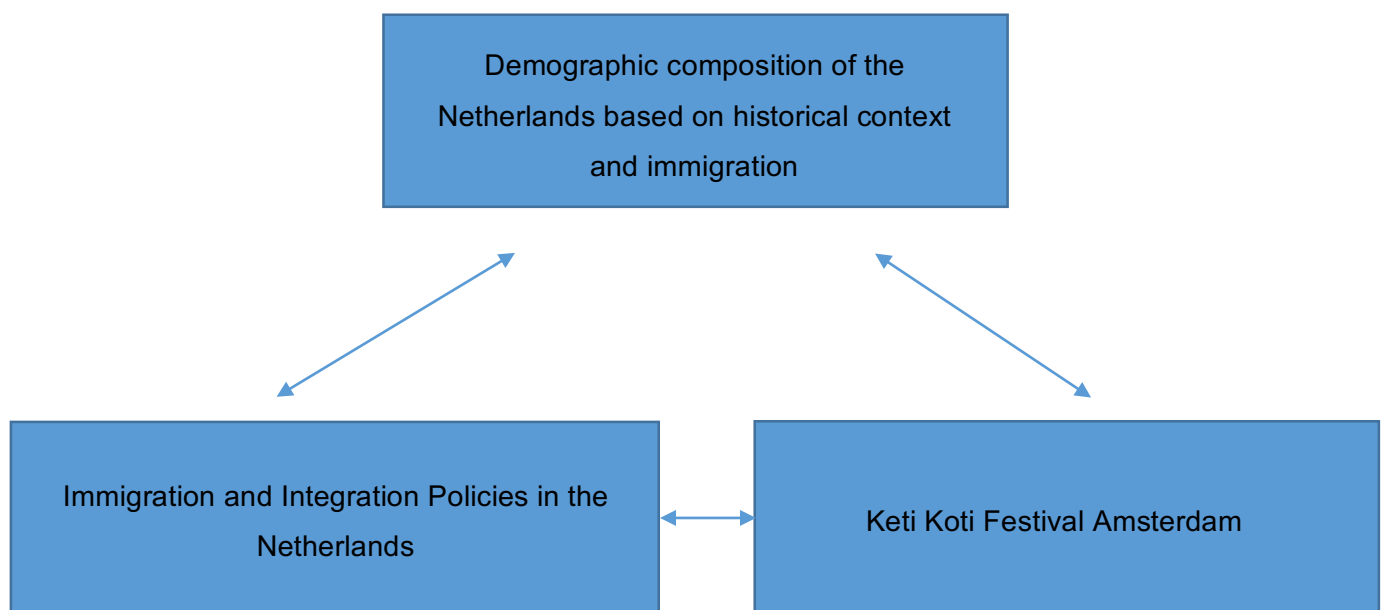
3.3 Limitations

In qualitative research, it is difficult to achieve a high level of conformability, which is the qualitative equivalent of objectivity in quantitative research. This is because qualitative data and qualitative data analysis is inherently subjective (Summer and Tribe 2008). This is especially of concern in ethnography. Therefore, the author tried to outline the methodological considerations as carefully as possible. Furthermore, during the data collection at the Ketikoti

Festival, the researcher tried to maintain a neutral position while carrying out the observation. Additionally, the conducted unstructured interviews helped to give the rather subjective perception of the researcher more objectivity by taking other people's opinions and views on the festival into account. However, because of the nature of unstructured interviews, the questions asked often partly vary, meaning that the interviewees are not answering the same questions, which effects reliability (Business Dictionary 2018). Concerning the use of secondary data and existing literature the researcher relies on work done by other researchers and has to trust the accuracy of these works.

3.4 Conceptual Model

Figure 2: Conceptual Research Model of Diversity



(Source: own depiction)

The conceptual model builds on Vertovec's (2009) conceptual framework of diversity and shows the specific aspects under research in this study for each domain. As Vertovec implied, they are all intertwined and influenced by each other. Hence, they cannot be seen separate from each other and contribute to a more comprehensive picture on diversity.

The following findings chapters are structured according to the theoretical chapter of this thesis, which is largely build on Vertovec's diversity framework. Chapter 4 therefore analyses diversity configurations, followed by the representations of diversity in chapter 5 and encounters of diversity in chapter 6.

4. Configurations of Diversity

As explained in chapter 2, historical processes and particularly migration need to be considered in order to get a better understanding of configuration of diversity in a given society. This chapter therefore analyses how diversity appears in Dutch society, and Amsterdam in particular, by looking at the history, immigration and demographic structure of the Netherlands.

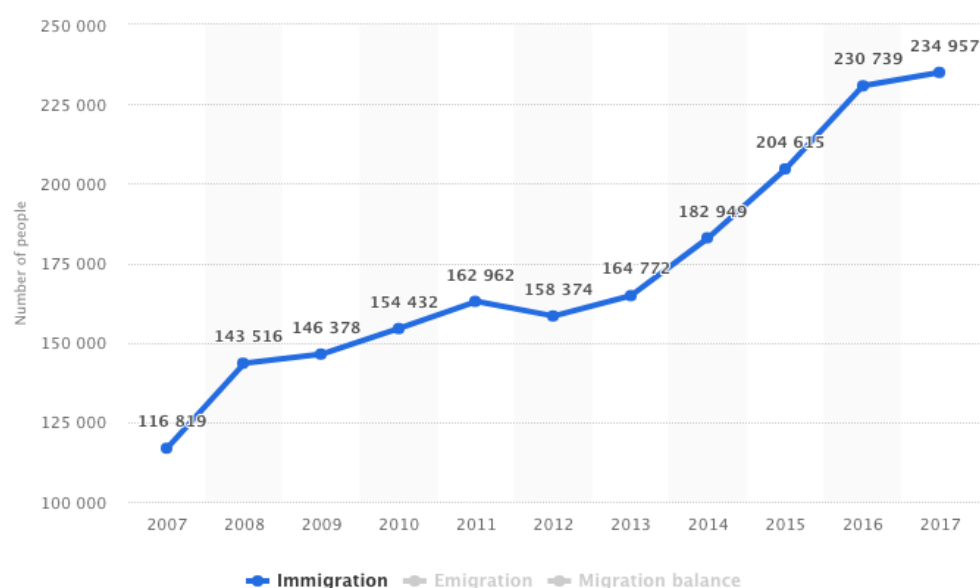
4.1 Historical background and demographic structure

Currently, the total Dutch population counts more than 17 million. From that total, 13 million have a Dutch background; people whose parents are both born in the Netherlands. The rest of the almost 4 million people in the Netherlands have a migrant background. This is defined as having at least one parent who is born outside the Netherlands (CBS 2018). Almost 2.5 million people of the total of people with a migrant background are Non-Western. A person is counted as having a non-Western background when originating from a country in Africa, South America or Asia (excluded are people from Japan and Indonesia) or Turkey (CBS 2018). This means, that most of the people with a migrant background in the Netherlands are coming from non-Western countries. Many of them are from former colonies, such as Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles. As former colonies of the Netherlands, it was easy for them to receive the Dutch nationality and get access to Dutch citizenship in the Netherlands (Hoekstra 2014).

As these numbers show, the Netherlands can be considered an immigrant country showing a long history of immigration. Especially since the 1960s the number of immigrants coming to the Netherlands increased significantly (Entzinger 2014). At first, the Netherlands welcomed labour migrants mainly from the Mediterranean, Morocco and Turkey as guest workers into the country. This was followed by a big wave of immigrants coming from Suriname, a former Dutch colony in the Caribbean, as well as post-colonial migration from the Dutch Antilles in the late 1980s (van Meeteren et al. 2013). The 1990s is marked by the arrival of asylum-seekers from all over the world (Rath 2008). More recently, immigrants from Western countries includes citizens from other EU countries (van Meeteren et al. 2013). In many cases the migration to the Netherlands was meant to be temporary, but many immigrants decided to stay (Rath 2008). As a result, the Dutch cultural and social landscape as well as the country's urban landscapes have been transformed and shaped by the settlement of diverse groups of immigrants. The biggest communities of immigrants are Turks, Surinamese and Moroccans (Entzinger 2006). Approximately one out of six inhabitants in the country has an immigrant background or is part of a family where one of the parents is an immigrant. Thus about 17% of the total Dutch population consists of 1st and 2nd generation of

immigrants (Entzinger 2014). When looking at the immigration patterns over time it becomes clear that they have not only increased in numbers (figure 3), but also in their variety. Table 1 shows the international migrant stocks by age and gender demonstrates the increased variety of the immigrant population over a period of 23 years. This is especially evident when looking at the number of female immigrants, which doubled from 1990 until 2013. Also, the different age groups became more diverse.

Figure 3: Immigration to the Netherlands between 2007 and 2017



(Source: Statista 2018)

Table 1: Migrants stocks in the Netherlands by age and gender

	1990			2000			2013		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-4	10 697	10 819	21 516	11 353	11 606	22 959	11 021	10 512	21 533
5-9	20 142	19 275	39 417	22 885	22 366	45 251	19 378	19 197	38 575
10-14	28 508	25 734	54 242	33 505	31 353	64 858	23 805	24 235	48 040
15-19	44 782	40 915	85 697	44 107	43 059	87 166	34 444	35 522	69 966
20-24	59 543	57 515	117 058	59 955	63 170	123 125	67 529	72 437	139 966
25-29	70 274	69 684	139 958	85 608	90 826	176 434	91 107	102 014	193 121
30-34	69 642	65 735	135 377	99 276	97 321	196 597	95 548	107 891	203 439
35-39	61 143	57 260	118 403	93 700	89 356	183 056	101 685	113 339	215 024
40-44	56 479	54 363	110 842	78 060	77 736	155 796	106 061	112 590	218 651
45-49	42 082	40 457	82 539	62 833	63 971	126 804	97 667	101 012	198 679
50-54	39 374	35 506	74 880	57 550	55 790	113 340	78 692	84 020	162 712
55-59	27 679	23 205	50 884	42 128	37 949	80 077	62 446	68 538	130 984
60-64	19 580	22 020	41 600	32 141	36 386	68 527	52 216	59 011	111 227
65+	45 848	73 373	119 221	56 767	84 663	141 430	98 400	114 605	213 005
Total	595 773	595 861	1 191 634	779 868	805 552	1 585 420	939 999	1 024 923	1 964 922

(Source: UNICEF n. d.)

4.2 Configurations of Diversity in Amsterdam

Looking at the history of migration in the Netherlands, cities were generally the main destinations for immigrants. Statistics show that non-Western immigrants are more likely to live in urban areas. The overall presence of immigrants in cities is therefore higher compared to rural areas, but also more diverse. In the Dutch capital Amsterdam, the ethnic minority population is becoming the majority. The city has around 800,000 inhabitants of whom 49.5% are native-born and 50.5% have a foreign background (Delhaye and van de Ven 2014). Moreover, 181 different nationalities are represented in Amsterdam, who further differ from each other based on their socioeconomic status, religion as well as their legal status etcetera. The largest immigrant groups in the city are Moroccans with 9.0%, Surinamese with 8.3%, Turks with 5.2 % and Antilleans with 1.5% (Hoekstra 2014). Amsterdam has a relatively high number of Moroccans compared to the rest of the Netherlands. The Surinamese in Amsterdam are mostly Creoles and Afro-Surinamese (CBS 2011). Other non-Western immigrants are from Ghana, Egypt, Pakistan, India and China.

Many Western immigrants come from Germany, Britain, North America and Italy. Especially the number of people coming from EU countries has increased over the last years due to the expansion of the EU resulting in higher labour migration from East to West (Hoekstra 2014).

Consequently, Amsterdam is becoming more diverse representing a variety of ethnic, racial, cultural, national and religious identities (Delhaye 2008; Martiniello 2014). This diversity is not going to disappear, quite the opposite, it is continuing to grow (Martiniello 2014). The different ethnic groups are bringing their own cultural repertoires and aesthetic traditions, which also become visible in the cultural landscape of the city (Delhaye 2008).

4.3 Concluding remarks

By reviewing the migration patterns in the Netherlands in general and in Amsterdam in particular, it is obvious that immigration is an essential part of the Dutch history and immigrants make up a big part of the Dutch population. According to the CBS (2018), immigration is the main source of population growth in the Netherlands.

As the result of the complex and sustained migration flows, the Netherlands has shifted from ethnic homogeneity to a remarkable degree of diversity (Vasta 2007). This confirms Vertovec's concept of super-diversity.

5. Representations of Diversity

In order to get a better understanding of how cultural diversity is impacted and represented by public policies it is important to get an understanding how policies develop over time in culturally diverse societies. Therefore, this chapter analyses policy-making processes and discourses in the Netherlands in relation to immigration over the last decades.

5.1 Analysis of Immigration and Integration Policies in the Netherlands

The Dutch were known for their open and welcoming position towards newcomers in the Netherlands. However, in recent decades discourses on migration show clear signs of a shifting attitude towards immigrants. This is reflected in policy changes towards more exclusionary policies and one-sided integration (Musterd 2009). Moreover, this also echoes the concerns of many Dutch citizens about the integration of the immigrants residing in Dutch cities. Public and policy discourses on integration of migrants are mainly linked with images of spatial ethnic concentrations in neighbourhoods, which are seen as problematic areas with high crime and unemployment rates, drugs and illegal immigrants (Musterd 2009).

5.1.1 Development of immigration policies

The immigrant integration policy in the Netherlands was framed in many different ways over the years and is thus marked by discontinuity (Entzinger 2006). This was reflected in the different ways integration was defined, how the minority groups were categorized and in the changing perspectives on diversity. Considering the problem framing aspect of policy making as elaborated in chapter 2.3.2, it is evident that immigration has been framed in many different ways over the last decades (Scholten 2011). Hence, over a period of the last 60 years, the Netherlands has adopted several models of immigrant integration based on three main approaches such as pillarization, ethnic minorities policy and integration policy (Vasta 2007). The pillarization period arose in the 19th century in order to tolerate groups who had different religious beliefs allowing them to create their own institutions.

The first immigration policy was formulated by the Dutch government in the early 1980s. Before that no real policy on immigration and integration of newcomers was in place. The reason was that immigration was considered as temporary and the Netherlands did not conceive themselves as a country of immigration and did not want to be one either. (Scholten 2011). During this period, immigrants were categorized as guest-workers who were not

regarded as full citizens. This resulted in unequal rights of the immigrants compared to the Dutch citizens (Tersteeg, van Kempen and Bolt 2014).

This shifted in the early 1980s when social tensions could no longer be ignored and multiculturalism came to be seen a problem. This, and the appeals of social scientists, resulted in awareness about the fact that immigration was no longer a temporary occurrence. A report of the WRR (the Scientific Council for Government Policy) led to the development of the Ethnic Minorities Policy in order to give more permanent rights to the staying immigrants (Tersteeg, van Kempen and Bolt 2014). The immigrants were characterized based on their ethnic origin (Entzinger 2014). However, the policy applied only to some of the minorities in the Netherlands such as the Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antilleans, Southern Europeans, Moluccans, refugees, Roma and Sintis and caravan dwellers. Chinese for instance were not included, because they were not seen as minorities (Vasta 2007). The general idea behind the policy was to improve the socio-cultural situation of the minorities and thus also their socio-economic position by giving them special attention and funding from the state (Scholten 2011; Tersteeg, van Kempen and Bolt 2014). The ethnic minorities defined within the policy frame were given active and passive voting rights and they were allowed to continue their own cultural practices. The assumption was that a distinctive cultural identity of minorities would foster their socio-economic emancipation (Entzinger 2014).

The perception of multiculturalism changed at the end of the 1980s when the policy was heavily criticised in public debates as well as by researchers. Critics stated that the progress made under the policy was too little in terms of labour market participation and educational performances of ethnic minorities. Those claims were made by the WRR in their advisory report, which is seen to have been a catalyst for the shift (Tersteeg, van Kempen and Bolt 2014). Additionally, the leader of the liberal party at the time, Frits Bolkestein, sparked a public debate by claiming that Islam was a threat to democracy and an obstacle for the integration of migrants in society (Entzinger 2014). This influenced the public perception on immigrants and started a public and policy discourse on the "non-integrating migrant" (Vasta 2007, p. 717) in the Netherlands. Subsequently, this paved the way for the reframing of the Minorities Policy into an Integration Policy. The new policy framed integration as "a process leading to the full and equal participation of individuals and groups in society, for which mutual respect for identity is seen as a necessary condition" (Entzinger 2006, p. 72). The Integration Policy differentiated from the Ethnic Minorities Policy in a few ways.

First of all, it no longer focused on groups, but on individuals and thus pointed out the responsibility of individuals to participate in the society. Moreover, the attention was on the socio-economic participation of the immigrants instead of their socio-cultural involvement (Tersteeg, van Kempen and Bolt 2014). This also meant a change in the way immigrants were categorised. Instead of categorising them on a group level based on ethno-cultural traits, they

were classified by their foreign origin on an individual level (Scholten 2011). Moreover, concrete measures were released on how the integration should look like. For instance, immigrants had to take Dutch language courses and get vocational training. In 1998 the Civic Integration of Newcomers Act was introduced in order to provide obligatory programmes for immigrants. Those consisted of Dutch language courses, social orientation classes, work and social coaching. A final test was required at the end of the programme to measure their progress (Vasta 2007).

Nonetheless, debates about policy failure in regards to immigrant integration continued and there was an increasing trend towards an anti-immigrant attitude. This was facilitated by several complex events in the new millennium. For instance, the publication of a newspaper article by Paul Scheffer (2000), a prominent member of the labour party, on the "failure of the multicultural society", the growing popularity of the right-wing populist politician Pim Fortuyn and several violent attacks of immigrants, including the murder of filmmaker Theo van Gogh. Paul Scheffer was among the first to voice the failure of the multicultural society due to immigrants who were not willing and unable to integrate. He especially raised his concerns regarding the growing Muslim population in the Netherlands. Those would undermine the functioning of the liberal Dutch democracy due to their extreme illiberal ideas (Entzinger 2014). In the climate of already increased sensitivity regarding immigration this initiated an anti-immigration and in particular anti-Islam debate.

This was also around the time when Pim Fortuyn quickly gained more influence on the political stage. He as well was concerned with "the assault on democratic liberties that might result from the presence of so many people unfamiliar with Western values, particularly Muslim" (Entzinger 2014, p. 698). In his view, more immigration would only amplify these problems. Pim Fortuyn was assassinated before the elections in 2002, but his party became part of the new government coalition. However, they were replaced quickly as they proved to be too unstable. Hence, a new centre-right coalition came to power, which pursued a strict anti-immigration agenda by promoting returns, curtailing family immigration by requesting a minimum income and minimum age as well as pre-departure language and integration tests (Entzinger 2014). The outcome was the Integration Policy New Style in 2003, which builds on the former policy in terms of its emphasis on "self-responsibility" and "good citizenship" of migrants (Tersteeg, van Kempen and Bolt 2014), yet differentiated from the old policy and focused not only on the socio-economic integration aspect, but shifted towards the bridging of socio-cultural distances between immigrants and the wider society. Thereby, the new policy stressed "common citizenship" whereas the old policy stressed "active citizenship". This meant that "the unity of society must be found in what members have in common [...], that is that people speak Dutch, and that one abides by basic Dutch norms" (Scholten 2011, p. 81). Hence, the socio-cultural differences between the immigrants and the Dutch people were seen

as obstacles for integration and immigrants were expected to adjust to the Dutch mainstream culture. Thus, the new policy reflects an assimilation approach to integration (Entzinger 2014). Furthermore, it was linked with topics such as the preservation of the national identity and social cohesion mirroring public and political concerns (Scholten 2011). With the new policy sanctions were introduced, for example the deprivation of their welfare, in case the immigrants failed to fulfil the conditions (Vasta 2007).

When looking at the policy development over the years, it becomes clear that immigration and integration policy became stricter. Immigration has been restricted and integration is seen as necessary in order to be a good citizen (Tersteeg, van Kempen and Bolt 2014). According to Schinkel (2008), since the 2000s an increasing trend in policy which closely ties together immigration and integration discourses can be observed. This becomes also clear in the more recent integration policy called Integration Memorandum 2007-2011. Although it moved away from the focus of socio-cultural assimilation and revolves around socio-economic assimilation it still remains assimilationist in nature with active citizenship and own responsibility as key values (Tersteeg, van Kempen and Bolt 2014).

5.1.2 Concluding remarks

Having analysed the immigration policies of the Netherlands in the different periods from the 1970s, it became evident that various, often contradicting, approaches to immigration and integration were taken over time. As Scholten (2011) emphasises, it shows "a pattern of punctuated equilibrium, with periods of relative stability when policy was based on one distinct problem frame, interrupted by frame shifts that led to very different ways of understanding immigrant integration" (p. 81). In short, there was a change in the dominant policy frame from exclusionist, via multiculturalist and integrationist to assimilationist. This analysis of the policy development shows clearly that there is no consistent model of immigrant integration in the Netherlands. Moreover, considering the impacts of the immigration policies on diversity, it becomes clear that there was a move away from an open and diverse society, reflected in the Minorities policy promoting integration with retaining the own culture, towards the current assimilationist approach with the Integration Policy New Style in order to preserve the national identity and social cohesion and thus be intolerant towards cultural diversity.

It also became evident that public and political discourses have played a crucial role in shifting and defining the immigration policies in the Netherlands. Especially populist radical-right parties seemed to have increased their political influence over the years and thus exercised a strong impact on the immigration policy agenda. Considering that, it is important

to get a better understanding of the impact of those parties on the immigration policy and thus diversity in the Netherlands.

5.2 Analysis of the influence of Populist Radical-Right Parties on policy-making

In this section, the impact of the radical-right wing parties on immigration and integration agendas will be analysed. The information is based on the research report of Akkerman (2018) conducted for the Migration Policy Institute (MPI). The assessment starts with an overview of the radical-right parties in the Netherlands since the new millennium, followed by an analysis of the current populist radical-right party PVV and its impact and influence on the immigration policies over the years.

5.2.1 Populist radical-right parties in the Netherlands

Since the early 2000s two populist radical-right parties have played an important role in the political landscape of the Netherlands. One of them was the LPF (Lijst Pim Fortuyn [Pim Fortuyn List]) and the other one is called PVV (Partij voor de vrijheid [Party for Freedom]).

In the 2002 election the LPF became the second largest party in the country (Entzinger 2014). The party represented the view that immigration, especially from Muslim countries, is a threat to the cohesion of the Dutch society. Together with two other parties, the centre-right VVD (Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie [People's party for freedom and democracy]) and the CDA (Christen-Democratisch Appèl [Christian Democratic Appeal]) they formed a coalition government (Entzinger 2014). Jointly they released a coalition agreement requiring a more restrictive immigration policy and a permanent residence to be made subject to change depending on successful integration. Because of the murder of Pim Fortuyn, the party's leader, internal conflicts led to the separation of the coalition government after three months and the LPF lost support. Despite that, the dominant view in the Netherlands came to be that integration policies had failed. The LPF was eventually dissolved in 2008 and left to fill a gap for other radical-right wings parties. Although the VVD had moved to the right on immigration and integration issues in the 2002 election in order to prevent the loss of voters to the LPF, they were again confronted with competition when Geert Wilders, a former VVD member, formed the radical-right party PVV in 2006. The PVV quickly became an electoral force when they won 5.9 percent in the 2006 election (Akkerman 2012). The party's programme was built on radical views on immigration, integration and Islam, way more radical than the ones of the

LPF before. For instance, in the election manifesto of 2010 they proposed "a ban on the Koran, a halt on the building of mosques, a tax on headscarves and a ban on immigration from Muslim-majority countries"(Akkerman 2018, p. 9). Looking at the PVV performance in the elections since their formation they became the third largest party in the Netherlands in the 2010 election (15.5 percent), in 2012 they lost some of the share (10.1 percent), but recovered in the 2017 election (13.1 percent) (Akkerman 2018).

5.2.2 Populist radical-right parties and immigration and integration policies

According to Akkerman's (2018) analysis, the PVV had a significant impact on the agenda of the immigration and integration policy in the Netherlands, from inside and outside the government. The direct and indirect influence of the party over the last ten years will be assessed in the following section.

Direct Influence of the PVV in Government (2010-12)

The PVV became the third largest party in the 2010 election and after some tough negotiations they formed a coalition with the VVD and the CDA. Hence, the PVV became a semi-coalition partner and a support party to the Mark Rutte, the current Prime Minister, cabinet. The coalition parties had a special policy agreement, which established the policy objectives and the parts in which the PVV would support the government and vote in their favour. Those domains were "immigration and integration, crime and security, elder care, and finance" (Akkerman 2018, p. 10). Additionally, in the agreement there was a paragraph which stated the party's agreement on disagreeing about Islam. By that the PVV was still allowed to promote its radical anti-Islam views. Furthermore, a restriction of the immigration and integration policies was part of the agreement. This also included:

- "A reduction in immigration by pursuing reforms to a number of EU Directives. Proposed reforms included placing a greater burden of proof on asylum seekers, imposing restrictions on family reunification, raising integration requirements to obtain a permanent residence permit, ending Member States' ability to enact mass regularizations of irregular immigrants; and revoking the Dutch citizenship of naturalized citizens who have held a Dutch passport for fewer than five years and are convicted of a crime punishable by a jail sentence of 12 years or more.
- Heightened integration requirements for immigrants
- A general ban on wearing burqa or other face veils

- Restrictions on dual nationalities, with the intention that holding only one nationality would become the norm and a limited number of exceptions would be granted in cases where choosing one nationality would be legally impossible" (Akkerman, p. 10).

The agreement provided the PVV with executive power which meant that the party could directly influence immigration policy. However, some of the agreements propositions had little prospect of being turned into laws. For instance, the proposal to tighten family reunification proved to be unrealistic as they would have required an adjustment of EU laws. Also, the idea to restrict dual nationality was not very popular with the two other coalition parties. Therefore, the government only implemented parts of the agenda. Yet, some significant changes to the immigration and integration policies were made for example the modification of the Civic Integration Act of 2007. The amendments made it more difficult for immigrants to get residence permits and passports, which by that supported the lowering of immigration levels (Akkerman 2012).

The PVV ended its partnership with the coalition in 2012 and withdrew from the agreement. One of the reasons was that the party was losing electoral support due to economy measures the cabinet had attempted. Another reason was the internal conflicts the PVV were having. Due to internal disagreements, the party had lost a seat in parliament in 2012 and thus the party's position was weakened. It meant that it had less power to exert force on stricter immigration regulations and thus Wilders decided to withdraw the PVV from the coalition (Entzinger 2014).

However, despite some of the above-mentioned achievements in key issue areas, which were initiated by the PVV, its influence while part of the government was limited. After they withdraw from the coalition most of the proposals in the agreement were drawn back, such as the burqa ban and the restriction of the dual nationality. Although the PVV could impact the government in some parts, it still becomes clear that the radical-right wing party faced major difficulties in trying to push their agendas through. The party was not willing to make major compromises in immigration and integration policies and thus had to make concessions in other parts, such as socioeconomic policies. Moreover, some of the PVV's requirements in regards to integration like the aim of amending the EU laws were unrealistic. The party's major obstacle was its internal conflicts, which lead to an organizational weakness of the party and their loss of power (Akkerman 2018).

The PVV's indirect influence during the 2017 Election Campaign

After the PVV's loss of its direct influence on immigration policy-making from within the government, it still had significant indirect influence on mainstream parties and hence, shaped the agendas on immigration and integration problems. Wilder stated in an interview: "At the moment, the PVV has zero power, but a lot of influence. You do not need power to have a lot of influence" (Akkerman 2018, p. 12).

The PVV became more radicalized over the years, even compared to other Western European radical-rights parties. Wilders was known for his extreme opinions and statements about Muslims. He was convicted for hate speech after a controversial statement about Moroccan immigrants.

In its 2017 election campaign the PVV promoted immigration and integration as its key issues. The PVV never missed an opportunity during the campaign to point out their view on immigration, as being a threat to social cohesion and cultural values of the Netherlands. The campaign was dominated by competing efforts of the VVD and the CDA to challenge the PVV's dominance and prevent voters from defecting to the PVV. Therefore, they adjusted their immigration agendas by moving to the right to address the voters of the PVV and also emphasise national identity in their political programme. They even adjusted their rhetorical style imitating Wilders' more harsh tone (Akkerman 2018). Moreover, Prime Minister Rutte published a letter which addressed the concerns of the Dutch people regarding cultural cohesion and requiring from immigrants to adapt to the Dutch values or otherwise leave. Besides that, the approximation of the VVD and the CDA towards the PVV was shown in their policy positions. For instance, the VVD proposed a burqa ban, tightening conditions for family reunification, extending the period an immigrant must wait to naturalize to ten years etcetera. Furthermore, both the VVD and CDA made clear that they would not get into a coalition with the PVV. With this public statement, they wanted to make clear to the voters that the PVV would not have a chance to get into government and by that exclude the party (Akkerman 2018). Their efforts partially paid out, leaving the PVV as the second largest party in the 2017 election. However, the PVV still gained votes in comparison to the previous election, but has been expected to do much better. Several defining factors played a role. First of all, the already mentioned attempts to weaken the PVV of the VVD and the CDA. Secondly, Wilders' campaign had issues with poor campaign funding, small staff and security measures. Additionally, he restricted his media presence and did not participate in some major television debates with other political leaders.

5.2.3 Concluding remarks

The analysis above shows the ability of the PVV to impact immigration policies, directly and indirectly. The direct influence was exercised through government participation, but more limited. Nonetheless, they have managed to impact the policy agenda and stir the narrative around immigration and integration from the outside. Through its strong voting position in the 2017 election, the PVV was able to force the opposing centre-right parties VVD and CDA to move further right on immigration and integration issues due to their fear to lose voters to the PVV. By that the PVV indirectly influenced and shaped the immigration and integration policies. In order to compete with the PVV, the VVD and CDA pursued tactics of exclusion and imitation, which were in parts successful. However, both parties focused on minimising the PVV's electoral win rather than challenging its radical opinions.

In conclusion, the political fragmentation and the growing influence of the populist radical-right parties challenges the political landscape. The mainstream parties are left with the challenge to deal with and govern next to the political radical-right without drifting away from their values and at the same time appeal to the concern of their voters.

6. Encounters of Diversity

This chapter describes the observations of the author at the Ketikoti festival in Amsterdam in 2018. The observations reflect the author's perceptions and impressions during the festival. By participating and at the same time observing the festival, the author was able to reflect on the Ketikoti festival as a means of experiencing and encountering diversity. Thus, the following section represents the accounts of the author's experience and encounters of diversity during the Ketikoti festival. Additionally, for the analysis of the festival, the author made use of recorded material of the festival from local television channels as stated in the methods part.

6.1 Ketikoti Festival Amsterdam

The Ketikoti Festival is one of Amsterdam's cultural festivals. It has been taking place since 2009 and gives room to celebrate and commemorate the abolition of slavery in form of different, partially festive, activities. The festival is organized by NiNsee, the National Institute of Slavery and Legacy, which is funded by the city of Amsterdam. The festival is also funded by the Ministry of Culture via the Mondriaan Fund (UNESCO n. d.).

6.1.1 Historical background

The term Ketikoti is originated in Sranantongo, one of the Surinamese languages, and means "Verbroken Ketenen" ["broken chains"] (Ketikoti Festival n. d.), which stands for the abolition of slavery in the former colonies of Suriname and the Dutch Antilles on the 1st of July 1863. Ketikoti is celebrated in Suriname, but also in the Netherlands by the Surinamese community on the 1st of July of each year. An information panel at the entrance of the park informs the visitors of the festival about the history of slavery (figure 5).

According to the festival organizer Ivette Forster, the Ketikoti Festival aims to provide a place where people from different backgrounds come together to reflect on the past and look forward to the future by celebrating freedom, equality and solidarity (Ketikoti Festival n. d.). Also, the "Verbreiding van kennis, verdieping van inzicht moet leiden tot een bundeling van krachten voor een gezamenlijke toekomst" ["broadening the knowledge, deepening insight should lead to a pooling of forces for a shared future"] is an important part of the festival (Ketikoti Festival n. d.). Forster sees the festival as an opportunity to open up commemorations and rites, which were before only accessible for community members, to all Dutch people from diverse cultural backgrounds (Ketikoti Festival n. d.). She states that at first when she started

organizing the festival in 2009, mainly Surinamese people were attending the festival, but over the years the visitors of the festival became more and more diverse. One of the reasons for that could be the growing attention of the festival over the past years within the broader Dutch society, also due to the increasing take up and awareness in public discourse about the Dutch colonial history (Npostart 2018).

Figure 4: Info panel on slavery at the Ketikoti Festival



(Source: Corinna Weber)

6.1.2 Festival Activities

The festival started with the Bigi Spikri Optocht, a parade in traditional clothing. The parade has its origins in Paramaribo, Suriname, where people walked past large shop windows, which served them as mirrors to admire themselves. This is reflected in the name Bigri Spikri which means "Big Mirror" in Surinamese. The parade starts in the city centre and ends in the Oosterpark.

The Bigri Spikri was carried out in traditional clothing, worn by most of the participants, accompanied by traditional music and chant. Most of the participants appeared to have a Surinamese background, but also people from other backgrounds, for instance the Dutch Antilles and the Caribbean, were present. Many women were wearing a Koto, a traditional dress worn by Afro-Surinamese women in Suriname. Others were wearing clothes in the pattern of the national flag of Suriname. Moreover, they were carrying and swinging national flags above their heads (figure 7). Most present were the national flag of Suriname, but also the national flag of Curaçao was seen a few times. Also represented was the Pan-African flag (figure 8), with a raised fist on it. The Pan-African flag has the colours red, black and green and is an expression of black liberation. It represents the worldwide movement of solidarity between all people of African descent. The movement includes the history of African slave trade and does thus not only include continental Africa, but also African diaspora in the Caribbean, Latin America and the United States. The ideology behind the movement is that of unity of all people of African descent (Schramm 2010). The fist on the flag stands for Black Power, a political slogan aimed at the self-determination of people from African descent. The symbol of the raised, or also known as the clenched fist, stands for solidarity and unity and resistance in the face of violence (Symbols.com n. d.). The symbol was used by different groups throughout history, who face struggles such as oppression. It is also widely used in black power movements, for instance the Black Panther Party (Russell 2017).

Figure 5: Bigri Spikri



(Source: Corinna Weber)

Figure 6: Pan-African flag with fist



(Source: Corinna Weber)

It appeared that only a small number of people with Western background actively participated at the parade. The ones who did were mostly dressed with modern Western clothes. However, some of them seemed to be actively engaged as well, for instance by swinging the national flags of the countries participating (figure 10).

When observing the participants at the parade singing and dancing to their national traditional music a sense of pride was visible. They seemed proud to show their cultural traits and traditions and clearly enjoyed to openly express them and share them with the people around them. At the side of the road there were many people standing, observing the parade, taking pictures and videos. Most of them had a Western background. It seemed they enjoyed the spectacle and were also curious about it. Also the Dutch media was present to record and interview people (figure 9).

The atmosphere can be described as open and friendly. With the music and the dancing people it felt like everyone can just join in order to celebrate together. Although the parade at first glance seemed to be only like a celebration and expression of culture, there were also some signs expressing the underlying purpose of the festival in general. For instance, there was one sign stating: "Slavernij - Nederlands schande. Tijd voor excuses" [Slavery - Shame on you Netherlands. Time for excuses] (figure 11).

People participated at the parade for different reasons. The white people not connected to the community stated that it was about the experience, curiosity and also interest in the background. For instance, an observer during parade stated: "I heard about this and thought it would be interesting. I like to make photos so I thought it would be an interesting event to make photos and hear about the story behind the parade and the festival. It was interesting to see all the different nationalities and it was cool with the music. I talked to a few people about the parade and about the background, people who join the parade every year" (Interview 2). The people from the community mostly stated that their reasons to participate at the parade were to remember what happened and be grateful to their ancestors that they were fighting for them to be free. One participant from Suriname said that "we need to make sure that we live in a neutral world" (AT5 2018b, n. p.). Another participant and community member pointed out the importance to step in for themselves, their rights in the society and their rights to talk about their history. She further stated that this seems successful in recent years, also because the younger people are more active and want to raise awareness. For her the preservation of culture is very important (AT5 2018b).

Figure 7: People watching and documenting the parade



(Source: Corinna Weber)

Figure 8: White participant swinging national flag of Curaçao



(Source: Corinna Weber)

Figure 9: Sign against slavery



(Source: Corinna Weber)

After the parade, the commemoration started. The commemoration was taking place around the National Slavery Monument in the Oosterpark (Figure 12). On both sides, there were rows of chairs put up for the participants. In front of them was a podium built up for the several speeches to take place. The ceremony was introduced by a so called plengoffer, a traditional Surinamese ritual (Figure 13). The plengoffer, a libation, consists of a drink poured out as an offering to a deity. The plengoffer at the ceremony was carried out by a WINTI priest by pouring water on the ground around the National Slavery Monument. Thereby, the priest addressed the ancestors in a speech remembering and acknowledging their sufferings. WINTI is a traditional Afro-Surinamese religion, which is based on spirit possession, ancestor rituals and ritual baths (van Andel & Westers 2009).

Figure 10: Slavery Monument in the Oosterpark



(Source: Corinna Weber)

Figure 11: Libation at the commemoration ceremony



(Source: Voertaal 2018)

In this year's commemoration, several representatives of concerned parties such as the Netherlands, Suriname, Aruba, Curaçao and St. Maarten as well as Ghana and South Africa were present. Libation speeches were held by the chairman of NiNsee, the funding organization as well as political representatives of the Netherlands, and the Secretary of the Interior and the Acting Mayor of Amsterdam. Both the Secretary of the Interior and the Acting Mayor of Amsterdam were addressing the unimaginable wrongdoings in their speeches held at the commemoration. The Secretary of the Interior stated: "Slavernij was in alle opzichten verkeerd, en als Nederland past ons slechts schaamte, diepe spijt en berouw. Slavernij staat haaks op alles waar we als land voor staan en wat we als land willen zijn." [Slavery was wrong in every way, and if the Netherlands fits us only shame, deep regret and repentance. Slavery is at odds with everything that we as a country stand for and what we want to be as a country] (Npostart 2018, n. p.). The Acting Major also expressed his regrets for the people which were made slaves and which were humiliated for the wellbeing of others. The Acting Major points out that this could only happen because they were not seen as humans. And that danger is threatening again in this time, he warned.

However, despite the Dutch government's acknowledgements of the past mistakes and the sympathy expressed by state officials there were also critical voices from side of the organizing institution at the festival and from the community. The issues addressed during the

ceremony and also by the festival organizer in an interview after the ceremony with the Dutch public broadcasting channel NOS is the still unanswered demand for an official apology of the Dutch government for the suffering of the enslaved in the past. In case the government would offer its official apologies, they would pave the way for claims for damages. Also, the mayor of Amsterdam sees no need for the city to make excuses, even though the city played a big role in the slave trade and benefited from it economically. He states: "Ik denk dat Amsterdam vooral moet laten zien dat we nu echt mensen als mensen zien" [I think that Amsterdam foremost needs to show that we now really see humans as humans] (AT5a 2018, n. p.). One black visitor was asked what he thinks about the still outstanding excuse. He stated: "As long as there is no official excuse there will be no changes. It is not only about raising awareness through a museum, an exhibition, but also about taking action. And the refusal of the political leaders to offer an excuse shows that there is no real political support. Only if there's an excuse action can follow. Until then there is no step further and the ceremony is nothing more than a nice ceremony" (AT5a 2018, n. p.).

The festival organizer further criticized the fact that although government and city officials from the Netherlands attended, the state's highest official, Prime Minister Mark Rutte, never made an appearance at the festival over the last years and thus seemed not to have sincere interest in this part of the Dutch history. Furthermore, issues of racial profiling and the lack of attention for Dutch slavery in Dutch history education were raised during the commemoration. In her speech, the chairman of the National Institute of Dutch Slavery and Legacy (NiNsee) pointed out the still existing inequality between the descendants of the enslaved and the descendants of the Dutch rulers of that time. Therefore, she pled for mutual understanding of the effect of slavery. The initiative of the city of Amsterdam to establish a slavery museum is a first step. However, this is not enough, there is also a request for the recognition of Ketikoti as a national holiday, just like 4 and 5 of May (Remembrance Day and Liberation Day). A white visitor from the Netherlands was asked if she knew about those issues addressed during the ceremony. She stated: "I heard things about slavery before, but I didn't know so much about it. No one really talks about it. I heard new things today" (Interview 2).

The commemoration ended with a minute of silence and the laying of wreaths by representatives of governments as well as by descendants of the enslaved and by representatives of civil society organizations around the National Slavery Monument. This is also the end of the official part of the festival.

After the commemoration, the Ketikoti Festival, the celebration, starts in the other areas of the park with different performances on the various stages. The activities at the festival range from traditional food stands, music performances over debates and readings concerning the colonial past of the Netherlands addressing the slave trade to cinematic

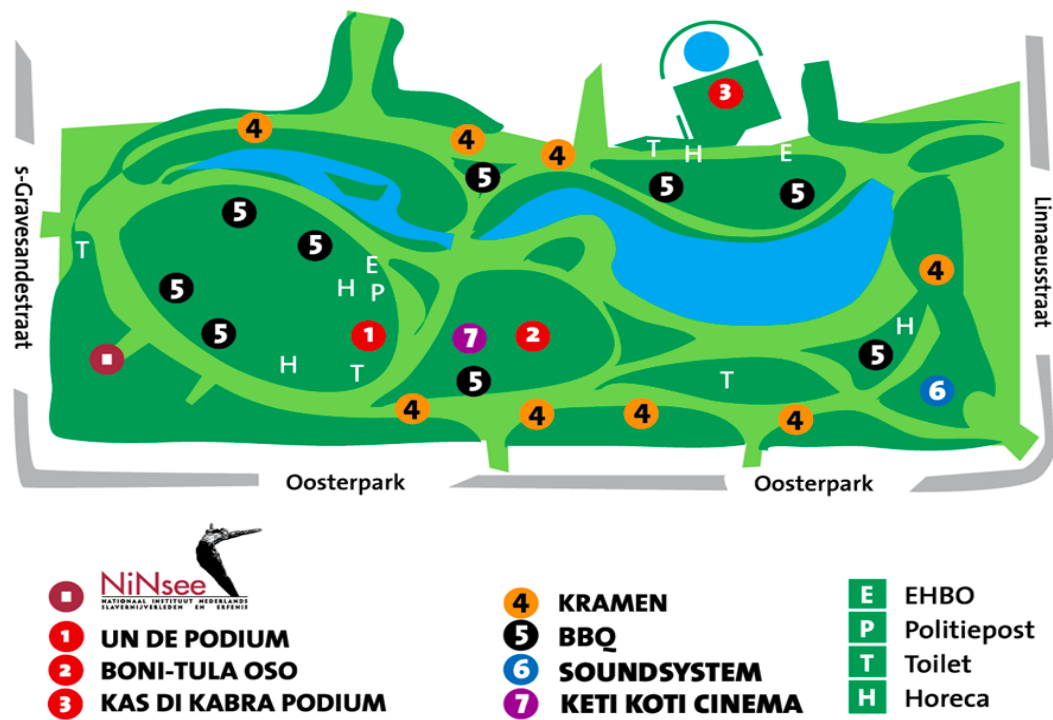
presentations. In order to get a better impression of the festival set up and the atmosphere, a ground plan of the Oosterpark and a view images will be presented (figures 14, 15 and 16).

As mentioned above, the commemoration ceremony took place at the slavery monument whereby the festive activities such as the performances were spread out over the rest of the park and took place on several places. Along the main walking paths there were food stands selling, amongst other, African and Surinamese food (figure 17 and 18). Besides the food stands there were also commercial stands selling different crafts such as traditional jewellery (figure 19).

The atmosphere in the park after the commemoration was pleasant and relaxed. The visitors were strolling around, eating at the stands and watching the different performances on the stages and participating in the talks and discussions. Many people were also just sitting and lying in the free green areas (figure 15).

By observing the crowds in the park, it appeared that the audience is a mix of people from different backgrounds. However, the majority of people is non-Western and seemed to be part of the Surinamese community. A few white visitors were asked for their motives of visiting the festival. One stated: "I travelled in Suriname last year and I just wanted to have some Surinamese food and listen to nice music" (Interview 4). A group of people said that they saw the event on Facebook and thought it looked interesting like "a different experience from normal" (Interview 5). The impression of the festival by visitors was positive. The festival was seen as having a "good vibe" (Interview 5) and being "multicultural" and thus representing Amsterdam (Interview 6). Another visitor stated, that he learned more about the cultural meaning and the historical background of slavery. "I did know about slavery of course, but I wasn't aware of this day although I have been living in Amsterdam for a few years" (Interview 3).

Figure 12: Ground plan of the Ketj Koti Festival in Oosterpark



(Source: Ketj Koti n. d.)

Figure 13: Visitors standing and sitting in the green grass area



(Source: Corinna Weber)

Figure 14: Impression of the atmosphere at the Keti Koti Festival



(Source: Corinna Weber)

Figure 15: Surinamese barbeque at the Keti Koti festival



Source: Corinna Weber)

Figure 16: Nigerian food at the Ketu Koti Festival



(Source: Corinna Weber)

Figure 17: Commercial stand at the Ketu Koti Festival



(Source: Corinna Weber)

The musical performances took place on the different stages of the park. Examining the performing artists and their music style helped to get an understanding of the festival's cultural representations, but also showed that festival is characterized by cultural hybridity. The following table gives an overview of the artists at the festival.

Table 2: Artists at Ketí Koti Festival
Young Cosje
Young Cosje is a Surinamese band founded in 1987. Young Cosje plays "kaseko", traditional Surinamese music, but also styles such as soca, salsa and reggae belong to their repertoire. Most of their songs are written in the Saramaccan (dialect of the runaway slaves) or in the Sranan tongo (modern Surinamese). Young Cosje aims to give national and international recognition to Surinamese music (Ketí Koti n. d.).
Izaline Calister
Izaline Calister is a Curaçao-Dutch singer and songwriter who mixes jazz music with traditional Curaçao music. Her music consists of rhythms from Curaçao, ballads and dance songs (Ketí Koti n. d.).
Cotton & Tobacco
Through different performances such as monologues, spoken word, music and stories Cotton & Tobacco communicate the stories of ancestors who grew up in and during imprisonment. Their performances are inspired by slave narratives, their own family stories and tales (Ketí Koti n. d.).
Mitchell Brunings
Mitchell Brunings is a Surinamese-born, Netherlands-raised musician known from The Voice of Holland and now the protagonist in the musical One Love: The Bob Marley Musical in England and America. He performs songs from the repertoire of Bob Marley (Ketí Koti n. d.).
Black Harmony
Black Harmony is a music duo from Arua, Uganda. All their performances are in Lugbara, the language spoken in the northwestern region of Uganda. Their musical style is reggae and rap (Ketí Koti n. d.).

(Source: own depiction)

Looking at the musical line-up of the festival shows that there is a clear focus on musicians with a cultural background from Suriname, Curacao or an African country with performances based on traditional music (figure 19). However, it also becomes evident that many of them are forms of cultural hybridization as most of the artists mix different music styles together and thus created something new.

Figure 18: Traditional music performance at the Ketu Koti Festival



(Source: Corinna Weber)

Besides the musical performances throughout the park there were several readings and debates taking place concerning the colonial past of the Netherlands and slavery. In table 3 an overview of those activities is presented. These show that the festival is not only a mere presentation of culture, but also ethnicity. They demonstrate the concerns the community has and address the social issues they have to face.

Table 3: Reading and debate activities Ketu Koti Festival

Slave Register

Recently released was the slave register, a documentation of all slaves and slaveholder from Suriname from 1830 to 1863. The slave register contains 80.000 names in total. The register was available at the festivals and the visitors could have a look (Ketu Koti n. d.).

Ketu Koti Talks

The Ketu Koti Talks are a series of short lectures addressing the link between Dutch slavery and the current structures of power, exclusion and inequality in society. Thus, it is an exploration of different perspectives on the slavery past and the impacts it still has now. The talks were organized by the Research Center for Material Culture, which is part of the Tropenmuseum, the Africa Museum and Museum Volkenkunde (Ketu Koti n. d.).

Bigi Bundru

With the Bigi Bundru a meeting of the Afro-Surinamese community was organized in order to call for unification of the community to tackle issues related to the history of slavery. During the meeting, several questions were raised and pointed out that in order to address existing issues a good self-analysis of the community is necessary. The questions addressed during the meeting concerned topics such as: "How is the existing (historical) knowledge, expertise and energy bundled for the community? Where do we find each other? When do we close the rows for the common interest? What is the common interest? What is the contemporary social value of our joining forces? How to view this in historical perspective? What societal implications do we see today from the colonial past? Are there any implications?" (Keti Koti n. d., n. p.). Further it was stated that it is important for the Afro-Surinamese community to regularly talk about those concerns in order to find self-esteem and recognition, within the community, but also the wider society (Keti Koti n. d.).

Keti Koti cinema

At the Keti Koti cinema a film, which documented the dialogues and discussion from the previous years (2014 until 2017) at the slavery monument, was shown. The shown dialogues took place every year prior to the commemoration and celebration ceremony between prominent white and black Dutch people about the history of slavery. The film was shot by Ehsan Fardjadniya, an Iranian-Dutch filmmaker, who had to leave Iran in 2000 to seek refuge in the Netherlands. The film was presented in order to look back on the issues and concerns of the last years and reflect on them (Keti Koti n. d.).

Keti Koti tafel

The Keti Koti tafel was set up in order to foster the exchange between Dutch people from different backgrounds. The Keti Koti tafel offers the possibility to talk about personal experiences and the still existing impacts of the Dutch slavery past. The setting was more informal, where people sit together at a table and shared food and drinks. During the meal, there were traditional rituals performed and between the conversation a choir was singing liberation songs from the times of the slavery. The mission of the Keti Koti dialogue tafel is to raise awareness of the social conflicts as a result of the historical past of Dutch colonialism and slavery and foster mutual understanding. Moreover, they encourage to talk about approaches in order to live in a society free from discrimination and racism (Keti Koti Tafel 2016).

(Source: own depiction)

6.2 Concluding remarks

By participating at the festival, the author was able to experience the Surinamese culture in different facets. On the one hand festival had a lively appearance, but on the other hand the serious tone came through. Thus, the festival was a celebration of culture and traditions, but also a remembrance of the past and a commemoration of the victims of the Dutch slavery time. With a mix of all the different cultural elements, the festival can be characterised as culturally hybrid. It mixes together the traditional cultural elements from Suriname such as the parade, but also gave room for other cultures to be expressed. For instance, the different music performances and offering not only Surinamese food, but also Dutch and African dishes.

Moreover, the consideration of the historical background and the slavery past expressed during the commemoration are contributing to the formation of something new, which characterizes a cultural hybrid.

During Bigri Spikri the visitors could participate in a traditional Surinamese ritual, which clearly expresses a part of the Surinamese culture with the traditional music and the traditional clothes. Through its open setting, the parade is also a good opportunity for people from other backgrounds to participate and experience the culture of people they share the same city with. Everyone seems welcome to participate and due to its foremost festive and cheerful character it seems like a good way for people with different cultures to get in touch.

The commemoration ceremony gave the festival a more serious tone. During the commemoration, the Dutch slavery history was addressed by speeches from the organizing institute and also from government and city officials. The presence of the officials from different countries gave the festival and its purpose additional recognition. However, it also became clear that there are still concerns and unaddressed issues such as racial profiling, which need more attention from society and also its representatives.

The debates and readings about the slavery past at the festival addressed those issues and concerns in more detail in order to raise awareness of the past and how it still affects people's lives. That is why the festival can be seen as a platform for the community to mobilize and contest the social issues in a non-antagonistic way. Additionally, they can address social issues they are dealing with on their conditions and in an environment the community created and feels comfortable with. Through the festival they can openly live and express their culture and communicate it to the wider society. Moreover, it helps them to increase ethnic recognition and form their ethnic identity. Especially activities like the Bigi Bundru can facilitate those claims. Thus, the Ketu Ketu festival serves as an important tool for the Surinamese community to claim their place in the Dutch society and in particular in Amsterdam.

Another important aspect of a festival is its ability to facilitate encounters and interaction between different cultural groups. This is possible at the Ketu Ketu festival in many ways. First of all, as mentioned already, during the parade. Secondly, there are activities such as the Ketu Ketu tafel, which give the visitors the possibility to engage and interact with each other. Moreover, the Ketu Ketu tafel in particular, and also the festival in general, provides a frame to talk about serious topics in a comfortable atmosphere. By actively involving the visitors of the festival it is possible to communicate the community's heritage and cultural roots. Thereby, the visitors with a different cultural background get to experience diversity on a tangible level.

In summary, the Ketu Ketu festival is a useful tool to promote ethnic understanding and cross-cultural education. This could help to reduce the current tensions in the Dutch society by allowing them to reconsider issues of race and ethnicity. The festival gives them a place

where they can come together and overcome the differences by accepting them and see each other as one community. Although the festival is only taking place since 2009, it seems to already be established in Amsterdam. This is also the festival organizer's impression. She stated that at the beginning it was mostly Surinamese people attending, but over the last years more and more Dutch people participating at the festival. This is also reflected in the high number of visitors, which is estimated to be around 24.000 (NPO 2018). Moreover, the festival received media attention. Present at the festival were Dutch TV stations such as NOS and AT5, which sent out live broadcasts including background information on the history of slavery.

To draw a conclusion on the festival in terms of diversity, the Ketikoti festival can be seen as a means of experiencing and encountering diversity. It offers migrants a way to express themselves and their culture on a local level. Moreover, it strengthens the ethnic and cultural diversity in Amsterdam and thus the local identity.

7. Conclusion

This thesis explored the different aspects of diversity in Dutch society by answering the following research question: *How is diversity configured, represented and encountered in Dutch society?*

The demographic structure of the Netherlands and in particular Amsterdam was outlined in order to establish the configurations of diversity in the Netherlands. Furthermore, the political discourses and the policies around immigration and integration were analysed to see how diversity is represented in the Netherlands. A festival from a local ethnic community in Amsterdam was used as a case study to examine how diversity can be encountered and experienced on a local level.

7.1 Main findings

The configurations of diversity, meaning how diversity appears in Dutch society, and Amsterdam in particular, were analysed by looking at the history, immigration and demographic structure of the Netherlands.

It appeared that the demographic composition of the Netherlands is very much shaped by immigration patterns. This is also due to the Dutch history of colonialism, which influenced the migration streams from countries such as Suriname and the Dutch Antilles. It also became evident that over the last decades, as the number of immigrants from many different countries increased, they also brought more diversity. This has transformed mono-cultural nation states into super-diverse societies causing a dramatic change in the ethnic composition of the population. This confirms Vertovec's (2007) theory of super-diversity elaborated in chapter 2.1.1, which phrases the extension and deepening of diversity in contemporary societies due to global migration flows.

However, these new demographic and cultural landscapes bring up challenges for the Dutch society in how to deal with their increasing diversity. Hence, this has implications on how diversity representations are constructed in the public space. Therefore, an analysis of the immigration and integration policies in the Netherlands was aimed at getting a better understanding of how diversity representations were constructed and how those changed over time. As discussed in chapter 2.2.1, policy making is a way of problem framing. The frame on immigration and integration in the last decades has been shaped by the belief that "a society cannot be cohesive and stable unless its members share a common culture, including a common system of meaning and significance, a shared conception of the good life at personal

and collective levels, and a shared body of customs, practices, habits, attitudes and collective memories" (Parekh 2000, p. 5).

Consequently, this research found, that the new super-diverse landscape of the Dutch society challenges traditional forms of policy-making. The policy development shows a shift from a multicultural policy approach towards more exclusionary and one-sided integration. Thus, they clearly imply a tendency towards a homogenous culture. Thereby, these homogenizing tendencies show little tolerance for difference which do not comply with the national narrative. Moreover, those are fuelled by populist-radical right parties in the Netherlands. The analysis on the radical-right parties in the Netherlands, such as the PVV and previously the LPF, showed that those political parties seemed to have increased their political influence and thus were able to impact the immigration and integration policies from inside and outside the government.

The homogenization tendencies of nations hold challenges especially for minority groups to maintain their identity and distinctiveness in the face of the homogenizing force of national cultures. The research on the third diversity domain, the diversity encounters, showed, that one way ethnic minorities can contest the social issues related to race and ethnicity is through cultural and ethnic expression. The Ketikoti festival clearly showed its potential to serve as tool to promote ethnic understanding and cross-cultural education. With its activities, the festival on the one hand gave room for cultural expression and thus the possibility for people to experience cultural diversity and on the other hand was raising awareness about the slavery past and still ongoing issues of discrimination and racial profiling. The Ketikoti festival is therefore a good example of how festivals can contribute to diversity challenges and strengthen a community's position in the local society. In other words, the Ketikoti festival is a platform for minority communities, in particular the Surinamese, in Amsterdam to mobilize and challenge the political frame of diversity as well as the wider society's perception of it.

In summary, diversity in the Dutch society has been examined from different perspectives. The diversity configurations showed that the Dutch society is getting more and more diverse. This brings up challenges to the Dutch society and its build up as a monocultural nation state. Thus, immigration and integration policies were constructed in order to protect the national identity. Consequently, they represent diversity as something undesirable for the Dutch society as it threatens their national culture. This means, that immigrants and especially minority groups have to actively claim their place in the Dutch society and contest the resulting homogenising tendencies. Therefore, the Ketikoti festival, as a means of local encounters of diversity, has been found as a good example for community mobilization and also facilitating cultural exchange and thus understanding.

Reflecting on the different domains of diversity that were researched shows that all three of them are displaying different aspects of diversity. However, it is obvious that they are intertwined and affect each other. Therefore, it is important to not treat them separately, but also consider the impacts from one domain on the other.

7.2 Policy recommendations

It is important to foster cultural diversity in order to reverse the tendencies of homogenization and counteract on racial discrimination. This means that public policies need to promote diversity rather than homogeneity and overcome the territorial logic of national culture. Therefore, it is necessary to rethink policy processes and mechanisms in order to promote an equal and democratic participation of all members of a diverse society. Moreover, communities should be even more active in challenging the political and public framing of diversity.

7.3 Recommendations for further research

This research gave an overview of how diversity is configured, represented and encountered in the Dutch society, which helped to get an impression of the current status quo and the challenges for diversity in the Netherlands. However, diversity is a far more complex topic as it could be covered in this research. For instance, the policy analysis only shows one part of how diversity is represented in the public space. In order to get a more comprehensive picture of the constructed representations different perspectives should be looked at. For example, political campaigns in the Netherlands could be examined in order to get a better understanding of the political discourses. Additionally, a media analysis could be undertaken. Furthermore, it would also be interesting to get insights on the diversity representations from an everyday parlance and examine how the Dutch people perceive diversity.

Hence, many factors were left out in this research, which also need to be considered in order to get a more complete picture. Therefore, further research on the topic, as specified above, is necessary.

References

- Akkerman, T. (2012). Comparing Radical Right Parties in Government: Immigration and Integration Policies in Nine Countries (1996–2010). *West European Politics*, 35 (3), pp. 511-529. doi: 10.1080/01402382.2012.665738
- Akkerman, T. (2018). *The Impact of Populist Radical-Right Parties on Immigration Policy Agendas: A Look at the Netherlands*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/TCM2017-RadicalRightNetherlands-FinalWeb.pdf>
- AT5 (2018a). Echt Amsterdams Nieuws. Van Aartsen: 'Geen excuus maken voor slavernij, maar mensen als mens zien'. Retrieved from <http://www.at5.nl/artikelen/183813/van-aartsen-geen-excuus-maken-voor-slavernij-maar-mensen-als-mens-zien>
- AT5 (2018b). Ketikoti 2018. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ujAjj8ySGU>
- Baumgartner, F. R. and Jones, B. D. (2005). The politics of attention. How governments prioritizes problems. Retrieved from http://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/books/attention/Attention_Complete_Oct_6_2004.pdf
- Bennett, T. (2001). Differing diversities. Transversal study on the theme of cultural policy and cultural diversity. Retrieved from <http://www.culturenet.cz/res/data/004/000541.pdf>
- Brettell, C. B. and Nibbs, F. (2009). Lived hybridity: second-generation identity construction through college festival. *Identities*, 16 (6), pp. 678 — 699. doi: 10.1080/10702890903307142
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods*. Third edition. Ed, OUP Oxford: Oxford; New York
- Business Dictionary (2018). Unstructured Interview. Retrieved from <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/unstructured-interview.html>
- CBS (Netherlands Statistics) (2018). Retrieved from <https://opendata.cbs.nl>

- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design. Choosing among five approaches*. Third Edition. Los Angeles: Sage
- Delhaye, C. and van de Ven (2014). A commitment to cultural pluralism'. Diversity practices in two Amsterdam venues: Paradiso and De Meervaart. *Identities*, 21 (1), pp. 75-91. doi: 10.1080/1070289X.2013.828621
- DiMaggio, P. and Fernández-Kelly, P. (2015). Immigration and the arts: a theoretical inquiry. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38:8, pp. 1236-1244, doi: 10.1080/01419870.2015.1016081
- Ehrkamp, P. (2010). Placing identities: Transnational practices and local attachments of Turkish immigrants in Germany. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration studies*, 31 (2), pp. 345-364. doi: 10.1080/1369183042000339963
- Entzinger, H. (2006). Changing the rules while the game is on: from multiculturalism to assimilation in the Netherlands. In: Y. Bodemann and G. Yurdakul, eds. *Migration, citizenship and ethnos*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 121–144.
- Entzinger, H. (2014). The growing gap between facts and discourse on immigrant integration in the Netherlands. *Identities*, 21 (6), pp. 693-707. doi: 10.1080/1070289X.2013.828616
- Fetterman, D. M. (2010). *Ethnography. Step-by-step*. Third Edition. Los Angeles: Sage
- Glorie, I. and Zorgan, E. (2018). Afrikaans, Nederlands, gewoon for iedereen. Ketikoti. Retrieved from <https://voertaal.nu/keti-koti/>
- Hoekstra, M (2014). Baseline study on super-diversity and urban policies in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. ICEC – interethnic coexistence in European cities: a comparative and applied oriented analysis of neighbourhood-related policies. Retrieved from https://icecproject.files.wordpress.com/2014/09/ams_baselinestudy_aug20.pdf
- Jepson, A., Wiltshier, P. and Clarke, A. (n. d.). Community festivals: involvement and inclusion. Retrieved from <http://uhra.herts.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/2299/8982/904725.pdf?sequence=1>
- Ketikoti festival (n. d.). Retrieved from ketikotiamsterdam.nl

- Keti Koti tafel (2016). Algemene Informatie. Retrieved from <http://www.ketikotitafel.nl/algemene-informatie.html>
- Kiesraad (2017). Tweede Kamer 15 maart 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.verkiezingsuitslagen.nl/verkiezingen/detail/TK20170315>
- Kuutma, K. (1998). Festival as communicative performance and celebration of ethnicity. *Folklore*, pp. 79-86. doi: 10.7592/FEJF1998.07.festiva
- Martiniello, M. (2014). Artistic separation versus artistic mixing in European multicultural cities. *Identities*, 21:1, pp. 1-9. doi: 10.1080/1070289X.2013.845099
- Meissner, F. (2015). Migration in migration-related diversity? The nexus between superdiversity and migration studies, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38 (4), pp. 556-567. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2015.970209
- Murray, W. E. (2006). *Geographies of globalization*. New York: Routledge
- Musterd, S. and Ostendorf, W. (2009). Residential Segregation and Integration in the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35 (9): pp. 1515-1532. doi:10.1080/13691830903125950.
- Npostart (2018). NOS Herdenking Slavernijverleden [Video File]. Retrieved from https://www.npostart.nl/nos-herdenking-slavernijverleden/01-07-2018/POW_03867180
- Parekh, B. (2000). *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. London: Macmillan
- Rein, M., and Schön, D. A. (1996). Frame-critical policy analysis and frame-reflective policy practice. *Knowledge and Policy*, 9, pp. 85-104.
- Rowntree, L., Lewis, M., Price, M. and Wyckoff, W. (2012). *Diversity Amid Globalization. World Regions, Environment, Development*. Fifth Edition. New Jersey: Pearson
- Russell, C. (2017). Black Power in American Memory. A Class Project for AMST 384: Myth and History and American Memory, UNC at Chapel Hill. Retrieved from <http://blackpower.web.unc.edu/2017/04/the-fist-as-a-symbol-of-black-power/>
- Ryoo, W. (2009). Globalization, or the logic of cultural hybridization: the case of the Korean wave. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 19:2, pp. 137-151, doi: 10.1080/01292980902826427

- Schain, M. A. (2006). The extreme-right and immigration policy- making: Measuring direct and indirect effects. *West European Politics*, 29 (2), pp. 270-289. doi: 10.1080/01402380500512619
- Schinkel, W. (2008). The Moralization of Citizenship in Dutch Integration Discourse. *Amsterdam Law Forum*, 1 (1), pp. 15–26.
- Scholten, P. (2011). Constructing Dutch Immigrant Policy. Research-policy relations and immigrant integration policy-making in the Netherlands. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 13 (1), pp. 75-92.
- Statista (2018). Total immigration, total emigration and the migration balance in the Netherlands from 2007 to 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/525434/netherlands-total-immigration-total-emigration-and-migration-balance/>
- Sumner, A. and Tribe, M. (2008). *International development studies*. London: Sage.
- Symbols.com* (n. d.). Raised fist. Retrieved from <https://www.symbols.com/symbol/raised-fist>
- Tersteeg, A.K., van Kempen, R. and Bolt, G. S. (2013). Urban Policies on Diversity in Rotterdam, The Netherlands. Retrieved from <https://www.urbandivercities.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Urban-Policies-on-Diversity-in-Rotterdam.pdf>
- UNESCO. Diversity of cultural expressions. (n. d.) Netherlands 2017 Report. Retrieved from <https://en.unesco.org/creativity/governance/periodic-reports/2017/netherlands>
- UNICEF (n. d.) Migration Profiles. Retrieved from <https://esa.un.org/migmgmprofiles/indicators/files/Netherlands.pdf>
- Van Andel, T. and Westers, P. (2009). Why Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands continue to use medicinal herbs from their home country. *Journal of Ethnopharmacology*, 127, pp. 694–701. doi: 10.1016/j.jep.2009.11.033
- Vasta, E. (2007). From ethnic minorities to ethnic majority policy: Multiculturalism and the shift to assimilationism in the Netherlands. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30 (5), pp. 713-740. doi: 10.1080/01419870701491770
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30:6, pp. 1024-1054, doi: 10.1080/01419870701599465
- Vertovec, S. (2009). *Conceiving and researching diversity*. MMG Working Paper 09–01.

Göttingen: MMG.

Wang, G. and Yueh-yu Yeh (2005). Globalization and hybridization in cultural products. The cases of Mulan and Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon. *Journal of Cultural Studies*, 8(2), pp. 175–193. doi: 10.1177/1367877905052416

Wiktionary (2017). Plengoffer. Retrieved from <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/plengoffer#Dutch>

Zapata-Barrero, R., Sievers, W. and Martiniello, M. (2017). Introduction – Diversity incorporation in the cultural policy mainstream: Exploring the main frameworks and approaches bridging cultural and migration studies. *Journal of Migration & Culture*, 8, pp. 3-9. doi: 10.1386/cjmc.8.1.3_2

Appendix

Appendix 1: Observation Protocol	60
Appendix 2: Unstructured interview questions	61
Appendix 3: Programme Ketu Koti Festival	62

Appendix 1: Observation Protocol

Observation Protocol

Keti Koti Festival Amsterdam

1st of July 2018

[illegible]

Appendix 2: Unstructured interview questions

Unstructured interview questions Ketu Koti Festival

At the parade:

1. How did you experience the parade?
2. Why did you participate at the parade?
3. Do you have a better understanding of the cultural meaning?

At the festival:

4. What is your impression of the festival?
5. Why did you come to the festival?

Appendix 3: Programme Ketikoti Festival

Ketikoti Festival 2018

23/07/2018, 16:41

Ketikoti Festival 2018

Herdenking monument

1 juli nationale herdenking <i>optreden Edsilia Rombley</i>	July 1st 13:00 - 14:30
--	------------------------

Un De Hoofdpodium

young Cosje	July 1st 15:00 - 15:45
Izaline Calister	July 1st 16:15 - 17:15
ZO! Gospel Choir	July 1st 17:30 - 18:30
Zwart Licht	July 1st 19:00 - 19:45
Mitchell Brunings	July 1st 20:15 - 21:30

Kas Di Kabra Traditioneel podium *Winti prey o.l.v. Marian Markelo*

A-Sa-Go	July 1st 15:00 - 16:30
Pilar Di Ambiente	July 1st 17:00 - 18:30
Black Harmony	July 1st 19:00 - 21:00

Boni Tula Podium *Debatten en lezingen*

Slaven registers	July 1st 14:30 - 15:10
Black Archives / Veronsur <i>100 jaar Ons Suriname</i>	July 1st 15:10 - 15:50
Katoen & Tabak	July 1st 15:50 - 16:45
Ketikoti Talks	July 1st 16:45 - 17:45
Black History Dialoog	