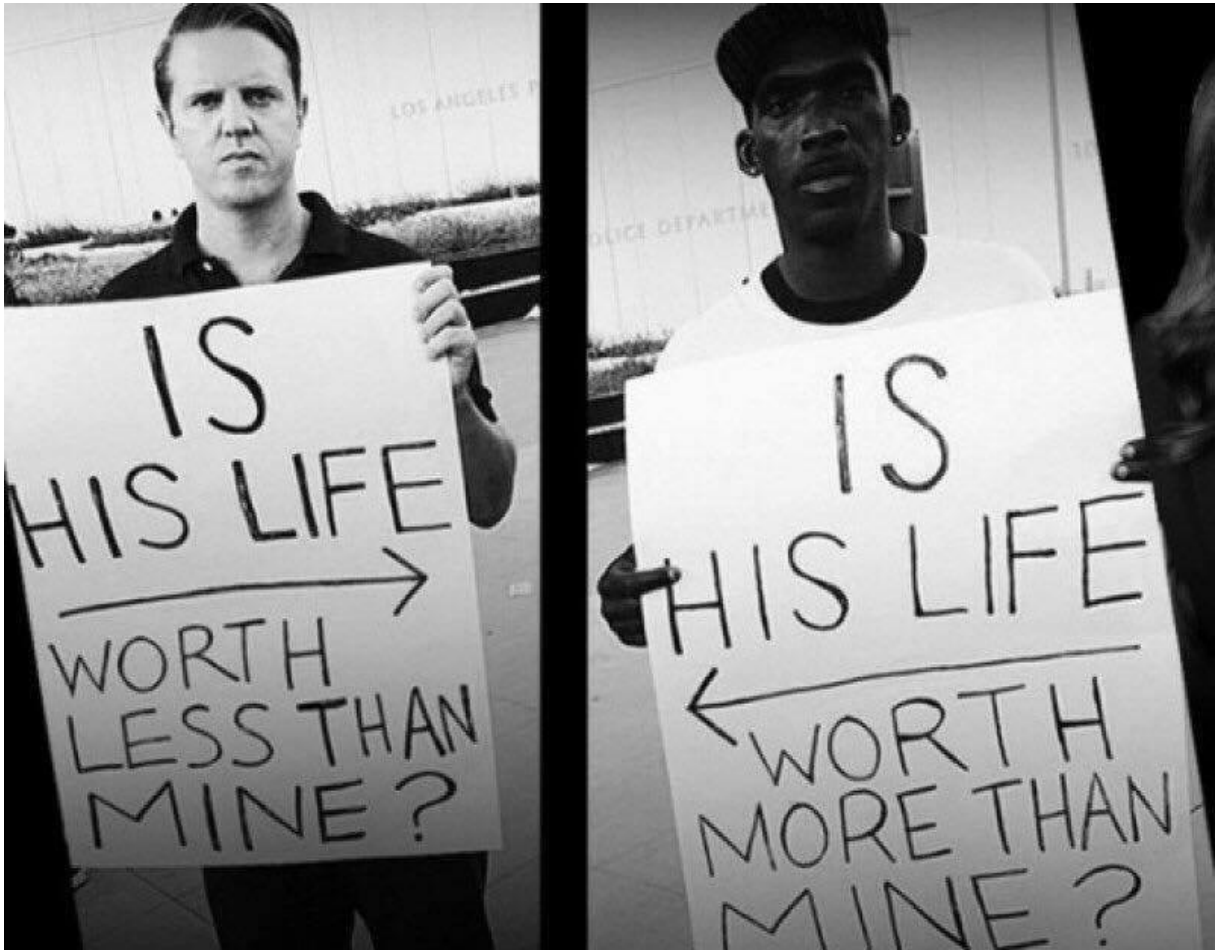


CONNECTING GREY THOUGHTS

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS INTO THE TRANSNATIONAL MOVEMENT ASPECTS OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE AMERICAN BLACK LIVES MATTER SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND THE DUTCH ANTI-RACISM MOVEMENT



MASTER THESIS HUMAN GEOGRAPHY: 'CONFLICT, TERRITORIES AND IDENTITIES'
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Connecting Grey Thoughts

A comparative analysis into the transnational movement aspects of the connection between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement

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Preface

Before you lays the thesis 'Connecting Grey Thoughts'. This research into anti-racism activism is based on a comparison between The American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and The Dutch Anti-Racism Movement. This thesis is written for the purpose of graduating my master study Human Geography – Conflicts Territories and Identities at the Radboud University Nijmegen.

Together with my supervisor, M. Goos, I designed the research. I would like to thank M. Goos for the unconditional help and support she has given me throughout the whole process of designing, executing and writing this thesis. The composition of the main- and sub questions has been the hardest part in designing the research and M. Goos and I have both cracked our brains over it for days.

Besides my supervisor I would also like to thank the respondents that were willing to share their live stories and opinions with me on discrimination and racism in the Dutch society. We have shared sensitive information and I am thankful that they trusted me enough to share these feelings and concerns with me. Without their collaboration I would not have been able to execute my research and complete my thesis.

Last, I would like to take the opportunity to thank my parents and dear friends for supporting me throughout the process of writing this thesis. They have given me the time and space to fully focus on my research but still motivated and supported me from the side line. I would like to thank my parents in particular for pushing me (over the line from time to time) to finish my thesis and deliver a complete end product.

I wish you a lot of reading pleasure,

Marloes Timmerman
Nijmegen, 20 November 2017

Summary

After the shooting of the black teenager Micheal Brown by police, back in August 2014 in Ferguson, a range of protest occurred in The United States. In Ferguson, where Micheal Brown was killed, chaos broke out on the streets and in the media. It caused protests in all forms. With the killing of Trayon Martin back in 2012, the #BLACKLIVESMATTER went viral and reached the worldwide media. Their open public protests and marches have sparked a debate in the United States on discrimination within society and the governmental institutes. As a result of the massive international media attention these protests received, a world debate on discrimination and racism erupted. Discrimination in The Netherlands has been a topic of political and media discussions a few times, but has not led to mass protests or actions such as in The United States of America. The Black Lives Matter Movement is still perceived as an American Movement, not 'needed' in The Netherlands, because it seems that other marginalized groups in the Dutch society such as migrants, refugees and women are receiving more attention than ever. What causes these differences between different countries within the same movement? Are the Black Lives Matter Social Movement and Dutch Anti-racism Activism similar movements?

The focus of this thesis is the following main question: *"To what extent can the connection between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement be defined as a transnational social movement?"*. This research will be done on the base of social movement and transnational movement theories. If the movements' objectives and actions are mutually inspired, the movements form a part of a transnational social movement.

The answer to this question consists of two parts: the objectives of both movements are similar, the actions taken by both movements on the other hand, are not. Therefore, the connection between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and The Dutch Anti-Racism Movement cannot be defined as a transnational movement. This has two main reasons. The first reason is linked to the actual actions taken by both movements. The American Black Lives Matter Social Movement is both online and offline very active. The Dutch Anti-Racism Movement is active online, but fails to unite and call people onto the streets to protest in the 'real life', due to the lack of urgency and the need for self-protection. The second reason is difference in perspectives. According to members of the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement, the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement is focussing too much on lowering the position of the white community in The United States, while the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement aims to empower the Dutch Afro-Community. The differences between both Movements can be simplified to enforcing justice by the American Afro-Community versus claiming justice by the Dutch Afro-Community.

Coming back to the hypothesis this research is based on - *the connection between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement is a transnational movement connection based on mutually inspired objectives and actions* – one can conclude that this hypothesis is dismissed.

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1. INTRODUCTION

After the shooting of the black teenager Micheal Brown by police, back in August 2014 in Ferguson, a range of protest occurred in The United States. In Ferguson, where Micheal Brown was killed, chaos broke out on the streets and in the media: *“Hundreds of Calgarians support Ferguson in ‘Black Lives Matter’ rally (Nov 26, 2014)”*, *“Thousands march against police brutality in Washington (Dec 13, 2014)”*, *“protesters march against police brutality in Manhattan (April 15,2015)”* were the newspaper headlines of The Guardian and New York Times during the period after the killing. People marched in the streets of The US against the so-called police brutality and violence against black people. It caused protests in all forms.

With the killing of Trayon Martin back in 2012, the #BLACKLIVESMATTER went viral and reached the worldwide media. The protests and unrest in Ferguson in 2014 had brought this hashtag back to life. The Black Lives Matter Movement is making a stand for not just black people, but especially for the disabled, woman and elderly within the black community. This movement originates from The United States of America and has gained thousands of members the past five years. It has recently received the status of a legitimate social movement by American scientists, which means that the movement is perceived as striving towards a legitimate objective. Their open public protests and marches have sparked a debate in the United States on discrimination within the society and the governmental institutes. Because of the massive international media attention these protests received, a world debate on discrimination and racism erupted.

This uproar and these events in the American Society reached the Dutch media as well. In the Netherlands, (black) people united in Amsterdam to show solidarity to their fellow people in The United States framed as the ‘Black Lives Matter-Protest at the Dam’. This solidarity and the international media attention for the problems in The United States has also sparked the debate of discrimination and ‘ethnic profiling’ in the Netherlands as well. Even though there might not be statistical evidence for racial profiling within the police corps in the Netherlands, black people may still feel like they are being marginalized.

Discrimination has been a topic of political and media discussions a few times after the riots in The United States, but has not led to mass protests or significant actions in the Netherlands. The Black Lives Matter Movement has roots in the Netherlands as well, the founding mothers even visited The Dutch public to share their stories with the fellow community over here. Dutch activists seem interested in the organised activism in the US, but the movement is still perceived as an American Movement and not ‘needed’ in The Netherlands. Besides that, it seems that other marginalized groups in the Dutch society such as migrants, refugees and women are receiving more attention. Why do we report on events in the American society regarding racism, but do we not have significant protests here? And why does the activist community invite the founding mothers of the Black Lives Matter Movement, but is there no clear notion of a Dutch Ant-racism social movement or Black Lives Matter movement? What causes these differences in nation activism between the movements striving towards the same goals? And what does this mutually interest in both the movements mean?

This thesis will give answer to these questions by examining the differences and similarities between the organization of the Black Lives Matter Movement in the United States and Anti-Racism activism in The Netherlands, based on social movement en transnational movement theory.

2. RELEVANCE

2.1 SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

The scientific relevance of this thesis will first be a contribution to the existing theories on social movements. By analysing the Black Live Matter Movement in The United States and anti-racism movements in The Netherlands, the existing theories and literature about social movements will be tested, validated, set out and/or complemented with new insights or elaborations. A lot of research about social movements has already been done in the United States, therefore the innovative aspect of this thesis will be a comparison between the existing research on social movements in The United States of America and The Netherlands. This will lead to new insights in contextual differences in the universal theories and literature on social movements.

Another innovative aspect of this thesis will be the case study focussed on the relation between the Black Lives Matters Social Movement in the US and activism against discrimination and racism in The Netherlands. By analysing both the objectives and actions taken in both countries, new insights in the differences and similarities in these aspects of activism in the US and The Netherlands will follow. Zooming in on the particular target of 'transnational social movements' will lead to more specific and practical insights on the role that contextual differences play in making assumptions based on the existing theories and literature on social movements and the Black Live Matter Movement in general.

Finally, besides contributing to existing universal theories and literature on the subject of social movements, this thesis will be contributing to existing Dutch literature as well. Much research on activism against racism and discrimination in The Netherlands has not been done yet. By analysing the Dutch activism, new insights on factors a contribution to social movements in the Dutch context will be gained. This will contribute to creating a starting point or relevant component for future Dutch research.

2.2 SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

As discussed in the introduction above, paying attention to the subject of social movements and especially the Black Live Matter Movement is highly relevant nowadays. In the United States (police) violence against black people is still a hot topic and an issue and has therefore received worldwide attention. With the election of President Donald Trump and his multiple travel bans, the focus is on discrimination and multiculturalism more than ever. In the Netherlands, discrimination is currently a hot topic as well due to the refugee crisis. This creates a political division in the government, resulting in competing political parties pro- and against multiculturalism. Besides that, the matter of the current refugee crisis in Europe should be taken in consideration as well. This has already led to some massive societal and political debates on the topic of the acceptance of minorities in Europe and therefore The Netherlands.

This thesis will be highly socially relevant, because it gives some insights in the matters of racism and discrimination and the factors that contribute to mobilization of a social movement. The latter is highly relevant due to its explanatory function. This thesis will give insight in which factors (in The Netherlands) have contributed to the mobilization of activism in The Netherlands and will give insight in the situation and motives of the members of the Dutch movement. Dutch statistics may show that there is little discrimination in The Netherlands, for example by looking at the representation of different nationalities

at the labour market, but it might be a real subjective issue though. By paying attention to the subjective side of discrimination, black people in The Netherlands (or in this case especially members of the Afro-Dutch community) are given an opportunity to speak their voices and give insight in the structural discrimination they may or may not experience. This will create a more humanly and personal layer in the societal and political debates on discrimination in the Netherlands and in general.

3. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

3.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The focus of this thesis is to determine whether the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism movement are part of a transnational social movement by examining the connection between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement. In order to compare both movements, first the Dutch Anti-Racism activism needs to be defined. If this connection shows that the objectives and actions of the movements are mutually inspired and encouraged, the statement can be made that both movements are part of a transnational social movement.

3.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To reach the research objectives described above, the following research question is set-up as the central focus of this thesis:

“To what extent can the connection between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement be defined as a transnational social movement?”

To answer this main research question, a few sub questions must be answered first. These questions are based on both the movements examined, the connection between the movements and the answer to the main research question:

1. What constitutes the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement based on social movement theory?
2. What constitutes the Dutch Anti -racism organisation based on social movement theory?
3. What is the connection between both movements?
4. To what extent can this connection be defined as a transnational social movement connection?

Once the definitions of the essential concepts have been set out, the organizational definition of the Dutch-Anti Racism group and possible Transnational Movement can be operationalized. This will be done on the base of social movement theory - to determine whether Dutch Anti-Racism can be defined as a social movement - and transnational movement theory to operationalize a transnational connection. With the help of creating a profile sketch of the organizations, the connection between the two can be analyzed and will eventually answer the main question at stake, by concluding whether the connection indeed defines both the organizations as a part of a transnational movement.

4. MAIN CONCEPTS

To conceptualize and frame the research, the concepts used in the main and sub-questions will be defined shortly in this chapter. The definitions below will be the so called 'working-definitions' in this research.

The focus of this research is the concept of racism and is often confused with the concept of discrimination, as the one leads to the other or both terms being interrelated. Do both concepts have the same meaning and are they in fact interrelated? Based on scientific literature written on both concepts, we define racism as a form of discrimination (Thompson, 2016, p. 48).

4.1 CENTRAL CONCEPTS

DISCRIMINATION

Discrimination is a broad term, engaged in every culture. It can be defined as *"the treatment or consideration of, or making a distinction in favour of or against, a person or group based on the group, class or category to which the person is perceived to belong rather than on individual characteristics"* (University of Michigan, 2014, np).

Discrimination often leads to stereotypes based on features such as gender, race, community, colour and/or skin. Prejudices on social groups are established based on common social categories and can lead to unequal treatment. Individuals will be treated according to their actual or perceived membership of a certain social category (Thompson, 2016, p.81) for example women being the weaker gender. Basing one's treatment on their social features creates the concept of 'othering': *"any action by which an individual or group becomes mentally classified in somebody's mind as 'not one of us'."* (Cadell, 2012, np). By denying somebody membership to a certain social group, social exclusion is in process, based on discrimination.

While sociologists focus on the social categorisation as part of discrimination, philosophers focus on the moral and ethical aspect of discrimination. They define discrimination as 'disadvantageous treatment or consideration' (Thompson, 2016, p.87), explicitly meaning that one must be treated worse than one other to be 'qualified' as discriminated. For example dismissing a health check-up by a Turkish doctor because of the fact that he is Turkish. Eventually discrimination will not only lead to social exclusion but can develop into oppression of a certain group in society, resulting in for example violence towards members of the LGBTQ-community.

Although discrimination is a broad concept, Rubin and Hewstone (2004, p.824) developed two theories based on discrimination and racism. By combining the different perspectives on discrimination described in these two theories, Rubin and Hewstone (2004) come up with a distinction of three different types of discrimination:

1. Realistic competition. This discrimination based on 'self-interest' and gaining resources by favouring certain individuals or groups one will benefit from.
2. Social competition. This is discrimination based on achieving social status. This consists of gaining higher self-esteem by lowering the esteem of one other.

3. Consensual competition. This is discrimination based on hierarchy in group form, creating a vicious circle by favouring a high-status group because of its high status.

RACISM

Racism is mostly perceived as discrimination of a group or individual based on their race. This leads to the illusion that one's own culture and race is superior to others and therefore treating members of other races as inferior (Bivens, 1995, p.1): *"We see racism as a system of oppression based on race"*. This generally leads to unequal treatment in the following four categories:

1. The power to make decisions
2. Access to resources
3. Setting and determining the standards of what is considered appropriate behaviour
4. Ability to define 'reality'.

These four problems related to racism are, according to Taguieff & Benoist (1999, p.12), by another kind of problem: *"once one creates a false image based on racism, for them, antiracism becomes a mirror image."* This leads to the idea that an inferior race has an opposite 'superior' race. This is found in several theories by the statement: *"the hierarchy of races is based on a belief that social conditions depend on racial characteristics"* (p.13). This belief creates a systematic hierarchy in society based on race. As Benoist points out (p.13): *"these theories share two major characteristics: belief in the systematic inequality of races and that this inequality legitimates domination of 'inferior' race by those categorized as 'superior'"*.

General theories on racism suggest five components embedded in racist ideologies, discussed by Benoist (p.14):

- *"A belief in the superiority of one race, and more rarely of several races over others."*
- *The idea that this superiority and inferiority are of a biological or anthropological nature and can not be modified by social milieu or education.*
- *The idea that collective biological inequalities are reflected in social and cultural orders leading to a 'superior civilization'.*
- *A belief in the legitimacy of the domination of 'inferior' races by 'superior' ones.*
- *A belief that there are 'pure' races and that miscegenation has an inevitably negative effect on them (degeneration)".*

Concluding the five points discussed above, racism is a theory of racial hierarchy and inequality. That, in the case of this research consist of a 'white' superior race dominating the 'black' inferior race. The establishment of this power 'disbalance' will be discussed in the next chapter that dives into the origin of racism.

To tackle discrimination and racism, social organisations and movements are founded to raise awareness in society. Now that racism is defined, the focus is on 'anti-racism' actions led by social movements.

AMERICAN BLACK LIVES MATTER SOCIAL MOVEMENT

This concept will be the focus of the research. It will be introduced shortly now and will be set out in depth, further on. The Black Lives Matter Movement (BLMM) is *“an international activist movement that campaigns against violence and perceived systematic racism/discrimination towards black people, focussing on police killings and racial inequality in America’s criminal justice system”* (Day, 2015, np). As described, the movement focusses on problems in the United States of America. Even though the movement has currently spread out all over the world, it is still perceived as an American movement.

The movement originates from many previous movements such as the ‘African-American Civil Rights Movement’ and the ‘Black Power Movement’ (BLM, 2017). This movement is usually described as a new ‘civil rights movement’ (Demby, 2014, p.34) but according to some political scientists (Harris, 2015, p.4) that this movement differs from classic civil rights movements, due to *“its group-cantered model of leadership”* (p.4) instead of the “older charismatic leadership model” (p.5) and should therefore be characterized as a *social movement*.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT

To compare the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement with the Anti-Racism activism organised in the Netherlands - to determine whether they are part of a transnational social movement - the organisation in the Netherlands has to be analysed first. There is no clear evidence of it being a ‘social movement’ prior to this research. This will be researched later on in Chapter Eight. To analyse the activism organisations in The Netherlands and to understand the principles of a social movement, first the concept should be defined. This will be done shortly and to the point further on in this chapter. Conceptual views on the matter of social movements will be discussed as well, this will contain the classic models/views (Collective Behaviour, Relative Deprivation and Mass Society) as well as Marx’ view, Wehers view and the Resource Mobilization View. These views all result in different approaches to social movements, which will be discussed as well.

In the existing literature there is not ‘one’ definition of the concept of social movement. Dennis (2016, p.29) defines a social movement as: *“the idea of marginalized groups publicly challenging and demanding change in the existing social structure from power holders using sustained, collective efforts aimed at swaying the public and government officials”*. Guiner and Torres (2014, p.2756-2757) also describe the main focus of changing existing social patterns: *“a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society.”* Besides the goal to change the existing social patterns Torres and Guiner (2014, p.2740) state that there is also the aspect of power balances between the minorities and the rest of society in their context. *“Democratic minorities try to challenge and possibly change majoritarian constitutional norms. Social movements utilize connected structures and shared identities to engage in sustained, disruptive collective action against elites and opponents to change the balance of power”*.

Considering all the aspects of the definitions mentioned above, a social movement will be defined as: *“A mobilized group with a collective identity, in general either feeling or being marginalized compared to society, trying to change and publicly challenge fundamental elements of the existing social structures by collective action in order to create and redistribute power balances within society and the government.”*

THE COLLECTIVE

As stated in the definition mentioned above, a social movement is a group with a collective identity. Even though this is a single concept, it is in fact related to three other concepts that can, put all together, be classified as the four factors in this research that defines a group as a social movement.

1. *Collective actors*

At the base of a social movement is a group of people (defined as *actors*) who may or may not have similar interests and sparking up some form of change out of dissatisfaction. These people are not united yet, but may be discussing these issues and the sense of dissatisfaction in their everyday social life. Important and distinguishing at this stage of becoming a collective is that these people may all have different reasons/interests in sparking change.

2. *Collective interests*

The interests of the collective actors lay, as defined by many different social and political scientists (Gamson 1975, Tilly 1978, McAdam 1982) in "*gaining access to the stable structure of political bargaining*". In existing literature and theories about social movements and collective interests among collective actors within a social movement, there are two main views: *The classic social movement theorists* and the *new social movement theorists*.

- *Classic social movement theorists* state that participation in social movements can be predicted and determined by class location (Polletta & Jasper, 2001, p.294). The actors are "*seeking to gain political and economic concessions from institutional actors*". Shortly concluded, it can be said that according to the classic theorists, the interests lay in political (power) and economic gain as a result of change.
- *New social movement theorists* state that participants in social movements are seeking recognition for their identities and lifestyles (Polletta & Jasper, 2001, p.297). They are not seeking for economic or political (power) gain, but are focussing on '*social and legal inclusion*'. According to Jasper (1997) this contains "*efforts to define, celebrate, enact, and deconstruct identity*". All actors involved may be seeking for this recognition for different reasons, but with the same goals.

This research will be attending the new social movement theorists view, focussing on social and legal inclusion, because of the main point of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement: *campaigning against violence and perceived systematic racism/discrimination towards black people, focussing on police killings and racial inequality in America's criminal justice system*". It challenges racism and discrimination based on the black identity in the United States, which can be categorized as seeking social and legal inclusion within society, instead of seeking for economic and political (power) gain. The focus is on gaining equal rights and treatment, instead of their economic position and gaining financial means.

One remark must be made in distinguishing these two social movement theorists views. Political power mentioned in the classic view has some similarity with gaining legal inclusion as part of the new view. The difference between the two is that within the classic view, political gain is related to gaining economic means. A better political position to gain more financial means, while on the other hand, legal inclusion within the new theorist's view can be described as a political aspect focussing on gaining more or equal rights compared to the rest of society. As Tilly (1998, p.14) describes new social movements: "*They*

declared 'We exist and have a right to exist.' We have strength, coherence, and determination. National politics must take us into account".

3. Collective Identity

As Olson (1965) claims: *"shared interests are simply not enough to motivate individual effort"*. To mobilize participants, they must be integrated with a movement identity or a collective identity based on shared membership in a movement (p.35). Fireman & Gamson (1979, p.17) describe this shared membership as a shared bond that enables *'solidarity behaviour'*:

"a person whose life is intertwined with the group [through friendship, kinship, organizational membership, informal support networks, or shared relations with outsiders] ... has a big stake in the group's fate. When collective action is urgent, the person is likely to contribute his or her share even if the impact of that share is not noticeable".

In order to reach mobilization, a collective identity is necessary, but what does 'identity' mean and how does it differ from collective interests discussed above? The concept of identity is very broad and does not have 'one' definition, as many of the other concepts discussed above. For example Burke & Stets (2000, p. 225) describe identity as: 'the being of a person or thing', with specific characteristics to which this person or thing can be recognized (p.227) and the fact or condition in which something or somebody is the same as the other. This causes people to feel connected to each other or a (ethnic) group. The description above is somewhat vague, so to conclude: Identity is the realization of an individual or group of their 'sense of being' that results in a clear unity. The most important factor within the concept of collective identity is the 'sense of belonging' and 'sense of being'. This cause people to identify with the people within in the group and feel like they are a part of the group or collective and therefore feel like they belong to this group (Burke & Stets, 2000, p. 228). Collective interests may differ a lot within the group, but the collective or movement identity often covers these separate interests as a whole and forms them into one main identity that appeals to all the members of the group.

In the existing literature, there are two main theories that determine the creation of identity; the network analysis and the intuitional context. The network analysis (Polletta & Jasper, 2001) states that: *identities come not from fixed categories like race, class, gender, or nation, but from common positions in networks, whether networks of patronage (Gould 1998), urban residence (Gould 1995), or political affiliation (Mische 1996)"*. This means that people gather on the base of for example their location in the cities they live. These groups of people are not brought together by a given, but by people identify themselves with their network.

This research will be based the creation of identity on the 'institutional context', the opposite of the one described above. *"They describe institutions removed from the physical and ideological control of those in power"* (Polletta & Jasper, 2001, p.295). Well-known examples of these way identities are formed are for example the black church or the community centre within an urban residence. These people identity themselves with the group that comes together within a certain institution, such as the church, schools or support groups.

Both theories are quite vague, but the reason the institutional context is the central theory in this thesis regarding the creation of identities, is that the Black Live Matter Movement originates from several former social movements that started in places/institutions where black people gathered.

The concept of 'collective identity' plays a critical role in social movements. It clearly distinguishes the 'us' from the opponents.

4. *Collective strategy for Action*

Once the group has established a collective identity, the next step is to come up with actions to reach the goals they have set out. These collective action can be covered in a few main strategies (Jasper, 2004, p.5-10):

1. The first strategy is the classic strategy, also known as the rational model of decision making. This strategy is mostly based on a cost-benefit calculus (Barkan 1979, Kitschelt 1986, McAdam et al 1988). This means that the collective will base their strategy on a consideration and comparison of the costs and the benefits of their actions.
2. The second form of strategy is based on "who we are" – the movements' identity – with decision making based on their collective identity. Critics state that this form of strategy is more expressive than a logical/rational strategy as described above.
3. Some groups chose to go beyond 'just expressing their views' and choose to make identity claims. This can be categorized as a protest strategy.

These three main forms of strategies discussed above are often not self-contained. As Jasper (2004) states: *"Rather than viewing an instrumental logic operating exclusive of identity concerns, we can see that instrumental calculation often depends on the collective identities"*. The collective action will eventually consist of a mix of aspects covered in the different strategies mentioned above.

MOBILIZATION

Once a social movements has been established and the strategy has been determined, a social movement needs to mobilize its group members to come in action. In order to reach this stage of mobilization there are four central concepts; manpower, legitimacy, active strategy and communicative/financial means. These four concepts are based and categorized on Fuchs' (2006) theory on mobilization of groups. According to Fuchs, social movements mobilize through resources, both material and non-material:

- *"Material resources: money, organizations, manpower, technology, means of communication and mass media;*
- *Non-material resources: legitimacy, loyalty, social relationships, networks, public attention, authority and solidarity.*

These (non-)material resources can be categorized into four concepts as mentioned above:

1. Manpower: in order to reach the goals set by the movement, group members are necessary. The bigger the group, the more attention and collective action can be created.
2. Legitimacy: in order to be able to publicly change existing social structures within society, it is important to be received as a legitimate party within society. When people approve or recognize the group as being legitimate, the easier the action will be and the less resistance will be received. This can also lead to government funding and/or partnerships.

3. Communicative and financial means: in order to reach the social movement goals, money and ways of communication are necessary, this will allow the movement to create posters, gatherings, pamphlets and presentations.
4. Active strategy: the last concept is active strategy. Once the movement has decided on a strategy to reach their goals, this strategy has to be transformed in action. This is called the active strategy. The process of getting in action.

The main concepts discussed above; American Black Lives Matter Social Movement, Social Movement, The collectives and Mobilization can be visualized in a framework. The framework below will show the relation between the separate concepts discussed above:

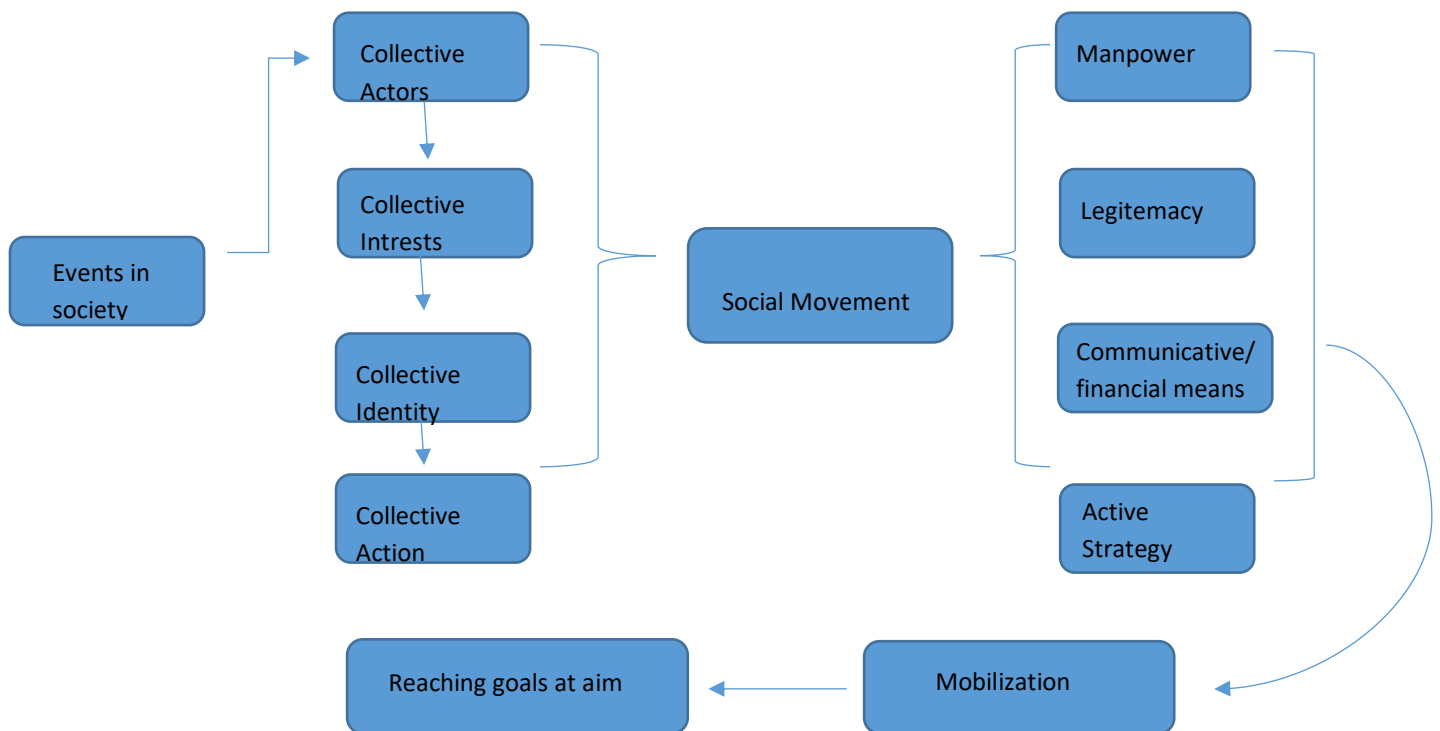


Figure 1. The concepts and stages of a social movement

TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The concepts discussed above define the concept of a social movement, consisting of a collective mobilizing into a social movement. Striving beyond this idea/definition of a social movement bound to national borders, the concept of transnational and global movements come in. Balsiger and Munro state that there is a connection between globalization and transnational social activism. Globalization, defined by King (1990, p 139) as *“the free movement of goods, capital, services, people, technology and information”*, is based on the idea that the world countries are getting more integrated with each other by sharing world views, products, ideas and aspects of culture (p.139).

According to King (1990, P. 139) and The International Monetary Fund (2000, p. 2) globalization consist of four aspects: trade and transactions, capital and investment, migration of people and dissemination of knowledge. By cross-boundary information and technology sharing, globalization affects all kinds of

different everyday life aspects. With international (social) media platforms, news, opinions and events can be shared with people all over the world. As described above in the introduction, the mass protests in Ferguson were shared and picked up by international media platforms as well. This has caused the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement to become the leading example in anti-racism activism and one could therefore argue to define the movement as a transnational social movement.

As Balsiger and Munro describe, there are connections between globalization and transnational social activism, but the two are not the same. Hannerz points this out in his work on transnational connections in: 'Culture, People and Places' (1996, p.6). He does confirm some interrelations between the concepts of globalization and transnational social movements, as he states that transnationalism is a part/result of globalization, but notes that they are not the same. According to Hannerz, global relationships consist mostly of inter-state governmental communication and extend across the world. Transnational relationships however, do not all extend across the world per se. As he describes (p.6): *"The term 'transnational' is in a way more humble and often a more adequate label for phenomena which can be of quite variable scale and distribution, even when they do share the characteristics of not being contained within a state"*. Besides the argument that transnational relationships are not necessarily as massive and extend across the world as global relationships are, Hannerz states a second argument to explain the differences between global and transnational connections: *"global relationships consist in the strict sense of involving nations – actually states – as corporate actors"* (p.6). Compared to this, the transnational relationships do not fully consist of state actors, but actually involve individuals, groups, movements and businesses for example. Transnational relationships are therefore considered to be more diverse than global relationships are.

Following this distinction between global and transnational relationships, Chatfield, Pagnucco and Smith (1997, p.279) have come up with five different categories of social movement activities that define a transnational character. These five actions categorize a movements' transnational character:

1. Creating and mobilizing global networks

The first step towards a transnational social movement is the creation of such a movement. In order to become transnational, global networks need to be established, to gather information on local conditions linked to the subject of the movement. Once the global network has been established, the transnational supporters can be alerted about conditions in their state that require attention. This eventually will open up the possibility to pressure a nation from outside states.

2. Participating in multilateral political arenas

Because transnational relationships do not consist of state actors, but groups such as social movements, it is possible to create a supporting network around issues in nation states. These social movements can create transnational coalitions and therefore address certain overall issues that arise in multiple national states. These transnational movements can participate in global politics by involvement in diplomacy.

3. Facilitating interstate cooperation

Besides participating in global political, the transnational social movement can also evolve into an educational party that educates delegates in the connected nation states to facilitate and improve interstate cooperation in addressing and/or solving critical conditions within (several) nation states. The movement can become a facilitator of negotiations.

4. Acting within states

By creating a transnational network linked to the social movement, local and international partners can be linked to each other and complementary skills can be use full in addressing urgent situation in one particular nation state. These complementary skills often take form as humanitarian aid en development, as a result of the facilitated interstate cooperation mentioned above.

5. Enhancing public participation

One last category of actions by transnational social movements is the provocation of public protest. By sharing stories and imagery of the conditions and riots in a connected member-state, public participation in the other member-states can be enhanced. Besides that, the sharing of outcomes of national negotiations and governmental decisions will remind government delegates within other member-states that they are 'being watched'.

These five categories of actions by transnational social movements seem broad but can be summarized as followed: Transnational social movements create transnational networks (connection) that facilitates the sharing of local stories and imagery, (objectives) which leads to transnational actions either taken by governmental institutions in the form of negotiations or a by a local community resulting in public protest within several nation states (actions and objectives).

In conclusion, Balsiger and Munro (2014) define transnational social movements as a result of the socio-cultural changes instigated by globalization: *"This global view affords transnational social movements a greater role and influence in national and international systems of governance, where their primary achievements are the creation, strengthening, implementation and monitoring of international norms."*

To operationalize these transnational social movement connections and actions, this research will focus on the five categories described above, broadly divided into two main categories: mutually inspired objectives and activism. This means that one can speak of transnational social movement connection when both the nation bound movements inspire each other's objectives and activism. This means that the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement have to mutually inspire each other in their objectives and activism.

4.2 HYPOTHESIS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

HYPOTHESIS

Based on several events over the past five years and the worldwide media attention these events got, as mentioned in the introduction, one could argue that the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement has gone international. These loose actions and reactions from across the world tend to create an international network of activist organisations and allow people from all over the world to voice and share their opinion. According to the theory discussed above this international character can be defined as 'transnational' if the objectives and actions of one movement are being copied and/or supported by another movement. One indicator of a transnational connection between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement is the Black Lives Matter protest at the Dam in Amsterdam July 2016¹ in solidarity to their brothers and sisters in America. Based on this reaction of 'solidarity' and the media attention in the Netherlands for events related to racism and discrimination in The United States, the research will be based on the hypothesis that: *the connection between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement is a transnational movement connection based on mutually inspired objectives and actions.*

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The main concepts discussed above; American Black Lives Matter Social Movement, Social Movement, The collectives and Mobilization and Transnational Social Movements are the concepts mentioned in the main and sub research questions of this thesis (see 3.2 research questions). These concepts are related to each other because they contribute to the definition of the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement and the organisation of a (transnational) social movement. The conceptual framework below will show this relation between the separate concepts, based on the hypothesis stated above:

¹ Bron: <http://www.parool.nl/amsterdam/400-mensen-bij-black-lives-matter-protest-op-de-dam~a4337084/>

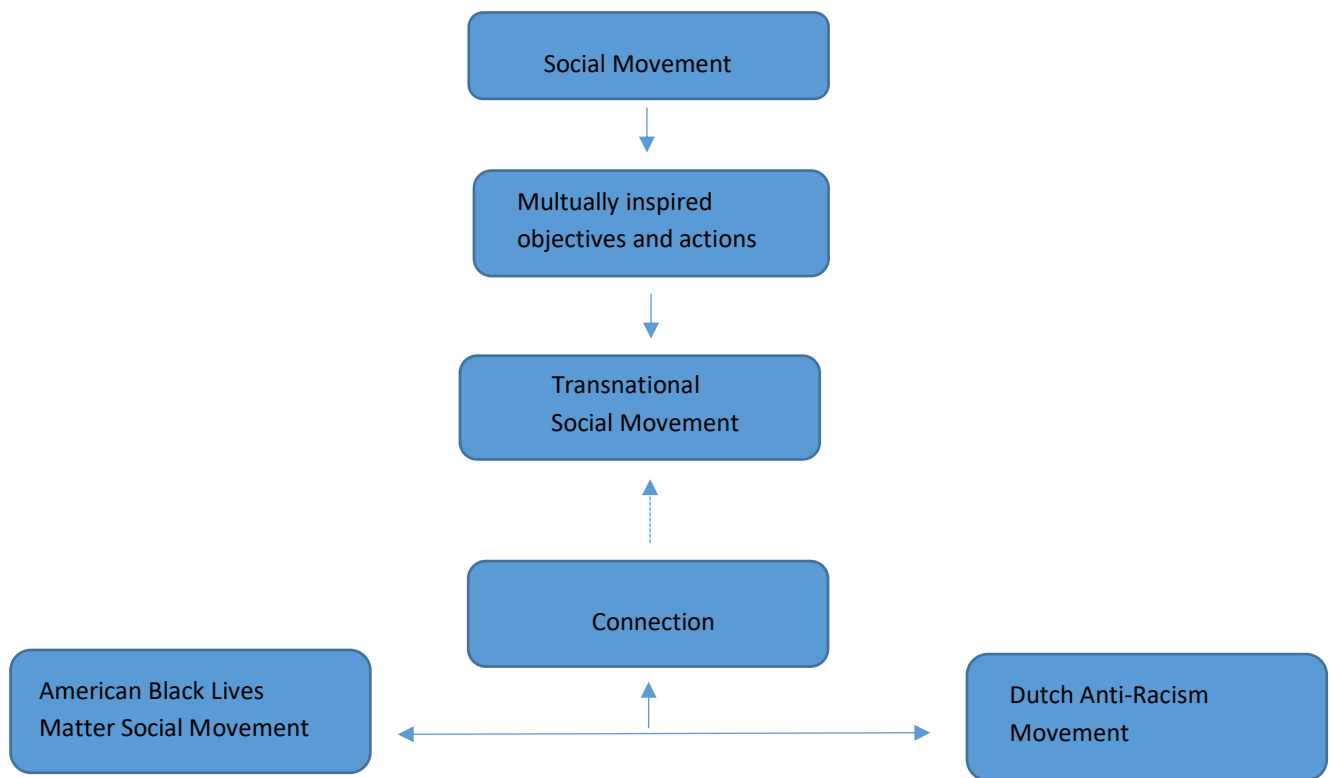


Figure 2. Conceptual Framework

The main focus of this thesis is to determine whether the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism movement are part of a transnational social movement by examining the connection between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement. If this connection shows that the movements objectives and actions are indeed mutually inspired and encouraged, as stated in the hypothesis (the dotted arrow in the framework), the statement can be made that both movements are part of a transnational social movement.

5. METHODOLOGY

In order to reach the main goal of the research: determining whether the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism movement are part of a transnational social movement, an analysis of the connection between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement has to be made. This will be done on the base of qualitative research. This method is chosen based on the 'in-depth' character of the research methods linked to qualitative research. This research is not based on numbers and figures, but on opinions and experiences of the respondents. This method will give the respondents the opportunity to express their feelings and opinions on discrimination and racism in society as elaborated as possible. By using methods as interviews and literature and media analysis, there is room for personal or theoretical interpretation of the data. The interviews are open, but will be structured by a guide in order to make sure all subjects are attended and the questions follow up smooth and logically.

To create a line of structure within the research in order to keep it clear, the research will be split up in three parts, starting with the first two sub-questions to design the movement profiles. The second part will consist of the actual analysis of the connection between the two profiles and the third and last part will contain the conclusion of the research and analysis. The different research methods that will be used are described and elaborated in the subparts below.

5.1 RESEARCH PART I

In order to examine this connection, the different aspects of both movements must be set-out by creating a 'movement profile'. These profiles are being formed based on the theory described in chapter 4 above, discussing all the aspects from collective action to mobilization to goals at aim in order to create two similar research objects that are comparable. This will form the first part of the research and will be done according to the first two sub questions :

1. What constitutes the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement based on social movement theory?
2. What constitutes the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement based on social movement theory?

The first sub question will be answered on the base of a literature and media study. It will give more insight in what this movement is, how it originated and has been set-up. This will create a context around the concept and will be part of the base of the research into the connection. Once the objectives and actions of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement are being determined, they will be compared to the ones of the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement.

The 'movement profile' of the Dutch Anti-Racism will be formed on the base of qualitative interviews and supplemented by literature and media study. The qualitative interviews will be done with different people/organizations that are part of/involved in the Dutch Anti-Racism movement. Because there is no clear demarcated most known social movement against racism and discrimination in The Netherlands such as the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement in the United States, these organizations/people interviewed will be combined together in what will be demarcated as the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement all together.

The interviews will be done by the structure of an interview guide², consisting of 5 subsections: Formal Personal Info, the inspiration behind the activism, the forms of action, the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch society. Because of the difficulties in finding willing respondents, this research question will be answered on the base of three in depth interviews, with respondents that are all active in different fields of anti-racism activism in The Netherlands.

The data from the interviews will be analyzed through ATLAS.TI by means of codes. The result of the chapter will be the base of the Dutch part in the comparison of the objectives and actions between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism movement.

5.2 RESEARCH PART II

The answers of the first two questions will be the research object in the second part of the research, based on the following sub-question:

3. What is the connection between both movements?

Both the profiles of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism movement will be compared, with special focus on the objectives and actions of both movements, to examine the connection between the two. This will be done on the base of a comparative research. The profiles are being formed based on the theory described in chapter 4 above, and this structure will be used as well to compare both the movements. From collective action to mobilization to goals at aim.

5.3 CONCLUDING PART (III)

The last sub-question that will lead to an answer to the main question is:

4. To what extent can this connection be defined as a transnational social movement connection?

Based on the outcome of the comparative analysis of the connection between the both movements, part II, a conclusion can be made about the extent of transnationality of the connection. This paragraph will not only answer the main question but will also set out which aspects of both movements are the indicators of the transnational connection.

Concluding the research the hypothesis will either be accepted or rejected. The table below will give a short overview of the research methods used to answer the central question.

Research part	Sub-question	Research method	Data collection
Part I	1 and 2	exploration	Interviews, literature and media
Part II	3	comparison	Analysis
Part III	4	Testing theory	Result of part I and II

Table 1. Research methods

² See appendix

6. THE ORIGIN OF RACISM

Scientific opinions on the origins of racism differ, though it is general believed that racism was introduced as justification of slavery.

Slavery has existed for as long as civilization has, but was never categorized by race until the establishment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade (Mannix, 1962, p2). Before that, from the ancient Greeks and Roman empires to customs in the later Arab and African community, slavery was based on three categories (p.3); slavery through conquest, slavery due to unpaid debt and child slavery in exchange by parents for favours of the tribal chiefs. Serving as a slave was perceived to be a 'fair punishment'.

Even though slavery was custom in Africa, the international slavery trade was new. During the imperialistic period and international capitalistic exchange trade in Europe, cheap labour equalled higher profit. Inland Africans were captured by African merchants and sold for labour in exchange for goods exported from the European colonies in Asia and South-America (Bradley & Cartledge, 2011, p. 210). In order to keep the plantations profitable, the 'purchased' Africans were shipped over the Atlantic Ocean to South America to work on the plantations. The harvest of the overseas plantations was shipped back to Europe to be traded on the international market. By introducing workers in the form of slaves to the plantations, profits raised enormous. The workforce that could be bought from African merchants was cheaper and less resistant than Europeans or native Americans (Curtin, 1972, p.88). This enforced the international trading and more and more slaves were bought from Africa to be shipped to the plantations. This resulted in intensive slavery trade, known as the Transatlantic trade triangle between Europe, The Slave Coast (Eastern Africa) and America.

The shipping of massive numbers of slaves from The Slave Coast to America was harsh and ultimate survival. Packed with hundreds of other slaves on a small boat with small amounts of water and food on board, only half of the 'purchased' group usually arrived in America alive. Families that were able to purchase slaves as workforce for their plantations gained status over time (Eltis, 2002, p.95). The more slaves you owned, the bigger the plantation and eventually the richer your family must have been. These overseas emperors were often white, originating from European countries, and now owners of a black labour force.

Many believe that this is where racism originates, being a result of the establishment of white superiority over a black labour force. Generally speaking there are two reasons proposed for the establishment of racism (Bonilla-Silva, 1997, p.468). Firstly: The uprising of Negro Slavery was economic, not so much racial. It depended on the cheapness of labour, not the colour of the workforce. But the way slaves were treated was so shocking that it could only be justified by dividing population into races and establishing that the African race were an inferior race. Second, the mass trade of slaves for over three centuries caused this division into race to institutionalize, in order to legitimize the slave trade but also to divide poor people against each other as part of the 'divide and rule' politics played by European emperors (p.470). Therefore racism is a consequence of slavery.

With the abolishment of slavery, the division between black and white was reinforced, generally known as 'The Apartheid'. This was a major racial separation ranging from differences in human rights to the use of public services, with limited to no access for the black people (Worden, 1996 p.1025). Even though the Apartheid is mostly known as a period of struggle for black people to acquire equal rights in the South-African history, the United States had a similar separated society.

The US had been home to millions of slaves over the centuries and after the abolishment of slavery the black people were 'freed' from the plantations and the labour, but were not actually freed from the established racial class system, in which white was superior or black was inferior. This meant that blacks still had fewer rights than white people, less job opportunities and had to use public services that were for 'blacks only'.

Civil wars and public resistance during the 20th century, have ended the worldwide general spatial segregation of black and white, but the social segregation still exists. This fight for equal treatment of black and white will be discussed in the next chapter.

7. THE AMERICAN BLACK LIVES MATTER SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Even though the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement has only recently (last 5 to 10 years) become internationally well-known, this movement is seen as the new generation of anti-racial movements in American Society that has been active ever since the colonial era. The American Black Lives Matter Social Movement is not a new movement. It has been built on earlier movements from the twentieth century. To understand the so called 'struggle' of black people in America it is important to first create a general overview of activism for black rights throughout the years.

Once this historical context has been sketched, the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement will be discussed at the base of the theory on social movements defined in chapter four 'central concepts and conceptual framework'. This analysis of the movement will consist of events in society, the mobilization of the movement and its transnational character.

This analysis will be the base of the comparison between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement, focussing on the objectives and the activism to determine the transnational relationship between the two movements.

7.1 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Though most people believe the struggle of blacks goes back to the colonial times and slavery, discussed in the previous chapter, this overview only discusses the period of 1950 until now. The colonial history of blacks is really important and does play a big role in the current image people have of the. This overview only refers to the movements from 1900 till now, because those movements are believed to be the base of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement. This means that this chapter pays attention to the period in which the ideas about justice and the Black Live Matter Movement both originated. Even though there are some similarities between the movements, they tend to arise in chronological order: NAACP, Civil Rights Movement, Black Power Movement, Black Feminism Movement and the LGBTQ social movement.

National Association for Advancement of Colored People

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is civil rights organisation founded in 1909 in the US. This bi-racial organization focuses on the advancement of justice for African Americans (Appiah & Gates, 1999, p.445). The organisation's objective is to "*ensure the political, educational, social and economic equality of rights of all persons and to eliminate race-based discrimination*" (p.456). Over the years, the organisation has broaden its involvement into black refugees, economic development for black people and police violence (NAACP, 2008).

It is believed that the Race Riot (1908) in Illinois sparked the foundation of the NAACP. Daily lynchings of black men urged for an effective civil rights organisation (NAACP, 2008). In January 1909 Ovington, Walling and Moskowitz met in New York and in February they founded the NAACP. Their affection towards black people came from their socialist point of view and was a result of their upgrowing in a family that owned slaves.

In 1911 after multiple meetings and conferences the NAACP had formulated its mission:

“To promote equality of rights and to eradicate caste of race prejudice among the citizens of the US; to advance the interest of colored citizens; to secure for them impartial suffrage; and to increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for the children, employment according to their ability and complete equality before law” (NAACP, 1911).

This shows that the movements main focus was establishing basic rights for black people, the community that was previously perceived as slave and now had to fight to become an equal member of the US society. This movement is therefore perceived as the first civil rights movement in The United States (Appiah & Gates, 1999, p. 451).

American Civil Rights Movement

The period 1950-1970 was a period of major civil resistance in the United States. Tyson & Williams (1998, p. 542) describe this period as the time of the social movements that aimed to end racial segregation and the discrimination of African Americans. This segregation had a spatial effect resulting in ‘whites online’ public services such as the library or laundry facilities.

The Civil Rights Movement was characterized by its mass (nonviolent) protests and so called ‘civil disobedience’ (p. 546). This disobedience caused immediate crisis situations which forced the authorities to direct response. Well known examples of this civil disobedience are: The Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955), several sit-ins that occupied large public areas and the Birmingham and Alabama Children’s Crusades led by black students (p. 540).

The movement is considered most successful during 1950-1960 with the passing of federal legislation covering the subject of discrimination based on race, colour, religion or sex. This led in 1964 to the Civil Rights Act (Newkirk, 2017). This led to the prohibition of racial segregation in school, workplaces and the public services and facilities. In 1965 minorities in the United States Of America gained Voting Rights and free migration access to the States (Tyson & Williams, 1998, p. 547).

The Black Power Movement

With the passing of federal laws against discrimination towards African Americans, the riots did not end. Although the blacks regained their position in politics after the Voting Act in 1965, a group of black people was still not satisfied with the so called ‘black politics’. This group merged together into the Black Power Movement around 1966 (Joseph, 2009, p.754). This movement aimed at radicalizing the established black leadership. According to the movement, their attitude in politics was too soft and too cooperative (p. 753). The movement demanded self-sufficiency within the black community regarding politics and economics.

The movement had very different perspectives on collective action, ranging from extreme violence to peaceful protests, all focussed on achieving black empowerment (Woodard, 1999, p. 20). One of the well-known more violence oriented parties of the Black Power Movement was the ‘Black Panther Party’ that started off with critiques on the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960’s and grew radically violent over the course of the 1970’s (Davis, 2017). Their behaviour caused a reintroduction of the spatial segregation during the 1960, by focussing on community control, creating ‘black bookstores’, ‘black schools’ and ‘black food companies’.

The Black Feminist Movement

Another reaction to the Civil Rights Movement was the Black Feminism Movement. They fought against the sexism in general and racism towards black women that were discriminated by other feminist movements (Crenshaw, 2004, p.1). Black feminism addressed the interrelations between sexism, class oppression, racism and gender identity (Collins, 1990, p.22), called intersectionality. As Crenshaw urged (1989, p.144): *“Being a black woman can’t be understood by someone that is either Black or a woman.”*. The main focus of feminism itself is to end sexist oppression.

The Black Feminist Movement was popular during the 1970’s and 1980’s during which it created several different action groups based on the role of black woman in for example Black Nationalism or Gay Liberation.

Blay and Gray (2015) address the importance of black feminism: *“Black women are positioned within structures of power in fundamentally different ways from white women”*. In the 1990’s the term ‘white feminist’ arose to describe feminist that do not address the subject of intersectionality, which will eventually weaken the strength of feminism in general – according to black feminism (Epstein, 2015). Today (black) feminism is still a hot topic, especially within the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement. The fact that this movement is mentioned as one of the inspirations of the ABLMM shows that this movement is paying great attention to the well being and position of black woman in the US society.

The LGBTQ Movement

The Lesbian, Gay, Trans-, Bi- and Queer-sexual Movement consist of movements that address the equality and acceptance of ‘LGBTQ-people’ in society, fighting for ‘LGBTQ rights’. The subject of this movement is still somewhat controversial in society today, as Hoades (2011, p. 50) states: *“We have to work towards liberation for the broader society from biphobia, transphobia and homophobia.”*. Intersectionality, discussed above in the subchapter ‘historical context’, plays a role in the black LGBTQ society as well, stating that LGBTQ-people have to fight harder for their basic rights being black, for as they are discriminated double. This movement is also taken into account in the objectives of the ABLMM, as they state to focus on enhance the lives of all black people, especially minority groups such as gay man.

New Social Movement

All the movements discussed above are examples of classic social movements, discussed in chapter four ‘central concepts’. The classic social movements state that participation in social movements can be predicted and determined by class location (Polletta & Jasper, 2001, p.294). The actors are “seeking to gain political and economic concessions from institutional actors”. Shortly concluded, it can be said that according to the classic theorists, the interests lay in political (power) and economic gain as a result of change.

Some protesters of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement however distinguish themselves from these classic social movements with charismatic leaderships. This group is categorized under the new social movements and state that participants in social movements are seeking recognition for their identities and lifestyles (Polletta & Jasper, 2001, p.297). They are not seeking for economic or political (power) gain such as the protesters in the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement, but are focussing on ‘social and legal inclusion’. According to Jasper (1997) this contains “efforts to define,

celebrate, enact, and deconstruct identity". All actors involved may be seeking for this recognition for different reasons, but with the same goals.

Due to the focus on group involvement and group identity, this movement lacks distinguished leadership and has created a 'group-centred model' of leadership (Day, 2015).

Discussing the objectives of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement later on in this chapter, it will become clear that all the different movements discussed above are submerged into this one 'new' movement, addressing black empowerment, black feminism and black LGBTQ-rights in 13 guiding principles.

7.2 EVENTS IN SOCIETY

According to the literature discussed in the theoretical paragraph four, social movements such as the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement are formed as a result of certain events in society. As stated by the African-American members of the society - Lowery (2016, p250): "although BLM protests originated with the recent police killings in the United States, we have to recognize that the politics animating these protests have long been around, police shootings were nothing new, but the mass media attention towards it, was". The acquittal of the white policeman George Zimmerman after shooting and killing the African-American Trayvon Martin in 2013 marks the start of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement (Day, 2015, p. 43). This subchapter will discuss and explain how this event in society formed the foundation of the Black Lives Matter Movement, from several actors collecting to the formation of a collective identity and coming to collective action.

After the death of Trayvon Martin, the shootings and mass protests continued. As Luibbrand (2015, p.74) states, the concept of 'Black Lives Matter' gained international attention and recognition after the mass demonstrations in 2014 as a reaction to the deaths of two African-Americans Michael Brown and Eric Garner. Eventually the protests spread from Ferguson, New York City, Baltimore, Cleveland to Chicago (Lowery, 2016, P.249)

Collective actors

The main actors that started the movement are Cullors, Tometi and Garza. After the news of the acquittal of George Zimmerman, local activist Alicia Garza stated on Facebook that she was 'surprised at how little Black lives Matter' (Lowery, 2016, p.44). She writes about her story on the online platform called 'Black Lives Matter'³ (Garza, 2017):

"I created #BlackLivesMatter with Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi, two of my sisters, as a call to action for Black people after 17-year-old Trayvon Martin was post-humously placed on trial for his own murder and the killer, George Zimmerman, was not held accountable for the crime he committed. It was a response to the anti-Black racism that permeates our society and also, unfortunately, our movements."

What started as a hashtag on social media grew into a concept in the offline world with the help of cultural works, artist and designers (Cullors, 2016, np). To gain members and recognition, a 'Black Lives Matter ride' was organized. This trip to the town of the murdered Michael Brown was organized by Patrisse Cullors and Darnell L. Moore to support the movement that was growing in St. Louis after the

³ See <http://blacklivesmatter.com/herstory/>

shooting of 18 year old Brown (Solomon, 2014, p.15). National conferences were held and so the connection of people across the country involved in similar activism started.

Collective interests

The American Black Lives Matter Social Movement has set up a set of 'guiding principles' that a member should apply to become part of the movement. These guiding principles form the goals/objectives of the movement. There are 13 main principles, starting from basic concepts to principles directed to certain specific groups. Comparing these principles to the ones discussed in paragraph 6.1 'the earlier movements', it is clear to see that these 13 principles are a gathering of all that has been addressed in the earlier movements and current, 21st century, issues.

The 13 principles mentioned below are directly taken from the blacklivesmatter.com online platform (BLMM, 2017, np)⁴ as there is no possible way or need to formulated these principles in other words:

1. *Diversity*: We are committed to acknowledging, respecting and celebrating difference(s) and commonalities.
2. *Globalism*: We see ourselves as part of the global Black family and we are aware of the different ways we are impacted or privileged as Black folk who exist in different parts of the world.
3. *Loving engagement*: We are committed to embodying and practicing justice, liberation, and peace in our engagements with one another.
4. *Empathy*: We are committed to practicing empathy, we engage comrades with the intent to learn about and connect with their contexts.
5. *Unapologetically black*: We are unapologetically Black in our positioning. In affirming that Black Lives Matter, we need to not qualify our position. To love and desire freedom and justice for ourselves is a necessary prerequisite for wanting the same for others.
6. *Black woman*: We are committed to building a Black woman affirming space free from sexism, misogyny and male centeredness.
7. *Collective value*: We are guided by the fact all Black lives matter, regardless of actual or perceived sexual identity, gender identity, gender expression, economic status, ability, disability, religious beliefs or disbeliefs, immigration status or location.
8. *Black villages*: We are committed to disrupting the Western-prescribed nuclear family structure requirement by supporting each other as extended families and 'villages' that collectively care for one another, and especially "our" children to the degree that mothers, parents and children are comfortable.
9. *Restorative justice*: We are committed to collectively, lovingly and courageously working vigorously for freedom and justice for Black people and, by extension all people. As we forge our path, we intentionally build and nurture a beloved community that is bonded together through a beautiful struggle that is restorative, not depleting.

⁴ See: <http://blacklivesmatter.com/guiding-principles/>

10. *Queer affirming*: We are committed to fostering a queer-affirming network. When we gather, we do so with the intention of freeing ourselves from the tight grip of the heteronormative thinking or, rather, the belief that all in the world are heterosexual unless s/he or they disclose otherwise.
11. *Transgender affirming*: We are committed to embracing and making space for trans brothers and sisters to participate and lead. We are committed to being self-reflexive and doing the work required to dismantle cis-gender privilege and uplift Black trans folk, especially Black trans women who continue to be disproportionately impacted by trans-antagonistic violence.
12. *Black families*: We are committed to making our spaces family-friendly and enable parents to fully participate with their children. We are committed to dismantling the patriarchal practice that requires mothers to work 'double shifts' that require them to mother in private even as they participate in justice work.
13. *Intergenerational*: We are committed to fostering an intergenerational and communal network free from ageism. We believe that all people, regardless of age, grows up with the capacity to lead and learn.

These guiding principles seem broad, but can be brought back to a few main categories: the unity of being part of the global black community, creating a better social and economic position for black people in society, fighting for (restorative) justice and celebrating diversity. The latter shows that this movement not only focusses on black men – as former movements mainly aimed at – but also commits to improve the position of black women and members of the LGBTQ-community. These two groups are in general aiming for more acceptance and respect in contemporary society all over the world, regardless of their skin colour. One could argue that by aiming to improve the position of women and LGBTQ-members this movement has started a new – contemporary – chapter in black activism. The 13 guiding principles are well translated into the identity of the movement, discussed in the section below.

Collective Identity

As stated in chapter four, the central concepts, this research is based on the theory of the 'institutional context' in defining the identity of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement. According to this theory, identities are formed when people gather in places that are removed from the physical and ideological control of those in power (Polletta & Jasper, 2001, p.295), for example in churches or schools. Even though this movement didn't start from a specific institution as described above, Facebook can be qualified as such an institution as well, because it offers a platform to share ideas that is freed from any ideological controlling power. Besides that, according to the 13 guiding principles described above, there are many 'institutions away from those in power' that are addressed by the movement, such as the work floor, educational institutions and the Black community.

The American Black Lives Matter Social Movements identifies itself as a "*Chapter-based national organization working for the validity of Black life, working to (re)build the Black liberation movement (About the BLMM, 2017).*" As they state: it is not a moment, but a movement.

But what distinguishes 'them' from the other anti-racism movements? Discussing other Black life movements, the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement states that, while other movements focus on doing black, living black and loving black, with the black men in front and the woman and others are left behind, they focus foremost on the groups left behind. The queers, trans, woman, disabled and

undocumented for example. As they state: *"We centre those that have been marginalized within Black liberations movements (About the BLMM, 2017)"*. Consisting of the people, 'we black folks', that have been deprived of their basic human rights.

Collective Action

As stated in the paragraph 'events in society' above, the concept of 'Black Lives Matter' gained international attention after the death of Trayvon Martin, the shootings of Brown and Garner and the mass protests (Luibrand, 2015, p.17). Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi created the #BLACKLIVESMATTER on social media. This hashtag was picked up by several artists and social workers that felt affected by the so called 'police brutality' against the Afro-American community (Cullors, 2016, np). Other examples of collective actions at the beginning of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement are the mass protests in cities like New York and Chicago, the Black Lives Matter Ride and National Conferences on the subject of 'basic human rights of black folks'.

6.3 MOBILIZATION

The American Black Lives Matter Social Movement has grown from three initial activist to a massive international known movement. As discussed in the last paragraph above, the movement is categorized as a 'new civic right movement' because of its internal structure. It has a 'group-centred leadership' instead of the classic 'charismatic leadership' (Collins & Mak, 2015, p7). This next subchapter will dive further into the way the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement is organized, by discussing the movement's manpower, legitimacy, financial means and communicative means.

Mobilization - Manpower

This action on local level and loose structure give people the opportunity to join the movement easily. As the movement states: *"Please not that #BlackLivesMatter is a network predicated on Black self-determination, and BLM Chapters reserve the right to limit participation based on this principle (About BLM, 2017)"*. The membership requirement vary by chapter as well. There are currently 38 official chapters listed throughout the US on the website. But most of the manpower is generated by the online network, which serves as a platform to share opinions, ideas and to call people to action in the streets.

Mobilization - Legitimacy

The legitimacy of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement is a complex subject. Most of the time the legitimacy of something is based on the conformation of the rule of law, but in the case of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement it is more or less a subjective case. A few different points made in academic literature and journalist articles state the movement's legitimacy.

As Tucker (2016, p.1) states: *"The Movement is an actual organization with an actual agenda."* According to Tucker, a legitimate movements seeks to overcome injustice with justice, doing so by peaceful protest or local petitions. Discussing the movement, Tucker states: *"Sincere individuals with sincere concerns and productive requests of their elected officials have much more legitimacy on their own."* This means that

sincerely concerned individuals are perceived as more legitimate than an group of people yelling on the streets.

Political recognition can be seen as an important indicator of legitimacy, as the political agenda can be pressed by societal groups and issues. This political reference is shown by several presidential candidates (*US presidential elections 2016*) that discussed the movement in their campaigns. The acknowledgement of the movement and its purpose resonates from the statement of several candidates that *"injustice in policing and criminal justice"* are legitimate issues and so the movement serves a legitimate purpose (Coleman, 2015, p.3).

All though the movement may be classified as a 'legitimate movement serving a legitimate purpose', there is critique on the movement regarding legitimacy as well. Both Coleman (2015, p. 3) and Tucker (2016, p.2) describe the resistance of the presidential candidates and government officials regarding the actions of the movement: *"They recognized the Black Lives Matter movement's grievances, but they do not think they are asking for actual solutions (Coleman, 2015, p.3)."* Tucker stated before that justice has to overcome injustice with peaceful protests (2016, p2), but doubts the peacefulness of the protesters: *"I do not accept violence as an acceptable tactic for drawing attention to important -legitimate- issues related to social justice."*

Mobilization - Communicative and financial means

To run a movement financial and communicative means are necessary. The American Black Lives Matter Social Movement produces posters, pamphlets and billboards across The US. The movement is projected as quite wealthy (*Richardson, 2016, p.1*) due to the mass amounts of funding they generate, from over 50 different organizations. The amount of over \$100 million has been build-up out of different organization funding the organisation. For example the 'Black-Led Movement Fund (BLMF)' is one of the major contributors aiming to raise \$100.000.000 within six years, with two main goals:

"The first component is the Blackprint Strategy, a collaborative process underway to identify movement needs and resource priorities to bring \$100 million in new resources to the Movement for Black Lives. The second component is the BLMF Organizational Development Initiative and focused on supporting the organizational capacity building needs of a rapidly growing movement (BLMF, 2017)."

Besides to aim to develop the movement, this Fund also aims to generate free college for 'the blacks' (McGrit, 2016, p.2).

There is also political support by the Democratic Party – the Open Society Foundations and the Centre for American Progress (Richardson, 2016, p29). These funds are granted to for example build the movement's resources and technical assistance.

One important remark is that the funds discussed above are granted to the leadership of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement as a whole. Because the movements is build-up in local chapters, these chapters receive funds from local governmental institutions and organisations as well.

Mobilization - active strategy:

The American Black Lives Matter Social Movement has one specific strategy: *“Creating an online overspill into the offline world, making people so uncomfortable they will have to deal with the problems (BLMM, 2017)”*. To generate this ‘overspill into the offline world’, the movements has four sets of tactics: social media, direct actions, political action and media. They will all be discussed below.

1. Social media

The best known online tactic is the use and spreading of the #BLACKLIVESMATTER. All the online messages including this hashtag on Twitter, Facebook or Instagram are gathered. By searching the hashtag on these online networks, all the messages ever written with this hashtag are visible, creating an online databank of people spreading their opinion of the matter.

The rise of the internet has created an immense network of people that are connected online. As Shirky (2011, p.2) states: *“social media have become a fact of life for civil society worldwide, involving many actors.”* This gives any person with an internet connection the possibility to share their opinion on whatever matters to them. In his *‘The political power of social media’* (2011), Shirky discusses these new forms of communication. He concludes (p.1):

“As the communications landscape gets denser, more complex, and more participatory, the networked population is gaining greater access to information, more opportunities to engage in public speech, and an enhanced ability to undertake collective action. In the political arena, these increased freedoms can help loosely coordinated public’s demand change.”

Shirky also pays attention to the rise of new technology such as the mobile phone and cameras. These powerful methods of collecting ‘evidence’, gives people the power to shed another light on incidents or messages otherwise only discussed by journalist in newspapers. This has caused people to show the incidents online by filming a shooting or case of police brutality towards an Afro-American. Besides that, it is also a powerful way to share collective action, by sharing images and clips of mass protests that are happening on the streets. People can through this way be ‘online involved’ by these actions.

One last new social media tactic is the online use of ‘memes’ by the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement. Memes are, as defined by the *Oxford Dictionary*:

“An element of a culture or system of behaviour passed from one individual to another by imitation or other non-genetic means. Memes consist of images, videos, pieces of text etc, typically humorous in nature, that is copied and spread rapidly by the internet users, often with slight variations.”

These memes often hold a critical message, packed in humour. Because of the subjective political perspective of these memes, they will not be included in this objective research⁵.

⁵ For examples see: www.google.nl/blacklivesmattermemes

2. Direct Action

Besides online action, the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement is best known by the mass street protests. The protests range from loud rallies on the streets, to roadblocks and silent protests. The latter has made a great impact on the American population, as Williams (2017) discusses on the online academic platform 'the conversation':

"The 'silent Protest Parade' was the first mass African-American demonstration of its kind and marked a watershed moment in the history of civil rights movements. In taking to the streets to dramatize the brutal treatment of black people, the participants of the 'Silent Protest Parade' indicted the United States as an unjust nation."

Another direct way of action that has received a lot of response are the so called 'staged die-ins'. Lowery (2015) discussed this phenomenon in The Washington Post, after a massive staged die-in during lunch in a cafeteria in Washington. Around 30 members of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement laid down on the floor of the cafeteria, pretending to be dead, while - mostly law enforcement members were eating their lunch. As Lowery describes: "The organizers had planned to lay down for 4,5 minutes, to symbolize the amount of time Michael Brown has laid down on the street after he was killed." After this particular staged die-in, multiple protests followed throughout the country to attend the several high profile cases of unarmed black men being killed by police officers in The United States of America. These staged die-ins have four general goals, as the protesters state, described by Lowery:

- Calling for a congressional hearing on policing
- Ending police militarization through the Pentagon's Excess Property Program
- Urging the Congress to pass a bill to end the racial profiling by law enforcement
- Ending the 'jump out' tactics employed by D.C. police

3. Political action

A few of the police brutality incidents that gained enormous (inter)national response are immortalized and commemorated in political slogans. The goal of these particular slogans is to address the societal responsibility governmental institutes have by quoting the words that were said by the Afro-American people before their death. A few examples:

- *"Black Lives Matter"*⁶
- *"Hands up, don't shoot", referring to Michael Brown*⁷
- *"I can't breathe", referring to Eric Garner*⁸
- *"White silence is violence"*⁹
- *"No Justice, no peace"*¹⁰
- *"Is my son next?" referring to protests in Memphis*¹¹

⁶ Palmer, N. (2015). 'No Justice, No peace': Black Lives Matter & Bernie Sanders, Sociology in Focus

⁷ U.S. Department of Justice. (2015). *Department of Justice Report Regarding the Criminal Investigation into the Shooting Death of Michael Brown by Ferguson Missouri Police Officer Darren Wilson*

⁸ Kim, G. & Jackson, J. (2014) "I can't Breathe": Eric Garner's last words symbolize our predicament. *The Huffington Post*.

⁹ Phillip, A. (2014) *Protesting racial injustice while white*, *The Washington Post*

¹⁰ Ford, G. (2015). Tamir Rice and the Meaning of 'No Justice – No peace', *Black Agenda Report*

¹¹ Fretland, K. & Connolly, D. (2016). *Protest against police violence, vigil for reconciliation held in Memphis*, *The Commercial Appeal*

Besides these political slogans, real political steps have been taken as well. During several U.S. Election campaign speeches in 2016, the democrats have taken over the stages to shout their slogans and asking for attention for the Black Lives Matter actions (*Eligon, 2015, p. 81*).

4. Media

The last tactics used by the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement are media such as music, movies, series and documentaries. As documentaries are often made to shed an in-depth light on matter such as 'Bars4Justice', the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement brought out their own documentary called Stay Woke, which was introduced at the Pan African film festival.

Other forms of media, such as music and television shows picked up the message of the movement as well, but translated through the eyes of self-proclaimed members or the public. For examples in crime television shows such as Criminal Minds or Naval Crime Investigative Service (NCIS) use the movement in their storylines. Not particularly to advocate the movement, but it is a way for the movement to gain international recognition.

In the music industry, artists such as Beyoncé or Kendrick Lamar advocate the movement through their lyrics. Beyoncé's latest album (April, 2016), called Lemonade, features a song 'Formation' in which the mothers of the victims of the police brutality are being showed in the music video surrounding an American police car. The song was released during Black History Month and is perceived as a Black Power anthem (*Blair, 2016*) consisting of the victims' mothers, referred to in the sentence: "*Okay ladies now lets get in formation*".¹²

¹² Beyoncé – Formation lyrics: <https://genius.com/Beyonce-formation-lyrics>

8. THE DUTCH ANTI-RACISM MOVEMENT

Prior to this research, there was no notion of one clear anti-racism movement in The Netherlands. Different organisations and political parties are discussed above, all addressing different aspects of daily encounters with racism and discrimination. Though a statement of a 'Dutch anti-racism movement' such as the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement could not be made. To elaborate on anti-racism activism in The Netherlands - to be able to make a constructive comparison between the United States of American and The Netherlands – I arranged conversations with different people in Dutch society that were in any way involved in actions regarding racism. This group of people consist of several members of the afro-community in The Netherlands, some governmental institutions that are involved in addressing racism, lawful institutions and media and scientific articles that offer different opinions and perspectives on the matter of racism are taken into account as well.

The elaboration and analysis of the Dutch anti-racism organisations and institutions will be done on the base of the conceptual frame work posed in chapter four¹³ as far as possible, given that there is no one clear movement in The Netherlands but rather a merged movement of different organisations and individuals. The data will mostly consist of quotes stated by the respondents. This method is chosen because of the risk of a wrong personal interpretation of the respondents view and the power of the quotes themselves.

8.1 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

According to many members of the Dutch-Afro community, The Netherlands is facing serious 'Afro-phobia': the structural unequal treatment of Afro-Dutch. This as a result of the colonial history of the Netherlands. "Anti-black racism is rooted in the Dutch past of colonial domination, oppression and slavery" (afromagazine, 2015, p4). It has been a past that has left deep traces in our institutions, language, imagery, art and culture and that negatively impacted our empathic abilities.

This chapter will focus on the historical context of the role the Netherlands have played in the establishment of international racism against the black community, dating from the international slavery trade, as discussed in chapter 5. It will provide a sketch of the development of anti-racism activism in the Netherlands. In this paragraph, three main events in the history of The Netherlands are being discussed: The Dutch involvement in the slave trade and the Apartheid in Southern Africa.

During the golden era in the 17th century The Netherlands were well known for their flourishing economics. With many colonies in the south-eastern region, Africa and South America The Netherlands had established a monopoly in international trade by the foundation of two national companies: the United Eastern-Indian Company and the Western-Indian Company (Emmer, 1998, p.17). Even though this era is perceived as an economical strong period, it has been marked by the dark cruelties of the Slavery Trade as well. The Netherlands played a prominent role in the Trans-Atlantic Slavery Triade, by establishing harbours in Suriname, Brazil and South and Eastern Africa. For the afro community in the

¹³ See the end of chapter four 'central concepts'

Netherlands this is still a very sensitive subject that should, according to them, be addressed more (afromagazine, 2015).

After World War II ended in 1945, the European countries made it clear that there should never be a power system based on racism again such as the oppression of the Jews during the war. Most of the colonies of the Netherlands decolonized after the war had ended (Indonesia and countries in Middle- and South America) as new times arose, except for South Africa. This region was systematically harassed by the (semi-Dutch) Apartheid regime till the 1990's.

The Apartheid

The Apartheid was the result of years of struggles between African natives and (British) colonialists. With the rapid decolonization of the Dutch colonies in America, the Dutch regime tried to gain power in the South African region that was filled with gold and coal mines, through political involvement. Even though the 'white community' was small, they managed to keep the power by separating the black community from the white community and establishing white supremacy. This was managed by the creation a 'national political party' that consisted of first generation African native white farmers that felt disadvantaged by the abolishment of slavery. This racial segregation was in play long before the ending of the Second World War under the British regime in South Africa, but was legally institutionalized in 1948 under the regime of Malan and Dutch born Hendrik Verwoerd (anti-British) of the national party that gained more support and ruling power over the years. (Worden, 1996, p.1016).

This apartheid system (meaning: being different) categorized the population of South-Africa in three groups: whites and non-whites, the latter consisting of two groups: 'blacks' and 'coloured'. The regime consisted of two parts: the national apartheid policies and the so called 'petty apartheid'. The national apartheid policies focussed on the redistribution of black communities throughout the least fertile regions of South Africa. These places were called the independent 'homelands', making them legal outsiders of the white community established in South Africa (p.1020). Black people that entered the white community anyway, where only allowed to stay a maximum of 72 hours. The petty apartheid established rules dividing black and whites within communities. To maintain the pure breed white community, interracial marriages were not allowed. Public services were divided in white and black services, which started with a front entrance for white people and the backdoor entrance for black people and over time developed into fully separated black and white supermarkets. It was lawfully forbidden for black people to enter 'white-only' zones, which would result in arrest (p.1020). The facilities for white people were often well maintained, whereas the facilities for black people were bad and limited.

When Nelson Mandela came to power in 1990, the apartheid was abolished, but the feeling of inferiority among black people is still present in South Africa as well as within the Afro-community in The Netherlands. Because the Apartheid regime was heavily critiqued internationally, the focus of racism in The Netherlands was mostly on South Africa.

8.2 EVENTS IN SOCIETY

Racism in The Netherlands has never been as outspoken as in The United States. There are some organisations that cherish the belongings of the black community in The Netherlands, but it seems as if there is more attention for the Turk and Moroccan community in The Netherlands regarding the general

integration policy, which results in the neglect of the Dutch-Afro community. Recent events though have sparked the discussion of increasing racism in The Netherlands.

Ethnic profiling

In 2012 the public discussion on ethnic profiling within the Dutch police force arose with the detention of the Dutch pop artist Typhoon who originates from Suriname. He was brought to a stand by the police while driving his car due to the reason that the police perceived a young foreigner driving a luxury car as suspicious (Verschuren, 2016, np). The riot around this event sparked the need for a research on ethnic profiling within the Dutch police force. In a public TV show they later admitted to the tendency towards ethnic profiling and apologized for the mistake. This apology, however, was critiqued by the Dutch-Afro community, based on the belief that had Typhoon not been a Dutch celebrity, he would probably never have had any apology.

The death, as result of police brutality, of the Aruban Mitch Henriquez in 2015 reinforced the ethnic profiling discussion, for it was believed to be yet another victim of the hard actions of the police against the migrant community in The Netherlands, especially in the mixed and problematic neighbourhood 'de Schilderswijk' in The Hague (Haspels & Schildkamp, 2017, np). But it is hard to define whether this was in line with the police brutality in The United States, for there are not enough deaths by police force in general in the Netherlands to make a constructive comparison.

Political engagement

The Afro-community has never had much political participation within the Dutch government, but with the foundation of the political parties Artikel 1 (article one) and DENK ('Think'), this changed. DENK has proclaimed itself as 'the anti-racism party' of the Netherlands, whereas the female leader of Artikel 1 originated from DENK but has established her own party focussing on intersectionality as part of racism. With the last elections this year the parties have gained more votes, but are still not a big part of the Dutch leading political parties. This is due to the small afro-community in the Netherlands and the non-cooperation of separate immigrant communities as one.

Black face

The main issue regarding racism in the Netherlands is Black face. This is a creature that is part of an old Dutch tradition of celebrating St. Nicolas that can be compared to celebrating Christmas with Santa Claus. This blackface is the 'black coloured' helper of St. Nicolas and is secretly delivering presents to children at night. This tradition is believed to be over a hundred years old, but has gained a lot of resistance by the afro-community in the last decade. St. Nicolas is a good and heart-warming person that will visit your house with presents if you are on his 'sweet children' list. The tradition is, what young children believe, that blackface is around all year to check whether a child is being nice or naughty. This has caused blackface to be perceived as a somewhat scary and mean creature. The latter point is what frustrates the afro-community in the Netherlands, because it could lead to prejudice towards the black community among young children. For them, the persona of blackface is bound to the image of slavery, with black people working for the white man.

In 2016, almost 200 people were arrested during a 'black face demonstration' at the celebrated annual staged arrival of St Nicolas in Rotterdam (Jorritsma, 2016, np). This has caused more fury among the black community in The Netherlands as they state: "The Netherlands is a tolerant country that cherishes her freedom of speech and opinion. But once the black community unites as one to demonstrate against racism, all of a sudden our freedom of speech is not accepted."

The blackface discussion has led to a division in Dutch society between the ones that believe that blackface is a harmless age-old Dutch tradition on the one hand, and the people that feel discriminated by the existence and celebration of blackface.

Educating Slavery

Another issue that continues to spark the racism discussion in the Netherlands is the dutch involvement in the historic slavery trade, discussed in chapter six. More and more opinion pieces turn up in newspapers and social media platforms about the education material on slavery in the history books used in Dutch schools. This material is not covering the historic past of the Netherlands regarding slavery trade, but focusses too much on the economical flourishing that followed in that period, according to Amma Asante – Dutch politician – she advocates a new perception of the history of the Netherlands in terms of slavery: *"In a society consisting of many different cultures, it is important to know each other's history and we should openly discuss it."* (Bolwijn, 2017). She states that the problem is not so much the blame of historic Netherlands that should be addressed, but that more attention is needed towards how slavery has shaped our image of black and white and the black identity. Asante: *"It will help us to understand each other, resulting in being more aware of racism"*. This statement is widely supported throughout the Netherlands by many anti-racism organisations, social scientist and political parties such as DENK and Artikel 1.

8.3 THE COLLECTIVE

As mentioned before, there was no motion of an anti-racism social movement in The Netherlands prior to this research. There are, however, multiple organisations that address racism and discrimination in Dutch society. To determine how Dutch Anti-Racism activism is organized and whether this is part of a transnational social movement with The American Black Lives Matter Social Movement, the results and views of the respondents will be analysed based on social movement theory discussed in Chapter Four. This analysis in the chapter will eventually give answer to the question: What constitutes the Dutch Anti-racism organisation based on social movement theory? This conclusion will form the data that is used to compare the Dutch activism with the ABLMSM based on transnational social movement theory.

The events mentioned above have caused several individuals to join together in action against racism in The Netherlands. Because these events are the main events regarding racism in The Netherlands and not particularly linked to the events that sparked one specific movement in The Netherlands - that would have caused the Afro-Dutch community into united activism - the establishment of several organisations will generally be discussed by individual members of organisations as different parts forming 'the collective'. Discussing their source of inspiration, sense of collective identity and their collective actions. The aim is to create one general conclusion per category representing 'The Dutch' activism in general and eventually combining these three categories representing The Dutch Anti-Racism Network.

Collective interests

As discussed above, following the theory stated in Chapter four, events in society inspire people to come to action. The events in society discussed in this chapter – black face, ethnic profiling and the education system – have inspired activists in the Netherlands to come to action as well. The subject of inspiration in the interviews showed that the respondents have had encounters with discrimination and racism at young a young age. These led them to question why they were different:

“I came across discrimination quite early in my life. That could be at school, work or whilst going out in the evening. I was asking myself questions all the time, why do I look so different? I was one of the few non-white people in my city. It was constantly on my mind, but when I was a teenager, I didn’t have the means to do something with it (Smith, 2017).”

Mitchell Esajas had a similar experience in school:

“In secondary school, most of the time I was the only black boy in class. While I was attending the highest education level, I saw more black people in lower levels so I asked myself: Am I the only black boy on this level because I am really smart or is something else going on?”

During college opportunities opened up to deepen into the subject of racism and discrimination in The Netherlands. The encounters young people have with discrimination inspired them to come to action to help the young Afro-Dutch community to overcome these situations and to offer them space to talk about the issues they face. This is considered very important within the Afro-Dutch community, because the respondents never had these opportunities.

“During university college I came across the same problem. There were just a few people with a migrant background and we came together quite fast. There was the need to start something that discussed the subjects and situations we encountered and I thought we should profile as positive role models to the younger people that are struggling (Esajas).”

This is where Esajas and Smith met: *“So while studying in Amsterdam for six years, I joined several social organisations focussing on addressing the questions I struggled with while I was young. One of them was a small organisation founded by, among others, M. Esajas.”* Smith explains why he felt chosen to address the situation:

“I have always had a feeling of ‘responsibility’ towards me and society as a whole, that something needed to be done about discrimination. I can look around and ask ‘who is going to take that role?’ but I thought, we have to participate as well. Maybe I can do even more for other people, because I know the impact racism and discrimination can have on an individual, it can be everyday life for them. I have been in their shoes and that is why I want to change it.”

The main focus of activism is to address the educational and economic inequality in The Netherlands and the relation between both issues. Talking to the members of Dutch activism against racism in society, they all discuss the topic of systematic discrimination in the work field. As Smith describes:

“Another example of this structural discrimination is, I went to a black and white mixed school while I was in college and once we graduated, I never saw the black people from my school again in business. And I thought to myself: how is this possible? We all went to the same school and we acquired the same skills, knowledge and diploma. Still I only see the white people.”

This structural discrimination motivated Esajas to become an activist. As he states, he is driven by the urge for justice and creating equal opportunities and possibilities for everybody, so that they can get the best out of themselves. He is really triggered by the inequality at Dutch schools, as he explains:

“Over the last few years, I have learned more about certain issues such as inequality in education and have gained more insight into how society works. Recently, there was a publication of the Education Inspectorate, which stated that even with a high level of intelligence, young people with parents that are lower educated are less likely to reach higher education. There is still inequality in education based on the nest you were born in, and your cultural background also plays a role, which is something that bothers me. I think that all people should have the opportunity to get the most out of themselves.”

Another activist campaigning against racism in The Netherlands is Eduard Mangal. He also thinks the main problems in society are the structural discrimination embedded in the labour market and the Dutch education system. He didn't become active in anti-racism at young age like Esajas and Smith, but became active once the blackface discussion sparked again:

“I became active when I noticed that some people were talking about the people that were campaigning against blackface, in a very bad way. I had been thinking about becoming political active ever since the death of Pim Fortuyn, because I feel like the Dutch society has taken a turn for the worse since he died. Society nowadays is very disturbing to me. There is so much structural discrimination embedded in the work field and I feel like I should contribute to improve it. In the hope that my children will not have to struggle like we do.”

The collective interests in Dutch Anti-Racism activism is mostly focused on addressing and countering systematic discrimination in Dutch society and equality in education levels and opportunities.

Collective objectives

So talking about everything that is wrong in Dutch society, what are the collective objectives of anti-racism activists in The Netherlands? The answers the respondents gave were 'we all want the same': equality and justice. But they all explained it in different ways:

“My main goal is to achieve solidarity in society, a society that is free of discrimination. We should, in fact, replace racism with justice (Smith, 2017).” As he continues: *“The ideal and just society in my opinion is one in which the people that need help the most, actually get it. And people will no longer be disadvantaged based on their skin colour. I don't think that that is something you can measure, but I think we will know once we have reached the point of a just society. For example, once black children will get the same advice as a white child they will no longer be underestimated because of their skin colour.”*

Mangal is also focussed on achieving equality, even though he thinks that will never be reached: *“My main goal is to reach equality or actually equivalence. I don't think equality will ever be reached, but equivalence I do see as a possibility. There should be more attention paid to intersectionality. Most people just look at one subject or one issue to discuss, but the most important thing to discuss is actually the point where multiple issues or subjects overlap. Looking at these intersections, you'll notice that it is the same mechanism going on, the mechanism of structural discrimination which gives people of colour a backlog towards white people.”*

So both respondents are aiming for equality, but define this in different ways. For Smith equality is a fair division of help and support purely based on needs instead of privileges. According to Mangal, equality can never be reached, so we should instead focus on creating equivalence. The difference between both concepts is that with equality everybody gets the same amount of help, means, access to facilities and services, while equivalence focuses on giving everybody what they need in order to create one equal end amount. This means that everybody will get what is needed to come to the same amount. The two things that stand out from the statement that 'we all want the same', is that according to Smith equality is not measurable, while Mangal claims that it is. Besides that, Mangal gives special attention to the concept of intersectionality, what Smith, later on in this chapter, will dismiss. So does everybody want the same?

Collective identity

Talking about the Dutch society and structural discrimination they fight against, they all seem part of the same collective working for a change in Dutch society. But prior to the research, there was no notion of any form of community or main national movement as such, just a few small organisations. What does the Dutch Anti-racism movement and its community consist of? According to the respondents, there is a small but tight Afro-Dutch community:

"There definitely is a black community in the Netherlands. It is relatively small, but I can speak of a community. We (DENK) created a platform to reach the black community in The Netherlands, especially focussing on the African Diaspora. I would say, The Afro-Dutch community consists of black people with different backgrounds, mostly Africans and Surinamers (Smith, 2017)."

To get a more specific idea of the size of these different Dutch organisations active against discrimination and racism, Esajas talks about his New Urban Collective: *"We keep growing and we have more and more influence in politics and universities. Our most successful project is our 'mentor project'. We have coached about 250 children over the past five years and there are over 1000 students coming to our events nowadays."*

Another insightful way to get a grip on the size of the community in The Netherlands is the amount of single discrimination reports (, gathered by the police, anti-discrimination bureaus, College for human rights and MIND (Reports online discrimination). These numbers were respectively: 5904, 4761, 1459 and 463 (AD, 2017, np). So roughly around 12.000 reports in one year over a population of roughly 17.1 million people. This amount of reports does not cover even one percent of the Dutch society. It is a personal matter to decide whether this percentage reflects structural racism in society. Besides that, the question is whether these people only filed a complaint at one or multiple institutions and which percentage of these complaints were linked to racism. More information about these complaints will be discussed in paragraph 8.5 provided by The College of Human Rights.

The people campaigning for these people that are victims of racism, the respondents talk about an Anti-Racism Movement in The Netherlands: *"Talking about anti-racism activism in The Netherlands, I would 100% say there is a network. It is quite small and new, but it has grown and still is growing since the eruption of the Anti-Blackface demonstrations in public. It caused some kind of 'shift' in the Netherlands, creating a platform that allowed people to openly and more often discuss these kinds of things (Smith, 2017)."* He continues:

"I would say, I know different individuals that are active in anti-racism organisation and they somehow have become the 'key figures' in anti-racism activism in The Netherlands. So there is a well-known

individual and he/she has a small circle of supporters around him/her, for example Esajas. And these circles are growing. And I say that because when I go to an event, I see the same faces, but there are always some new faces as well. So I would say it consists of key figures with a supporters 'layer' around it. But it is still quite small. So even though this Dutch Anti-Racism movement consist of different key figures and their own circles of organisations, but I think we can call it a movement, because we all strive towards the same goals and the same changes."

So there is one movement of anti-racism and anti-discrimination organisations in The Netherlands, but there is not one strong collective. Eduard Mangal explains the lack of unity among the different organisation within the movement:

"First of all, I would say there is a worldwide movement and we should try to keep up with that. So bringing the women behind the Black Lives Matter Movement from America to The Netherlands was a good step towards that. I personally keep in close touch with the groups in Germany, France and Great Brittan for example, to see what is going on there, because we have to become a strong unity. In The Netherlands we are still too much spread out in small different organisations working on their own thing. When I go to events I will see the same persons, but I think the main switch we need is that we all (all the organisations and activists) have to be perceived as 'anti-racist' instead of a member of a group against racism. We need to become more connected."

In conclusion, the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement is, according to all the respondents, 'a small but tight Afro-Dutch community'. This movement is still growing, with new members that are sparked by the Black Face discussion that becomes more public every year. Even though these respondents are all part of a different organisations, they do speak of an anti-racism network in The Netherlands. This network consists of multiple 'key-figures' with their own support system, but collaboration and strong mutual connections between these separate organisations in The Netherlands is lacking. This could be one of the main reasons why activism in The Netherlands is barely involved with international activism in Europe, even though international involvement is a must. While the Dutch movement consists of separate organisations involved with anti-racism, other countries such as Germany and Great-Brittan have their own 'Black Lives Matter Movement' linked to the one in the US.

8.4 COLLECTIVE ACTION AND STRATEGY

The lack of unity between the different anti-racism action groups and organisations in The Netherlands discussed above leads to separate actions as well. It seems that the everybody encounters different subjects of racism, from focussing on the diaspora to the inclusivity of the black community in the Dutch Labour market. To get insight of the different actions taken by the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement to improve Dutch society, below there are three profile descriptions of Esajas, Smith and Mangal. There are three main activities that are being discussed.

1. Addressing social responsibility

Mangal is a member of the political party DENK and is trying to become electable for the Amsterdam City Council. Besides that, he is campaigning for more inclusivity and diversity in the Dutch labour market. Even though he is working at the time, he states that he keeps his activism separated from his function within DENK:

"I do two things, but in essence they are separated. I do look for connection between both, because obviously they are both based on equity and decreasing the backlog of people of colour".

Mangal is mostly looking for a way to address the structural discrimination in society. According to him, the power of change is not in individuals but with groups in society with 'social responsibility':

"In my opinion, large companies are the ones that keep the system of structural discrimination in place. So I contact them and ask all kinds of questions, such as: What does your workforce consist of? Are there possibilities for workers to complain or address discrimination? How many black people are incorporated at the higher manager functions? Etc".

By doing this, Mangal tries to force them to look in the mirror and to open up a dialog to address the social responsibility of large companies (but also hospitals for example) in society. These organisations should be a general reflexion of the Dutch society and are according to Mangal 'social role models'. Addressing social responsibilities does not always work out well, which he blames on 'white supremacy' – the people that are not open to the explanation of Mangal as he concludes in one sentences: *"Who are you to tell me what to do?"* - but if a company invites him over to discuss the matter he feels like he already has accomplished something.

Even though he tries to address the matter in a friendly and open way, he often has to come to the 'naming and shaming' game. Once there is an discrimination issue that has become public, Mangal dives into it:

"If for example there is news item on Facebook about a girl that has been fired or denied because of her race or skin colour I contact the company and always ask for their story first and nine out of ten times their statement is that it was never on purpose. Naming and shaming often happens when I see people discriminating online and then ask their companies: what kind of workforce or work culture do you have that this person fits in? Once I make it public they eventually come to action".

As Mangal tries to explain, his focus is on the role model that governmental or well-known companies have in society, such as hospitals or major international clothing brands and stores. These companies are important in contemporary society and should therefore be a representation of the people of Dutch society, so everybody can identify with the company. This does not happen enough in The Netherlands according to Mangal, so he tries to confront these big companies by discussing the unjust representation of Dutch society in their composition of their workforce.

2. Empowering the community and diaspora

Smith became active at young age during his college years as a student. He worked together with Esajas in coaching young black people in dealing with questions related to and experiences they had with discrimination and racism. Nowadays he is also a member of DENK en runs an organisation that empowers the diaspora in claiming their rights. He also separates his societal actions from his work at DENK: *"I am currently involved in two projects: BOKS and the development of a lobby organ within the United Nations that tries to empower the African diaspora".*

The first organisation BOKS (short for Working Our Power Together) is a platform set up by DENK. During their campaigning for the elections, in which Smith was involved, he noticed that their message was not being received correctly by the Afro-Dutch community in The Netherlands. He explains:

“We want to motivate the Afro-Dutch community to become active in society and politically involved, so that they know that we (as DENK) exist for them. So we try to communicate our political message through activities that we organize for the Afro-Dutch community and we also support small groups or organisation in setting up their own activities and events. To create a feeling of familiarity among the community in the hope that they will understand what we stand for and that it is – in my opinion – in their belongings as well. The idea is that people get in touch with BOKS.. We are the societal doorstep to political involvement.”

The other project Smith is involved in is the development of a lobby organ to empower the African Diaspora. This project is a part of the United Nations and will be active till at least 2024. This organ is an independent organisation that focuses on the empowerment of organisations that want to organise projects for the African diaspora:

“The main goal is to raise more attention for the African Diaspora. There are multiple organisations right now addressing the issues that the African Diaspora faces to the United Nations but it is not done effectively. We want to contribute to raising awareness by empowering these organisations so that they can develop. Once they (the organisations) have a proposal or project plan, they come to us and we help them by putting everything on paper and supporting them with the execution of the plan.”

The New Urban Collective

One of the more well-known organisations in The Netherlands is Esajas' New Urban Collective (NUC). Their ambition is to empower young people with different ethnical backgrounds. By personal development, NUC tries to improve their position in Dutch Society. The power of the organisation lies within in the multicultural background of the young professionals running the organisation: *“young people can be who they are. There will always be somebody with a similar ethnical background, due to the multiculturalist character of NUC.”*

Their four main objectives are:

- Improving the education level of young people in the south eastern region of Amsterdam
- Connecting young people and students with mixed ethnical backgrounds to important or relevant institutions and the government
- Strengthening the social network of young people with mixed cultural backgrounds
- Decreasing the unemployment among young people with migration backgrounds

To reach these ambitions, the professionals try to only focus on positive 'vibes' by *“turning negativity into something positive. Strictly positivity is our motto”*. The aim of NUC is to teach the young population something new every day, by challenge them every day. This will result in self-awareness and stimulates self-development. *Improve every day!*

Comparing the three different forms of activism, one could state that there is clearly no unity among the different organisations within the Dutch Anti-Racism movement. One focusses on addressing societal responsibility that major companies in The Netherlands have, the other ones focus on empowering the young Afro-Dutch community through education or creating a platform to connect Afro-Dutch families. This means that all three respondents have different strategies and will therefore focus on different objectives. Looking at the Anti-Racism Movement in The Netherlands, one can understand that this

movement is not a unity, as for this 'movement' addresses too many different target audiences and has not one clear strategy even though they all have the same objectives.

8.5 MOBILIZATION AND LEGITIMACY

Due to the lack of unity among the different anti-racism organisations in The Netherlands and the small Afro-Dutch community, mobilization and legitimacy are tough subjects. Smith, Esajas and Mangal all agree on the gap between online activism and public actions, but give different explanations for the lack of massive public mobilization and the way it is linked to the (non-) legitimacy of the anti-racism movement in The Netherlands according to society.

As discussed above, the main problem the anti-racism movement in The Netherlands faces is the lack of unity, explained by Mangal. Smith notices the same lack of unity among the (Afro-Dutch) society:

"We, Dutch people, tend to be very individual and closed. We live in our own social bubbles and the only mixed interaction we have is on social media. Therefore the activism in The Netherlands consists, unfortunately, mainly of social media messages. And don't get me wrong, I think social media is very powerful and should be used to its full potential, but it seems to be the tendency in The Netherlands to be active online, but not to participate in public action if/when necessary"

He continues his statement with a recent example:

"For example mass demonstrations. If we want to organise a massive gettogether, most people will stay home hiding behind their social media accounts" "It really bothers me. I can propose a blackface demonstration in Amsterdam at the Dam and online 7500 people will report to be present, there will eventually be only 50 people or so. That needs to improve in The Netherlands." I mean, It is great to be active online and to be known on social media, but that will not be enough to change the situation. We have to be there physically, people have to see us, all of us."

So why are people so active online but do not take the step to get out and get to the streets?

"I think some people are protecting themselves, with shielded profile pictures etc and I can understand that, but we should not be afraid to speech. People are afraid of the consequences, and you should think about the consequences of course, but why are you afraid of what you stand for? Show who you really are, you are not alone. Nobody will ever say: 'oh you are against racism, well that is wrong!' Because we all know that racism is wrong."

This statement about being afraid to show yourself is supported by Mangal. He points at the way anti-racism activists are being perceived in society linking it to the legitimacy:

"As I said before, I am greatly inspired by America. I think we can learn a lot from them because they have come a long way already. I think the problem in the Netherlands is that the anti-racism movement is being perceived as a bunch of people that complain about issues most white people will never encounter nor notice. That wears them down and slows down the mobilization. But we should, like in America, be perceived as a civil rights movement."

This low willingness to go out on the streets is imbedded in our culture according to Mangal:

"We are not willing to go out and unite in massive protests because it is part of our Dutch culture to not protest. I think we are more about listening to authorities, maybe a bit too much. Online we are active and loud, but we are not going to unite on the streets, because we are all (also the black generations that grew up here) living the Dutch way of life."

Esajas also stresses the importance of public action. He shares: *"When I write something, for example a public message I always end with a 'call-to-action'. People should become inspired to take actions, even if it is something small. Try to change something negative in your surroundings into something positive and if thousand people do this, it will eventually have a big impact."*

The legitimacy of anti-racism activism in seems to be a tough subject regarding The Netherlands. The Black Face Dialog is a major example of this struggle. What is causing the resistance towards anti-racism activism in Dutch society?

Mangal and Smith address the difference in the visibility and experience of discrimination and racism in The Netherlands compared to the United States of America, as Smith explains:

"In my opinion, as a member of the Afro-Dutch community, racism is imbedded in Dutch society in every aspect but the 'other' people do not notice it. And it needs to change completely in order to reach a just society. But I know, a major section of the Dutch society does not agree with us, on the existence of racism and discrimination in society."

Mangal continues:

"People are always talking about the 'Dutch culture' but it should be the 'western culture'. The US have such a major influence on Europe and therefore The Netherlands. The way racism is embedded in The States is similar to the way it is in The Netherlands, but it is more hidden over here. I think in the United States racism is more public. And now we are talking about legitimacy, I think society perceives it as a small inconvenience. But for us it is daily life. For example Black Face, it looks like this discussion is something new from over the past few years, but that is not true. It is because generations nowadays dare to say more and dare to take stand in their rights are. And it is the same with structural discrimination, I believe white people do not see our struggle, we black people do."

So why are people so involved with what happens in The United States and do not pay attention to what happens in their own society? Mangal blames it on the difference in the scope and the amount of deadly victims of police force between in the US and The Netherlands:

"It is just, I think in The Netherlands the discrimination and issues surrounding it are just not horrible enough. Mitch Henriquez stirred it up a little bit. People went out in the streets, but it was just for two days. But so many things are taken for granted in The Netherlands, in their culture. For example a black kid that goes to school and celebrates Sinterklaas with Black Face. For them that is not a safe situation. That is the white culture though, white people do not think about what it is like to be black, so they do not encounter our problems and do not feel the need for action or change."

Talking about Sinterklaas and Black Face, the subject of legitimacy turns around as Mangal addresses the legitimacy of 'white power'. He states: If action against Black Face are perceived as non-legitimate by the white population, then why should we, the black people, perceive 'white tradition and culture' as legitimate?

He explains: *"In my opinion 'white innocence' is no longer innocence when people know and are aware of the pain and offence it causes for and towards Black people. If they continue with broadcasting the 'sinterklaas journal' every night like the public (!) network does every year, it is almost indoctrination. It can no longer be the excuse of an innocent tradition, people know it offends a part of society but they still choose to celebrate it."*

To overcome this issue with legitimacy and the opinion of the Dutch society regarding anti-racism activism, it seems that activists turn to political means to become more powerful. That is why Mangal and Smith joined the political party DENK. I think that this is also from a difference in perspective compared to the US, with the belief that in The Netherlands politicians are more powerful than society is. So the only logical move is to become a political party and obtain a certain level of legitimacy.

8.6 THE DUTCH ANTI-RACISM MOVEMENT

In conclusion of this chapter the second research question can be answered: *What does the Dutch Anti-racism movement consist of?*

Prior to the research, it was clear that there is no 'one official movement' in the Netherlands regarding anti-racism such as the discussed American Black Lives Matter Social Movement. Based on the paragraphs above however, members of the Afro-Dutch community that are involved in anti-racism activism in The Netherlands state and feel the existence of a growing general movement in The Netherlands: The Dutch Anti-Racism Movement.

Based on social movement theory explained in Chapter 4, however, the Dutch Anti-Racism organisation does not form one 'official' theoretically constituted *social* movement. This is due to the mobilization of the organisation, that lacks: legitimacy, a collective strategy and unity. In order to avoid confusion, the term to describe the Dutch Anti-Racism organisation will be: the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement. Note that there is no 'social' included, because it does not correspond with the theory, like the ABLMSM does. The members of anti-racism activism in The Netherlands do feel as if they are part of a certain movement though. That is why the term 'organisation' has been replaced by 'movement'.

In conclusion, this movement consists of several different (smaller) organisations that all attempt to address the structural discrimination in society that is perceived by the Afro-Dutch community. Although it consists of different organisations, the activists involved state the movement revolves around a few well-known 'key figures'. Around these key figures several support groups move to facilitate their activism, but are unfortunately (according to members of the activism movement) these different groups are not working together enough. The Afro-Dutch community is quite small in The Netherlands, but actions are taken to bring the community closer together.

The main obstacles that the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement faces are creating the feeling of unity, the mobilization of members and legitimacy of the movement. This is caused by the low willingness to get out on the streets to publicly protest. Online the activism is strong and large but it is tough to mobilize people to get out in public. This is according to the respondents a result of Dutch society's perception of the need for anti-racism activism in The Netherlands in general. Their perception (and therefore the legitimacy) is low due to the invisible structural discrimination in society, which they never to rarely experience being the with population. Another big obstacle in Dutch society is the Black Face discussion. His remaining existence is offensive to the Afro-Dutch community, while it is a long standing children's fest in Dutch culture. This causes the interests of the anti-racism to clash with Dutch traditions.

9. THE CONNECTION

Both the profiles of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism movement have been analysed and deepen-out. In order to define the connection between the both movements, a comparison with special focus on the objectives and actions of both movements, has to be made. This will be done on the base of the information gathered above. This chapter will focus on the connection between the both movements and countries and will discuss the way the Dutch anti-racism activists view the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the similarities and differences between the objectives and actions of both movements.

9.2 THE PERCEPTION OF THE AMERICAN BLACK LIVES MATTER SOCIAL MOVEMENT

In order to define the connection between The Dutch-Anti Racism Movement and The American Black Lives Matter Social Movement it is not only important to compare the objectives and action of the both movements, but also the perception of Dutch Members of anti-racism activism organisation. What do they think of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and their society?

Smith has a strong opinion of the American Movement. He gets inspired by the movement, but has his doubts about their approach:

“Purely personal speaking, The Black Lives Matter Movement inspires me, to a certain extent. I have been to a seminar in Rotterdam organised by the Black Lives Matter Movement, but I didn’t agree with everything they said. So that is when I started to have my doubts about the movement as an ‘example’ for The Netherlands. But yes it still inspires me. They have come a long way in The US and I hope one day we will reach that point as well.”

Even though he gets inspired by the power and the large size of the movement, he does not see it as his ‘leading example’:

The Afro-American have such a turbulent history, regarding the slavery and apartheid. But when I look at their speakers and their faces, I cannot identify with them. I am not sure yet why. I read their books and watch their lectures online but it is not the movement that wows me. I mean for example the Black Panthers¹⁴, to me, they were great. I think I tend to familiarize more with individualist movements such as Martin Luther king than collective movements in general.

Talking about the movement, he discussed his own activism with the actions of the movement. It became clear that, according to Smith, intersectionality is not an issue that should be addressed:

“Comparing the activism of the Black Lives Matter Movement to what we are doing in The Netherlands, I do see similarities. I mean, I do see that we are all working towards the same goal, but I think in The States there are millions of Afro-Americans and in The Netherlands it is such a small community, their capacity is much greater. But I think the main difference is that, The LGBTQ section is quite large within the Black Lives Matter Movement and I do agree that they have struggles as well, but we can not combine those

¹⁴ See chapter 7.1 historical context of the Black Lives Matter Movement

two. We should focus on racism in general, instead of all different groups within the community that have to deal with racism in a specific way”.

The capacity of the American movement has been discussed before and compared to the Dutch Afro-community as well. The size of the American movement triggers both activist, as Mangal explains:

“The Black Lives Matter Movement inspires me on the subject of their approach. They are more massive and united. In The Netherlands we consist of groups that sometimes work together. And as we already discussed, in The Netherlands people do not want to go out on the streets and protest.”

Even though Mangal and Smith are bothered by the lack of willingness to go out and protest in public, they do understand why people in America are more focussed on taking action. As Mangal states: *“I think in The United States you legitimately fear for your life once you get arrested, so these people are more motivated. Luckily that is not the case in The Netherlands (yet).”* Maybe something really bad needs to happen in order to come to massive public action in The Netherlands.

It seems that both activists are inspired by the American movement regarding the goals they strive to achieve, but that is it. Even though they both opt for a more publicly active afro-community in the Netherlands, they both will not follow the path of the American movement, as Mangal tops off with stating that their approaches do not match:

“Comparing the Black Lives Matter Movement with what I am doing I would say, my goals do have similarities with the ones the Black Lives Matter Movement has, but tactics are not the same at all. They try to convince the mass while I try to involve business in the discrimination discussion. Society’s structure needs to change in order to shift the state of mind of the mass.

Deepening into the strategy and actions taken by the Black Lives Matter Movement to change this state of mind of the white power population in The United States, Mangal is supported by Smith. He explains the major difference between the both countries:

“The thing that strikes me the most is their approach towards the white population in America. For example the staged die-ins. What do you want to achieve with those actions? You re-enact it and people see what happens, but they already know what happens and what is going on. They know about the police brutality towards the Afro-American community. In my opinion, we should enforce respect and equity. People need to feel it personally. For instance, a few weeks ago RTL Boulevard¹⁵ discussed the death of Mitch Henriquez and the Dutch police’s share in his death. I was watching the show and they were discussing ethnic profiling among the Dutch police force and its existence was denied. So I thought, we need to come to action right now. We should not just stay comfortable and write a letter about it to RTL boulevard, but we need to boycott them. RTL Boulevard needs to feel the consequences of discussing these matters. We have to target them in such way that they have no other option than to apologize to us. Because if we boycott them massively, they will notice the result financially. That is what I mean with actually ‘feeling it’. And comparing this to the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement, they are the more ‘see and believe’ type of organisation. Too much ‘Hands up, don’t shoot’.

This well-known slogan of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement is, according to Smith, actually a sign of weakness:

¹⁵ Dutch tv program on showbusiness news connected to issues in Dutch society.

“In my opinion, ‘Hands up, don’t shoot’ is a sign of weakness. It is literally surrendering yourself. But the police does not care, because they will shoot you anyway, clearly. So ‘Hands up, don’t shoot’ being one of their main slogans, does not work. We need to develop something to protect ourselves from that kind of violence. We should focus on how we are going to protect our children and grandchildren, instead of questioning the dominant groups violence towards us. We need to be able to help ourselves instead of trying to regain protection from the group that attacks us.”

Concluding, one could state that the focus of the Afro-community in The Netherlands is on the means and strength of the community itself, instead of pointing at the powerful mass in society. They have to empower themselves, facilitated by organisations that are part of the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement. The main focus is on equalizing themselves instead of lowering the dominant group’s power. As mentioned above, according to the Dutch anti-racism activists, America is trying to enforce equality by doing the latter. And that will not be successful as long as there are no means to claim respect en equality in society.

9.3 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN OBJECTIVES AND ACTIONS OF BOTH MOVEMENTS

As defined in chapter 4 – Main concepts, a connection between two social movements can be defined as ‘transnational’ if the objectives and actions taken by both movements are similar. In chapter 7 the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement has been analysed and set out. In chapter 8, the same has been done to the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement. The information gathered in both chapters regarding the objectives and actions taken by both movement will be compared in this chapter, which will be the base of the comparison in order to define the connection between both movements.

Collective Objectives

The interests of the collective actors lay, as defined by many different social and political scientists (Gamson 1975, Tilly 1978, McAdam 1982) in *“gaining access to the stable structure of political bargaining”*. As discussed in chapter four, in existing literature and theorie about social movements and collective interests among collective actors within a social movement, there are two main views. *The new social movement theorists view* is the central view in this research: participants in social movements are seeking recognition for their identities and lifestyles (Polletta & Jasper, 2001, p.297). They are not seeking for economic or political (power) gain, but are focussing on *‘social and legal inclusion’*. All actors involved may be seeking for this recognition for different reasons, but with the same goals.

The American Black Lives Matter Social Movement is focussing on social and legal inclusion, with their main statement being: *“campaigning against violence and perceived systematic racism/discrimination towards black people, focussing on police killings and racial inequality in America’s criminal justice system”*. It challenges racism and discrimination based on the black identity in the United States Of America, which can be categorized as seeking social and legal inclusion within society, instead of seeking for economic and political (power) gain. The focus is on gaining equal rights and treatment, instead of their economic position and gaining financial means. These objectives are set out in 13 principles by the

movement¹⁶ and can be reduced to a few main concepts: Globalism and diversity, empathy and community, LGBTQ-affirming and justice.

The Dutch anti-racism activist do not have a list of objectives, but have values that, according to them, should be more embedded in Dutch society. These values all come down to equality, equity and justice. The values of members of Dutch anti-racism organisations – discussed in chapter 8.3 – can all be linked to the following principles on the list of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement as shown in the table below:

<i>American Black lives Matter Social Movement - Principles</i>	<i>Dutch Anti-Racism Movement – Objectives and Goals</i>
Diversity	Striving towards more diverse labour markets and schools and equality
Globalism	Connecting the Afro-Dutch Community in The Netherlands to the global Black community and more awareness for the role The Netherlands plaid in the history of the Black population by engaging in slavery
Unapologetically Black	All black lives should matter
Restorative Justice	Creating a just and equal society
Black families	Empowering the Afro-Dutch Community and connecting families to bond together
intergenerational	More attention towards intersectionality to recognize and tackle the structural mechanism of discrimination

Table 2. Objectives and goals of both movements

Collective Action

A movement's collective actions generally consist of a mix of aspects covered in different strategies, as discussed in chapter 4 Main Concepts. These strategies are based on the movement's and how to achieve them. These actions can range from direct public action, to social media to political involvement.

The American Black Lives Matter Social Movement has grown from three initial activist to a massive international known movement. As discussed in chapter 7.3, the movement is organised in different chapters and executes on local level. This action on local level and lose structure give people the opportunity to join the movement easily. The American Black Lives Matter Social Movement has one specific strategy: *“Creating an online overspill into the offline world, making people so uncomfortable they will have to deal with the problems (BLMM, 2017)”*. To generate this ‘overspill into the offline world’, the movements has four sets of tactics: social media, direct actions, political action and media.

¹⁶ See Chapter 7.3 The collective

The actions taken by the Dutch Anti-Racism activists are due to the lack of unity among the different anti-racism action groups and organisations in The Netherlands not collectively executed. As a result, everybody encounters different subjects of racism, from focussing on empowering the community and the diaspora to the addressing the social responsibility and inclusivity of the black community in the Dutch Labour market.

Comparing the actions taken by the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and The Dutch Anti-Racism movement on the base of four tactics shows some clear differences in strategy, displayed in the table below.

<i>Tactic</i>	<i>Actions taken by American Black Lives Matter Social Movement</i>	<i>Actions taken by The Dutch Anti-Racism Movement</i>
Social media	Twitter and Facebook #Blacklivesmatter	Facebook and online platform BOKS
Direct action	Mostly mass actions: Staged die-ins, mass protests, roadblocks, silent protests	None to barely no mass protests – small protests or unrest on the streets. Individual action in the form of education groups and contacting the big companies in The Netherlands
Political action	Political slogans and lobbying, protests during election campaigns.	Politically loaded social media messages, political involvement by political parties such as Artikel 1 and DENK dedicated to the Afro-Dutch Community.
Media	Music, documentaries, tv series, community news papers	Public discussions on television, deepening and opinion pieces, low level songs and literature

Table 3. Tactics and actions of both movements

The four tactics discussed in the table above show that the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement mainly focusses its action on social media, mass actions, lobbying and entertainment sections. The Dutch Anti-Racism Movement tends to focus more on creating platforms for dialogue instead of the mass actions in the US. The Black Lives Matter Movement attends an offensive and loud strategy in order to create awareness and express their opinion. The Dutch Anti-Racism Movement attends a somewhat more 'quite' strategy that focusses on creating platforms in the media (television, Facebook, blogs etc) in the background for members of the Afro-Dutch community to come together as well as a method of expressing opinions in public discussions on television and in-depth analysis in newspapers. This shows that while the US is massive, the Dutch actions are more controlled and suitable for the Dutch society and way we deal with societal problems in general. This difference in cultural matters will be elaborated in 'Chapter 11 Discussion'.

10. CONCLUSION

Taking everything discussed above in consideration, the research question of this research can be answered. As discussed in chapter four, a transnational connection consists of two the components: mutually inspired objectives and actions. If these components of the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement are similar to the components of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement, the connection can be defined as transnational.

Based on the analysis of the profiles of both movements in chapter 7 and 8, the similarities and differences between both movements in chapter 9 and the perception of the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement by Dutch Anti-Racism Movement members, the final and central question can be answered:

“To what extent can the connection between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement be defined as a transnational social movement?”

The answer to this questions consists of two parts: a comparison of the objectives and actions of both movements in search of mutually inspiration and encouragement.

Mutually inspired objectives

Based on the research results, the objectives of both movements seem to be similar. They are both striving for a divers and just society, equality in society and the empowerment of the Afro-communities. This similarity in objectives can be dedicated to the international character of discrimination and racism, being a problem that occurs worldwide due to the spreading pattern of the afro-community around the world. Thus apart from specific events in society, no more racism and discrimination are the final goals.

Mutually inspired actions

In contrast to the objectives, the actions taken by and the tactics of both movements are not similar. This has two main reasons. The first reason is linked to the actual actions taken by both movements. The American Black Lives Matter Social Movement is both online and offline very active. The popular hashtag #BlackLivesMatters parks the online community and resulted in the organisation of mass street protests in all forms. The Dutch Anti-Racism Movement is also active online, but fails to unite and call people onto the streets to protest in the ‘real life’. This is due to lack of urgency and the need for self-protection.

The second reason for the differences in actions between both movements is a difference in perspectives. According to members of the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement, the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement is focussing too much on lowering the position of the white community in The US, while the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement aims to empower the Dutch Afro-Community. The differences between both Movements can be simplified to enforcing justice by the American Afro-Community versus claiming justice by the Dutch Afro-Community.

Coming back to the hypothesis this research is based on - *the connection between the American Black Lives Matter Social Movement and the Dutch Anti-Racism Movement is a transnational connection based on mutually inspired objectives and actions* – one can conclude that this hypothesis is dismissed.

11.DISCUSSION AND REFLECTION

The last chapter of this thesis will reflect on and discuss the research that is done. It will reflect on the choices made prior and during the research. The reflection consist of three parts: literature research, research method and research results,

Reflection on literature research

The theory on social movements was very useful in this research. The background in what makes a movement a social movement and their constructions were most useful to create the two movement profiles and a base for a comparison. One point of critique may be that the theoretical framework is more a conceptual background rather than a theory that states guidelines to form an interview guide and measurable concepts, but it is a good research base. Defining the main concepts was somewhat problematic as well, because most concepts are subjective. This means that interpretation could lead to personal differences in definition and therefore could question the validity of the research, because based on personal perspectives results may vary. The literature research was broad, but can always be more elaborate in my opinion, for example on the culture differences between the US and The Netherlands. Both the movements are based on cultural aspects which results in different strategies, tactics and actions.

Reflection on research methods

The research methods used in this thesis are mostly literature research, media analysis and qualitative in-depth interviews. It was hard to reach the respondents, due to the lack of unity among the different anti-racism organisations in The Netherlands and the taboo that is on racism and discrimination in The Netherlands as well. I noticed a lot of suspicion, mostly due to the fact that I am a white person and white people usually do not bother to involve with members of the Afro-Dutch community that advocates against anti-racism. So I had to carefully explain my research and be as objective as possible. This scenario was not what I, prior to the research, was expecting so I took much longer to find willing respondents. If I had more time, I would also have done some focus group sessions with members of the Afro-Dutch society and (governmental) institutions to discuss racism and activism in the Dutch society in general. I would also have liked to get in touch with members of the Black Lives Matter Social Movement in the US to discuss perspective on them being a transnational social movement.

Reflection on research results

Even though this research could have been more elaborate regarding respondents and perspectives, the result is quite significant. It dismisses the hypothesis, which shows that the results were not in line with my expectations prior to the research. I think this is a good and interesting factor, because it shows that thing are not always what it seems or the way they are displayed and my research contributes to the division between the movements in The US and The Netherlands. I also believe that this research could be a start for further research because it forms the base in differences between the movements and it offers a basic movement profile for further in-depth research.

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