

Bridging the gap:

Unravelling the identity-to-politics link



“Be yourself; everyone else is already taken”

Oscar wilde

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Preface:

The paper before you is the result of the work put in, to meet the graduation requirements of the master Public administration at the Erasmus university Rotterdam. I chose a subject that lies close to my heart, but was definitely not the easy route. I have been challenged and my patience has been tested but the feeling of finishing comes with great reward. I want to thank my supervisor Dr. I.F. van Meerkerk for being so patient and I would like to thank all the people that were willing to share their precious stories and time with me that have helped me gather the data and answer the questions with which my research started.

I would like to close off by thanking my colleagues and friends for their patience and extensive knowledge on the English language. And of course my parents for feeding the mouth that has to defend this dissertation.

Lastly to the reader, I hope this text inspires.

Ricardo Hoogendoorn

Abstract:

This thesis investigates the link between social identity and political participation. The development of multi-ethnic societies has led to questions about participation among citizens with immigrant backgrounds. There has been an increase in participation rates amongst people with immigrant backgrounds in recent years, but at the same time people with immigrant backgrounds still participate at a lower rate than “native” Dutch citizens in the Netherlands (Klandermans, van der Toorn & van Stekelenburg, 2008). Participation is not always deemed a rational choice and people with immigrant backgrounds find themselves in a delicate position, whereby political participation carries the risk of increasing distinctions between immigrant groups and the “native population” (Klandermans et al, 2008). Regardless, there is a significant group of people with immigrant backgrounds that choose to participate. Social identity theory could help explain which dynamics are at play in people with immigrant backgrounds decisions to participate. Building on existing work on social identity theory and political participation; the aim of this study is to find out more about the role, that social identity plays in relation to political participation, amongst people of immigrant backgrounds. Social identity is defined as “that part of an individual’s self-concept, which derives from that individuals knowledge of that individual's membership of a social group, together with the emotional value attached to that membership” (Tajfel 1978, p63 as cited in Fischer-Neumann, 2014).

This study has been carried out through the usage of interviews amongst 13 participating Dutch citizens with an immigrant background. The interviews followed a conversational structure and was supported by a semi-structured interview guide. Analyses of the data showed that social identity theory can relate to political participation amongst people with immigrant backgrounds. The results indicate that dual identification can play a role in relation to political participation, to add to this the results indicate that identity salience and contingency factors such a different sources for feelings of deprivation are related to whether or not a “politicized social identity” occurs.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Motivation

The development of multi-ethnic societies has come with heated debates (Fennema & Tillie, 2001). Many western countries use origin countries and religion, especially Islam, to categorize and problematize immigrants (Kranendonk, Vermeulen & van Heelsum, 2018). Parties like the “PVV” in the Netherlands for example, have shown concerns of Turkish immigrants carrying dual passports and voting behavior in Turkey which is, according to them, incongruent with Dutch norms and values and which have led to the PVV questioning the loyalty of Turkish immigrants (Jongejan, D, 2017, April 19th). On the other hand the leader of the Dutch party “Denk”, claims that his party fills a gap for groups in the Netherlands that, according to him, weren’t adequately represented. Election results in Rotterdam seem to back these words up as Denk proved to be especially popular in areas where many Turkish and Moroccan immigrants live. To add to this, there were areas in Rotterdam where Denk received no votes at all (NOS, 2018, March 22nd). The rise of Denk in certain areas can be interpreted as a sign that Turkish and Moroccan immigrants want to have a voice in Dutch society. The claim from Denk that they fill a gap for the immigrant population also implies that the immigrant population, despite wanting to be represented by Dutch society, also feel like they are distinct from other groups in Dutch society. According to Klandermans, van der Toorn and van Stekelenburg, (2008) Islamic communities respond to the less Islam-friendly environment with an increased political voice and organization. In recent years there has been an increase in political protest, along with an increase in political participation through more conventional ways, among immigrant groups (Ibid). At the same time statistics from the Centraal Bureau voor de statistiek, (2017) show that western and non-western immigrants still participate at a lower rate than non-immigrants.

Engaging in political participation is not always deemed to be a rational choice. For a lot of people their single act of participation has a very small probability of influencing political outcomes and thus for most people the costs of participating are likely to outweigh the benefits (Fowler & Kam, 2007). This high-risk, low-yield calculation has long provoked scholars wondering why people decide to participate in politics. People with immigrant backgrounds find themselves in a particularly delicate position, whereby engaging in political actions such as protest carries the risk of increasing distinctions between immigrant groups and the “native population” (Klandermans et al, 2008). If

participating in politics seems to be an irrational choice and if participation comes with an extra risk for people with immigrant backgrounds, then why would people with immigrant backgrounds start to participate? One theory that could provide an explanation is social identity theory. According to social identity theory individuals gain a sense of usefulness from being a member of social groups and creating gains for their group. Social identity theory thus implies that individuals might engage in participation to create advantages for their group rather than their individual selves (Fowler & Kam, 2007; Huddy, 2001). Studies carried out about the effects of identification with a social group and political participation have had mixed results (Kranendonk et al, 2018). The mixed findings have led to new questions as to the link between social identity and political participation, but there is still a lot of unclarity about when this relationship occurs, how it occurs and what the dynamics are (Ibid.).

1.2 Purpose & research questions

Social identity theory might offer explanations beyond rational choice models to explain why people with immigrant background participate (Fowler & Kam, 2007). Research has suggested that group membership causes people to shape their identities in relation to their group membership rather than their individual selves, as membership of a group regulates social behavior (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Furthermore, studies have shown how social identification can play an intervening role in activating individuals to participate politically (Ibid). However the point at which a social identity becomes a politicized social identity is not clearly defined in the existing literature (Kranendonk et al, 2018). The purpose of this research is to find out more about the dynamics between social identification and political participation and to add to research on social identification and immigrant participation.

Many studies focusing on immigrant participation, despite acknowledging the constructed, hybrid nature of identities, have chosen to only differentiate between identifying with origin country and destination country (Ibid.). Perhaps such decisions are made from a pragmatic consideration, since this typology allows for more quantifiable questions, however this research argues that this typology downplays the complexity of the social identification process. It is important to find out more about what social identity means for people with immigrant backgrounds, and how it plays a role in their political activities, to find out more about how people with immigrant backgrounds actually experience the process of social identification, or the experience of carrying a social identity,

People have the power to identify themselves with some groups while excluding themselves from others (Stets & Burke, 2000). At the same time, forces within society continuously try to pull people in boxes together with presumed characteristics (Ibid.), a process that impacts the way people are perceived and how they perceive themselves. In the context of immigrant groups, these forces might lead to more conflicting ideas, whereas they might carry pride over their own culture while

simultaneously experiencing negative connotations from the outside world. There are also people with immigrant backgrounds who do not strongly relate to their ethnic identity at all, although this does not exclude the possibility of their social identity affecting their political behaviour. By choosing a constructivist/interpretive approach and using semi-structured interviews to collect data, this research attempts to acquire more meaningful data on the process of social identification in relation to political participation.

The goal is to acquire more insights about how participating people with immigrant backgrounds make sense of their social identity and how they relate it to their political activities. Using a qualitative approach can help reveal new patterns and lead to new questions and hypotheses about which specific dynamics are in play at the point when social identity affects political participation. This brings us to the main question of this research.

RQ: What is the role that social identity plays in relation to political participation among people with immigrant backgrounds?

Several sub questions have been formulated to help answer the research question. The first sub question SQ1 focuses on the motivations of people with immigrant backgrounds to participate politically. Rational choice theorists have run into problems explaining why citizens decide to participate politically, since models based on self-interest are not able to fully explain this (Fowler & Kam, 2007; Whiteley, 1995). The argument is that citizens will not decide to participate in political participation to achieve common goals if they only act from self-interest. This is because the probability that a single act of participation, done by a single actor, will significantly alter political outcomes, is very small. In other words, it is unlikely that the costs of participation will outweigh the benefits. This statement, also referred to in political science as the participation paradox (Ibid.), have left scholars searching for other arguments that could help explain why citizens choose to participate. Social identity theory offers one alternative explanation for why people choose to participate (Fowler & Kam, 2007). By finding out more about people's motivations to participate, we can find out more about how these people got mobilised to participate. If people participate for a specific social group, then this could indicate that this person has a politicized social identity. To add to this motivations might have interacting effects, therefore this research will also include the individual motivations people mention to have.

SQ1: What motivates people with immigrant backgrounds to participate politically?

SQ2a and SQ2b focus on how people with immigrant backgrounds give meaning to their social identity and how they relate it to their political activities. A social identity does not necessarily have to be politicized and not every person necessarily gives the same meaning, to his or her social identity (Stets & Burke, 2000). Finding out more about how people with immigrant backgrounds categorize

themselves and how they relate it to their political participation can help reveal how social identity is linked to participation and in which context it occurs, as well as highlighting if some social identities might be more prone to becoming politicized than others, and why ~~political-sphere~~.

SQ2a: How do people with immigrant backgrounds categorize themselves within different social identities?

SQ2b: How do people with immigrant backgrounds relate their social identities to their political activities

Recent studies about the politicization of a social identity, especially in context of immigrant participation, have argued that the presence of a *dual identity* is a driver for political participation (Simon & Ruh, 2008; Simon & Grabow, 2010; Fischer-Neuman, 2014), it is therefore important to include SQ4 as it can help explain the role (politicized) social identities play in relation to political participation. To add to this the qualitative nature of this research allow for answers that avoid black-and-white typologies, therefore allowing to expose more of the complex nature of a dual identity.

SQ3: What is the role that dual identification plays in relation to political participation among people with immigrant backgrounds.

1.3 Relevance of research

1.3.1 Societal relevance

The examples in section 1.1 show that the topic of immigration is highly politicized, and since more than ten percent of the Dutch population consists of first and second generation non-western immigrants, it becomes all the more important for these people to participate politically, in order to not only shape a political debate that meets democratic values, but also to have a voice in a debate that discusses the box in which they are placed. It is through participation that citizens (immigrant or not) can communicate information about their preferences and needs, and apply pressure on public officials to respond to these needs (Burns, Schlozman & Verba, 2001). Therefore the factors that contribute to the politicization of social identities and motivate participation are of interest to this research.

To add to this, existing research about the link between social identity and political participation among immigrants is still very limited in Europe (Kranendonk et al, 2018). What makes the group in question of particular interest is many immigrants grow up in a context that makes them especially susceptible for being exposed to diverging and conflicting social groups, therefore this research has a specific focus on social identification and its role in relation to political participation among people with immigrant backgrounds. Secondly there is a growing group of second generation

immigrants who do not feel at home in the Netherlands even though they are born here. According to the Sociaal cultureel planbureau (2016) this is due to the fact that second generation immigrants are more engaged with Dutch society and pick up more information from what is happening around them, for example, making them more sensitive to discrimination or prejudice. Studies have also shown that individuals can hold several identities simultaneously. Second generation immigrants may identify with their parents' home country and at the same time identify with the country where they are born. Identifying with several identities can cause individuals to find themselves under pressure from conflicting identities (Klandermans et al, 2008).

1.3.2 Scientific relevance

As earlier mentioned, research about the relation between social identity and political participation among immigrants is still largely neglected in Europe. To add to this, many studies still oversimplify the complexity of the social identification process and assume homogeneity among immigrant groups (Kranendonk et al, 2018). This study includes respondents of different ethnicities and largely consists of second generation immigrants. This is a growing group in the Netherlands and although there are some studies to be found that compare the integration process of this group to the previous generation of immigrants (Sociaal cultureel planbureau, 2010), there are few studies that focus on the political participation of this relatively young and growing group in the Netherlands. This study thus adds to the scientific debate about the integration process of second generation immigrants in the Netherlands. Lastly, the link between identity and politics is context specific, which means qualitative research plays a key role in providing deeper insights into the contexts in which this link occurs and which dynamics play a role. Finding out more on how individuals give meaning to their social identity can help disentangle the complexity of the concept and help develop more encompassing models that explain the identity to politics link.

2. Theoretical Framework

The main objective for this research is to discover how people with immigrant backgrounds perceive their social identity in relation to their political participation. By conducting interviews, this research attempts to discover what meaning people with immigrant backgrounds give to their social identity and how a social identity can play a role in mobilising people to participate politically. To

support our main objective, this theoretical framework will serve as a means to clarify on already studied concepts that cover the field of social identification and political participation, and further operationalize the concepts under study. The theoretical framework will start of with a conceptualisation of political participation. A clear definition of political participation will be developed by drawing from insights in political science and using van Deth's (2016) conceptual map. Section 2.2 will set out the concept social identification, to do so this research will build on socio-psychological theories that will provide us with insights on the origins of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel et al, 1979) and how it played a role in explaining intergroup conflict (Hogg, 2016). Section 2.2.1 will have a specific focus on social identification as ethnic identification. Drawing from immigrant participation studies (Simon & Klandermans, 2001), political psychology (Huddy, 2001) and ethnic and migration studies (Fischer-Neumann, 2014), the concept of identity will be set out. Several conceptualisations of ethnicity will be discussed, after which one will be chosen that fits the scope of this research. To discover more about the link between social identity and political participation, section 2.2.2 will explore theories from several scientific strains such a political science (Verba, Nie and Kim, 1987; Miller et al, 1981) and social psychology (Van Zomeren et al, 2008; Klandermans et al,), these insights serve as a fundamental building block to which this research intends to add. Lastly, section 2.3 will discuss how the concept of dual identity has become a prominent subject in studies about immigrant participation and three different ways in which dual identity has been conceptualised (Verkuyten, 2017) and choose one of the conceptualisations for this study.

2.1 Political participation

What political participation entails changes over time, in an ever-changing world that also has an impact on the political landscape. New technologies and changing social structures offer new opportunities for groups and individuals to participate politically and could also change the motives people have to participate politically (Bennett, 2012).

The definition of political participation given by Verba, Nie and Kim (1987, pp.46) states: "those legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take". This definition was given in the 1980s and already acknowledges that it neglects many forms of political participation, but in the 21st century where internet and social media offer many new opportunities for citizens to participate and show their voice, it becomes especially hard to give a definition that covers the wide range of activities that can be considered political participation. Bennet (2012) claims that, although more old-fashioned ways of participation still exist, the digital era has introduced the rise of rapid and large scale political

participation aimed at different targets, ranging from political parties to direct engagement with brands and often also exceeding national borders, by for example targeting multinationals and international policy organizations such as the UN. In short, the ways to participate politically seem to have diversified, and modern technologies have made it possible for (sometimes) very personalized statements to gain ground through the world wide web (Ibid.).

The definition by Verba, Nie and Kim (1987) consciously discloses illegal acts in their definition. Although lots of illegal activities like some protests and rebellions could easily be regarded, as also acknowledged by them, as political participation (Ibid.). Despite this Verba et al, (1987) still chose a relatively broad definition. Many studies only focus on voting as a measurement for participation (Verba et al, 1987; Van Deth, 2016).

A lot of activities by citizens somehow can be understood as a form of political participation (van Deth, 2014). Which activities should be included is therefore often topic of debate. Should an unconscious act that has political impact be considered participation? And at the same time one could wonder, if a conscious act that has no political impact, should be considered as participation (van Deth, 2014). When thinking back about the student strikes in 2011 a lot of students skipped school to make the statement that: letting kids stay in a classroom without any lessons, just so they can fill up the obligated 1040 school hours, is unjust (NOS, 2011, November 21st). Yet among those many students who joined the protest there were many, including myself, that simply used the protests to skip school. Although those students were part of the numbers and the numbers did count in achieving the result, one could wonder if my personal motives for skipping school make my activities at the time still count as political participation.

The definition chosen has to serve the researcher in conducting the research. For example, defining a concept too broadly carries the risk of becoming meaningless. On the other hand the definition of a concept has to cover, at least to a certain extent, its meaning in reality or daily life. A too narrowly defined concept might ignore activities that could be considered political participation, and therefore doesn't represent what political participation means in everyday life. This carries the risk of underestimating for example how much people are actually participating politically (Van Deth, 2016). As a consequence researchers face the dilemma of choosing a narrow concept, which potentially exclude other forms of political participation, or choosing a broad definition covering a very broad range of activities (Ibid.).

With political participation covering such a wide range of activities, it becomes all the more important for this research to give a clear demarcation of what is and what is not considered political participation. For this research it has been decided to choose a rather broad conceptualization of political participation. Since this research is aiming to discover more about the meaning that social

identity has with regard to the political activity among people with immigrant backgrounds, this research argues that it is obsolete to include unconscious acts of participation. This is because social identification is a mental process which leads to a politicized social identity if the perceived position is seen as illegitimately deprived in comparison to other social groups (Van Zomeren, 2008; Fisher-Neuman, 2014; Hogg, 2016, ch1). Thus in order for a social identity to lead towards political acts, an individual first has to be conscious about the social status this group holds and, for an individual to act with the intention to change the social status of his social group, the act has to be conscious.

The main features of political participation are widely agreed on. First, political participation is considered an activity, political participation does not include simply being interested in politics (Van Deth, 2016). Second, Political participation should be voluntary. Third, participation refers to activities done by the people in their role as citizens and thus as nonprofessionals. And lastly, political participation should concern government, politics or the state, or as stated by Verba et al, (1987) aimed at influencing governmental personnel and their actions.

On the basis of some shared features, different types of participation can be grouped and considered different types, levels or modes of participation (Verba et al, 1987; van Deth, 2016). In an attempt to develop a pragmatic tool, Van Deth, (2016) developed a conceptual map covering five distinct, different variations of political participation, each on a higher level of abstraction. According to him, these five variations cover the whole range of political participation and take into account future innovation of political participation. By using Van Deth's, (2016) conceptual map as a source of inspiration, this research aims to develop a concept of political participations that fits the goal of this research and is sufficiently inclusive to be representative of modern day forms of participation. Van Deth (2016) proposes several questions one could ask in order to decide whether an activity can be considered political participation. By assessing an activity using the conceptual map, one can also differentiate between different types of political participation and place the activity within one of the five categories. The five categories are placed in three types of definitions, each on a higher level of abstraction generally used for research, namely a minimalist definition, a targeted definition and a motivational definition.

The first four questions consider political participation type 1 or the minimalist definition. The first question is: *Is it an activity or action?* The second question is: *Is the activity voluntary?* The third question is: *Is the activity done by citizens?* The fourth question is: *Is the activity located in the sphere of government/state/ politics?* Voting is an example of an activity that could be considered political participation type 1. If one of the first two questions is answered with a no the activity can be excluded as political participation. If the fourth question is answered with a no, the activity might belong to the targeted definition, this can be assessed through the following questions (Van Deth, 2016). Question

five states: *Is the activity targeted at the sphere of government/state/politics?* This question is different from the fourth, in the sense that the fourth question asks where the activity is located and the fifth question asks what the target of the activity is. Elections and referendums for example, are located within the political sphere because these events are directed by the state/government, voting is thus an activity within the political sphere. Protests could be organized by the people without government or state consent, but still be targeted at these institutions. An activity like protest can thus be answered with a no for question four but with a yes for question five. This also implicitly explains the difference between the minimalist definition and the targeted definition. Whereas the minimalist definition excludes activities outside of the political sphere as political participation, the targeted definition includes these activities if they are aimed/targeted at the political sphere. An example would be a protest that demands policy change. The targeted definition also includes actions aimed at solving community problems for example by provoking communities to ask for a change in policy or to sign a citizen initiative.

The sixth question asks: *is the activity aimed at solving collective or community problems?* If this question is answered with a no, the activity might still be considered political by motivation, although the activity is not political in essence.

This can be assessed by answering question seven: *Is the activity used to express political aims and intentions of participants?* If this is the case, the activity can be considered a type five political activity, in which case the activity belongs to the most abstract of conceptualizations of political participation and will only be considered political participation on the basis of the individuals motivations. For this research, it has been decided to use the targeted definition. The argument is that with the targeted definition, this research still allows for more unconventional ways to be included and counted as political participation, however by refraining from the highest level of abstraction, this research tries to avoid confusion amongst respondents about which activities they have done count as political participation. Activities aimed at achieving change within communities or the political sphere are easier to demarcate and identify. A more abstract definition of political participation can easily lead to more bias and interpretative confusion between respondent and researcher. Table 1 from van Deth, (2016) gives an overview of the questions that help define what counts as political participation within this research.

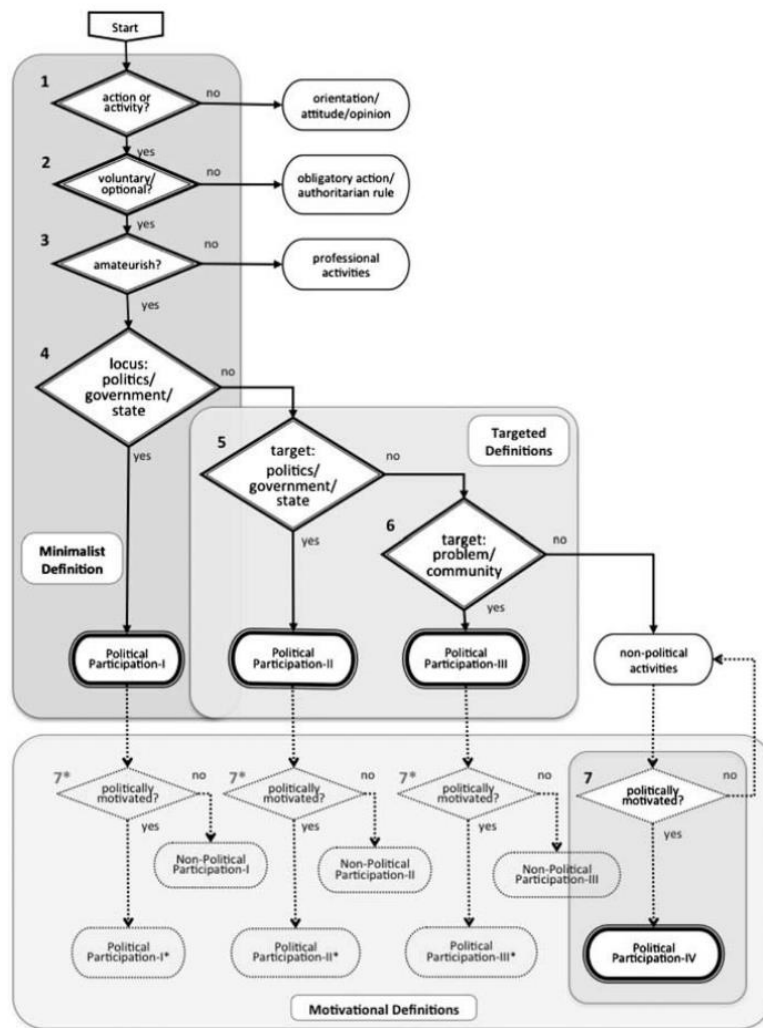


Table 1: van Deth (2016)

2.2 Social identification

In order to understand more about the concept *politicized social identity*, it is useful to first dive into the concepts *social identity* and *social identification* as they are defined in social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974). A *social identity* or *politicized social identity* is distinct from *social identification* as social identification refers to the process through which a (politicized) social identity occurs, whereas a (politicized) social identity refers to a state in which an individual has placed itself (Fischer-Neumann, 2014). A person's social identity in social identity theory is defined as “that part of an individual’s self-concept, which derives from that individual’s knowledge of that individual’s membership of a social group, together with the emotional value attached to that membership” (Tajfel 1978, p63 as cited in Fischer-Neumann, 2014).

In contemporary sociology, society is seen as a dynamic but patterned structure of sustaining interactions, embedded in a variety of classes or groups like organizations, communities and institutions. These groups are intersected by crossing boundaries such as class, age and ethnicity (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Individuals are grouped and classified on the basis of certain characteristics which in turn influences a person's probability of entering other groups or social classes (Ibid.) As the previous statement makes clear, people are not born in a vacuum they are born in a society with already established classes and groups, society thus classifies the individual (Ibid.). On the other hand, according to *social identity theory*, the self is reflexive. In other words, individuals have the ability to absorb or reject norms and ideas from society autonomously. By doing so, individuals can develop their social identity. This means humans have the ability to position themselves within or outside groups on the basis of what they believe they are, in comparison to other individuals, in social identity theory this process is called self-categorization (Stets & Burke, 2000). The second process through which social identification occurs is social comparison. During this process other individuals are categorized and placed in the same group (in-group) or in a different group (out-group). Social identification thus concerns the process of how the self is classified and perceived by the self in comparison to other individuals. According to *social identity theory* belonging to groups lies at the basis for identity (Ibid.). Social groups consist of a set of individuals who share a social identity, or see themselves as part of the same social category, and who separate themselves from people who do not share the same social identity and are seen as non-members. There is thus a differentiation between individuals who are part of the same group (in-group) and members who are not part of the same group (out-group). The process of social identification is seen by scholars as an important part of the daily lives of individuals, through this process individuals can gain a sense of satisfaction from affiliating with social groups. They attach emotional value to their perceived membership of the social groups with which they self-identify (Fowler & Kam, 2007; Kranendonk et al., 2018; Stets & Burke, 2000).

Social groups have the ability to provide their members with a shared identity. This identity provides their members with a prescription of who they are, what they should believe and how they should behave. Social identities also draw distinctions between member of the same social group and non-members of the social group or in other words a distinction between the in-group and the out-group (Hogg, 2016, ch1). The initial focus of *social identity theory* looked at the relationships between groups, investigating the dynamics of relations between different social groups. This could be either conflict and/or cooperation. According to *social identity theory*, a social identity not only defines one's image of self and its belonging to a certain group, it also draws distinctions between individuals of other groups and how these people should be treated or looked at in comparison to members of one's own group. In general this causes members of own groups or in-groups to be evaluated more

positively, intergroup comparisons are thus intrinsically in-group-favoring and ethnocentric and intergroup behavior has the tension to promote the in-group in relation to other groups (ibid.).

As earlier stated individuals attach emotional value and gain a sense of utility from their perceived membership of the group with which they self-identify. It is used to make sense of one's self but also of others, classifying people into groups help individuals understand what they share with others and how they are different (Fowler & Kam, 2007; Kranendonk et al, 2018).

Social behavior takes place within social groups or within patterned systems of social groups (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Social identification as a process, thus plays an important role in the daily lives of individuals as a sense-making process of positioning and comparing self within society and with other individuals. Next to fostering a sense of belonging and distinctiveness from- and with groups, group membership also has an influence on social behavior. The process of categorizing the self not as 'I' but as 'we', in other words as a member of a group, leads one to act in accordance with the values and norms associated with the group. Social identification thus has the potential to attract the individual's attention towards behavior that benefits the group instead of the individual, as a result it can increase the individuals willingness to engage in social protest when the individuals feels that this can benefit the 'we'. (Fischer-Neuman, 2014; Fowler & Kam, 2007; Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Adding to this social identification helps to foster respect, understanding, and agency between group members. (Kranendonk et al, 2018).

2.2.1 Social identification and ethnic identification

Since this research is concerned with social identification, ethnic identities are conceptualised as a social identity. An ethnic identity and/or ethnicities are broad and complex concepts which has implications for researchers. The concept can be defined in various ways, and it is therefore important to treat the concept with care. In sociology there are several conceptions of ethnicity. Older theories more often treated ethnicity as a primordial phenomenon, in this approach ethnicity is treated as something given, something that is fixed since birth (Fischer-Neumann, 2014; Isajiw, 1993). This research has chosen to approach ethnicity or ethnic identity from a more subjective approach. Ethnic identity is thus conceived as a social-psychological reality. This approach comes with certain challenges. If someone's ethnic identity is subjective, then the role that an individual's identity plays with regard to their political participation is also dependant on the subjective meaning the individual gives to this identity. This issue is also discussed by Huddy (2001), who claims that research on social identity theory is often focusing on group boundaries rather than the internal meanings. An example is illustrated where people that held an American social identity were more likely to oppose non-native groups only if they held certain less consensual aspects of the identity such as "being a Christian" as part of an American identity (Ibid.). This shows that although two individuals can identify with the

same social identity and therefore place themselves within the same boundary, the meaning these individuals give to their identity differs and therefore the consequences differ. Another point that should be discussed is that the social identity theory notion of in-groups and out-groups carries the danger of being conceived as two polar opposites. An ethnic identity can be conceived as something opposite to a “native” or mainstream identity. However, an ethnic identity can also be seen as a separate dimension, in which an ethnic identity is independent from a mainstream identity meaning both can be present and vary in strength (Fischer-Neumann, 2014; Huddy, 2001). To add to this, there is still a lot of debate about the relative stability vs fluidity of social identities, the general stream of social identity theorists hinge toward the fluid and contingent nature of identities, stating that social identities can not only vary in strength but also differ per social context (Huddy, 2001).

Despite this, it has to be noted that identities can show a certain degree of stability, and research has shown that a lot of ascribed fundamental characteristics of a social group remain stable over time. Huddy (2001) argues that the identities do not so much as change in different situations, rather the salience of an identity varies in different contexts and has an impact on how the individual evaluates their own identity. The argument is that when a social identity is weak the attributes of that identity are more fluid, but those that carry a strong social identity show stability. The questions then becomes, can those that carry a weak identity be seen as representatives for that identity in research? And should their conception of what this social identity means receive the same weight as for examples leaders of certain social groups who carry a strong identity? (Ibid.). Regardless, this research chooses to follow the mainstream of social identity theorists that take a constructivist perspective and assume a more fluid and contingent nature of identities (Fischer-Neumann, 2014; Huddy, 2001). The argument is as follows: although the identities of social groups seem to show relative stability, the focus of this research is on the individuals perception of their membership of their social group. Whether or not this is strong or weak, it is the personal meaning they give to their membership that affects them. In other words, the individual’s prior life experiences has an influence on the emotional significance and associations that are made with that person’s group membership. It is therefore useful to be aware of possible differences in meaning and identity strength among different respondents. Identity salience for example can be useful in explaining when a social identity becomes a point of reference for an individual rather than their individual identity. Research has indicated that members of a group are more likely to refer to themselves in terms of their group membership, when a social identity becomes more salient, (Huddy, 2001; Simon & Klandermans, 2001). This means that when for example, there is only one girl in a class of 20 people, the salience of the girl’s gender becomes higher. As a result the girl is more likely to identify on the basis of her gender.

2.2.2 Social identification and political participation

A social identity is not politicized in itself. Individuals have the ability to place themselves within different types of categories, this process can occur on different levels. For example, one might identify as an athlete in which case one identifies with other individuals who practice sports. At the same time one might identify as a basketball player, which is an identity that falls within the field of sports but excludes all other sports besides basketball. Furthermore identifying as a basketball player does not necessarily serve as an incentive to participate politically.

Much of social identity theory deals with intergroup relations, that is how people come to see themselves as members of one group/category (the in-group) in comparison with another (the out-group), and the consequences of this categorization, such as ethnocentrism (Stets & Burke, 2000; Fischer-Neuman, 2014). When considering that self-categorization has consequences such as ethnocentrism, and that differentiation between groups cause groups to compete for power and status, it becomes easy to imagine how self-identification can become politicized. Status and power is often asymmetrically divided. More power help groups to obtain advantages with regard to other groups and sometimes even at the cost of other groups (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). These asymmetries are often the reason for intergroup conflict. Groups that perceive their status to be higher will fight to defend their status, groups of lower status will aim to change social stigmas (Hogg, 2016, Ch1).

In the 1980s, Verba, Nie and Kim (1987) were part of a research group that developed one of the most cited theories on political participation. This study already made a distinction between two separated mobilisation processes. The first one being individual-based and the second one being group-based. Individual-based mobilisation processes come forth from individual motivations. Individual motivations are characterised as issue neutral and include concepts such as *efficacy*, *political interest* or a *sense of obligation* (ibid). It has been found that these personal attitudes increase the likelihood of political activity. Furthermore Verba, Nie and Kim (1987, Ch1) mention that personal problems or *personal grievances* can serve as additional motivation. Although most individual motivations like efficacy and political interest are “issue-neutral”, these individual issue-neutral motivations can still be of benefit to a group and can also be put to use to benefit a group. One can for example consider itself to have the skills necessary to achieve political results. Seeing oneself as having such a skill-set is an issue-neutral motivation, but at the same time these skills can be put to use to tackle specific issues related to a group. *Group-based motivations* are different in the sense that they come from a desire to have an influence on policies that are relevant to a social category of which one is a member (Ibid). The motivation to be politically active derives from membership in a particular group. This notion already indicates how awareness of membership of a social group can mobilise individuals to become politically active. Such research helps explain how African-Americans of similar socioeconomic status as white Americans were far more politically active

(Verba, Nie and Kim, 1987; Miller et al, 1981; Shingles, 1981). The explanation given by Verba, Nie and Kim (1987) is that African-Americans developed a group consciousness with an awareness of a common purpose among members. Group membership can also lead to access to group-based resources, which in turn can have an effect on the individual's belief that participation will have an effect (Ibid.).

In an attempt to explain how a social identity can become politicized, Miller et al, (1981) distinguish between what they call group identification and group consciousness. What they call group identification, covers what has been discussed as a social identity in this thesis. They describe group identification as “the perceived self-location within a particular social stratum, along with a psychological feeling of belonging to that particular stratum” (Miller et al, 1981, pg. 495). This definition clearly does not imply any political awareness. However, they describe group consciousness as a politicized social identity, since it involves identification with a group as well as a political awareness regarding the group's relative power and status position in society and a commitment to participating in collective action aimed at improving the group's power and status position (Miller et al, 1981).

According to Miller et al, (1981) group consciousness is a multidimensional concept consisting of four components, which he describes as *Social identification*, *polar affect*, *polar power* and *individual vs system blame*. *Social identification* as earlier discussed refers to members' perceived feelings of belonging to the in-group and distinction from the out-group. *Polar affect* is a preference for the in-group and dislike for the out-group, *Polar power* is the experienced (dis)satisfaction with the group's social status or power, and lastly, *system blame* is the group's belief that the deprivation derives from inequities in the social system.

Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974) itself argues that people adapt strategies to manage their identities. The strategies people adapt depend on what Hogg (2016, ch1) describes as subjective belief structures. Hogg (2016, ch1) mentions five focus points people consider in shaping their subjective belief structures. *Status*, *stability*, *legitimacy*, *permeability* and *cognitive alternatives*. *Status* considers the group social status in comparison to other groups. *Stability* considers how well established this status relationship is, *legitimacy* considers the legitimacy of the status relationship, *permeability* considers whether it is easy to change social identity by moving to another group and lastly *cognitive alternatives* considers whether different types of intergroup relations are achievable. Low status groups might engage in behavior aimed at redefining the social value of their group when they perceive the differences to be illegitimate and feel like different types of intergroup relations are achievable (Hogg, 2016, ch1; van Zomeren et al, 2008). Tajfel & Turner (1986, as cited in Fisher-Neuman, 2014) propose some strategies individuals can apply when dealing with a threatened identity. One of them is leaving when boundaries are seen as *legitimate and permeable*. In some situations this

might be simply impossible (because of physical appearance, for example). When boundaries are seen as *illegitimate and impermeable*, individuals might make investments in action that improve intergroup *status*, among which political participation can be considered a strategy.

In social psychology studies on social movements, social identity has been thoroughly researched as a subjective psychological factor that could explain mobilization of social movements. Recent studies have attempted to integrate different psychological factors into one model since each of them add explanatory power and because these factors could have interacting effects (van Zomeren et al, 2008; Klandermans et al, 2008). Next to social identity, perceived injustice and perceived efficacy has received the most scholarly attention (van Zomeren et al, 2008). These factors will also shortly be discussed.

Prominent in Grievance theory is *relative deprivation theory* (Klandermans et al, 2008). *Relative deprivation theory* assumes that feelings of relative deprivation as a result of comparisons made with one's own situation with that of another, or one's previous situation with one's present situation can lead to political participation (Ibid). Important to note is that in *relative deprivation theory* a distinction is made between objective deprivation and relative deprivation. Objective deprivation simply states that an individual is deprived from obtaining something (whether that be a right or a good), it fails to explain how deprivation leads to collective action. Not being able to obtain a something is not always perceived as illegitimate and therefore does not always evoke feelings of unjust. *Relative deprivation theory* seeks to explain how subjective feelings of deprivation can trigger motivations that lead to collective action (Bernstein & Crosby, 1980; van Zomeren et al, 2008). *Relative deprivation theory* states that, rather than the objective deprivation itself, it is the assessment of these deprivations that causes one to participate in collective action (van Zomeren et al, 2008). Another widely investigated concept that partly explains motivations to participate politically is *efficacy* (Van Zomeren et al, 2008; Verba et al, 1986; Klandermans et al, 2008; Vecchione & Caprara, 2008). *Self-efficacy beliefs* describe the attitude one has about the amount of control one can exercise to achieve a certain cause. Research has shown that people are more likely to participate in collective action when they believe those actions will have effect (Van zomeren et al, 2008; Vecchione & Caprara, 2008). It is important to note that both feelings of deprivation and efficacy beliefs can be assessed from a group perspective and from an individual perspective (Klandermans et al, 2008,). Membership of a group could regulate a person's efficacy beliefs, as they might believe they can be effective in achieving desired outcomes because they move as a group (Verba, Nie & Kim, 1987). Furthermore feelings of deprivation can result from membership of a group, a well known example being the hurt experienced from racism.

2.3 Dual identification

The concept of *dual identification* has become more prominent in different fields of research such as acculturation studies but also studies about political participation. The claim is that people have the ability to hold multiple identities simultaneously even for the same domain. For example, one perceives self as being Dutch-English (Verkuyten, 2017). People can apply strategies to combine and integrate these identities for the development of one's image of self (Ibid.). In the context of ethnic identities and acculturation studies, dual identities have been conceptualised as consisting of two separate dimensions: a native identity dimension and an ethnic identity dimension. These two dimensions can be either high or low and thus result in four possible identification profiles. An assimilated identity rejects the ethnic identity and accepts the native identity, a separated identity rejects the native identity and accepts the ethnic identity, an integrated identity accepts both the native and ethnic identity and is thus a dual identity, and lastly a marginalised identity rejects both identities. It must be noted that if the marginalised identity is chosen, this does not necessarily indicate that the individual excludes itself from groups. Research indicates that in these situations it is more likely that those individuals have a strong individualistic self-concept and do not rely on group identification for the development of one's self concept (Verkuyten, 2017; Fischer-Neumann, 2010). Simon and Grabow (2008) argue that this view of a dual identity is too mechanistic and restrictive to capture the complexity of a dual identity. To add to this, this research argues that this conceptualisation of a dual identity does not capture the fluidity and complexity of dual identification. This conceptualisation does not capture the possibility for the development of a new social identity. Individuals might perceive their mixed identity as one that is unique and different from both native as well as ethnic identities. Furthermore, this conceptualisation assumes that when there is a dual identity, identification with the native as well as ethnic identity are both strong. Therefore this conceptualisation does not allow for any other configurations of a dual identity. Fleischman and Verkuyten (2016) discuss two other ways in which dual identity has been conceptualised. In the second approach, a dual identity is approached as a five-point, one-dimensional scale where the extremes (only native or only ethnic) represent a single identity, whereas the middle three options represent different configurations of a dual identity (Ibid.). The third approach conceptualises a dual identity as an identity that is different than the sum of its parts. In other words a dual identity is approached as something that constructed out of an ethnic and a native identity, but is qualitatively different than those two identities and forms an identity of itself. This research conceptualises a dual identity following the third approach. The argument for this approach is that it allows for respondents to say they have a dual identity without necessarily having to confirm a high level of identification with both an ethnic as well as a native identity. Furthermore since the research focuses on self-identification, this approach allows respondents to reject both identities but accept a mixed identity as something that is qualitatively different from an ethnic or a

native identity. Fleischman and Verkuyten (2016) tested this and confirm that there are situations where individuals perceive a dual identity as something different and independent from their ethnic and native identity when they self-identify.

Inspired by Simon & Klandermans' (2001) work on *Politicized collective identity* (PCI), recent studies about the politicization of a social identity and more specifically the politicization of an ethnic identity have argued that the presence of a *dual identity* is a driver for political participation (Simon & Ruh, 2008; Simon & Grabow, 2010; Fischer-Neuman, 2014). According to the model from Simon & Klandermans (2001) individuals obtain a politicized collective identity (PCI) because members of the same social group are caught up in a power-struggle within the wider societal context of which they are also a part. In other words they see themselves as a group within a bigger group and perceive themselves as being members of both groups. In the context of immigrants this would be immigrants identifying not only with the ethnic group that is located in a host country but also with the country in which they presently live. Simon & Ruh (2008) claim that a PCI *is* a dual identity. They state that for groups to be able to rightfully make a claim for changing their position within the wider societal context, they have to be a part of this society in order to be supported for these claims. This is also in line with the *social identity theory* notion that grievances should be perceived as illegitimate and *relative deprivation theory* which inherently implies a comparison in assessing the deprivation. In other words, immigrants might have *grievances* which they recognise as being a grievance specifically present within their social group and, as a result of comparing these grievances with the wider societal context of which they are also a part, they might experience subjective feelings of deprivation. In an attempt to resolve these grievances and level with the rest of society, immigrants might resort to political participation. In addition, Fischer-Neuman (2014) concluded that immigrants who hold a dual identity show higher political interests. And research conducted by Kranendonk et al, (2018) concluded that identification with origin country only leads to voting behaviour if there is also a strong connection with the destination country.

2.4 Summary

An individual can be mobilised to participate through two different mobilisation processes. An individual mobilisation process and/or group mobilisation process (Verba, Nie & Kim, 1987). The individual mobilisation process can partly be explained through issue-neutral, subjective, social-psychological factors such as self-efficacy, political interest and a sense of obligation. When an individual becomes mobilised through a group mobilisation process, this individual is mobilised to

have an influence on policies that affect the group of which the individual is a member (Ibid.). Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974) can contribute to explaining how and when this mobilisation process occurs. A social identity takes shape through social identification which consists of two processes namely: self-categorisation and social comparison (Stets & Burke, 2000). Through the self-categorisation process an individual attaches himself to a certain group, through the social comparison process an individual places other individuals in the same group or in another group (Ibid.).

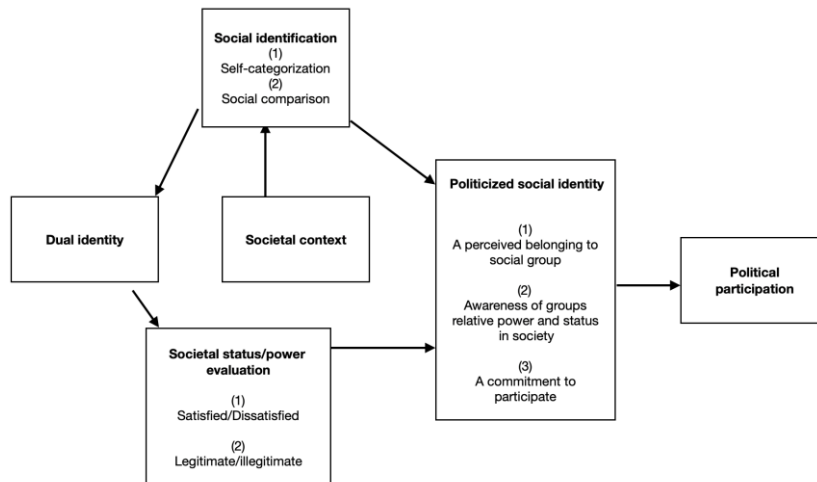
Miller et al, (1981) argue that a politicized social identity entails identification with a social group as well as consciousness of this social group's relative power and status position in society and a commitment to participate in order to improve the group's power and status position. Furthermore an important link between awareness of the social group's relative power and status and participation is how an individual evaluates their social group's relative power and status position in society. Participation might only happen when the individual is dissatisfied with their lower status. Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974; Hogg, 2016) shares this idea and adds to this by arguing that individuals might engage in participation when a perceives the lower status of their social group as illegitimate.

This theoretical framework also assumes that social identification is not a one-time process that occurs once and then solidifies the identity. A social identity is contingent and its significance and meaning can differ per context. The salience of an identity in a certain context can increase an individual's awareness of their social identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Huddy, 2001). This also means that a social identity does not have to be politicized at all times, a politicized social identity might only occur when this is perceived as meaningful by the individual (Simon & Klandermans, 2001).

Next to a feeling of deprivation that derives from membership of a group, an individual can also experience an increase in efficacy-beliefs. Membership of a group could grant an individual access to resources that are otherwise unavailable, furthermore the simple feeling of not being alone could increase the belief that something can be achieved (Verba, Nie & Kim, 1987; van Zomeren et al, 2008; Klandermans et al, 2008). The feeling that something can be achieved through participation can increase the probability that a person decides to participate.

The last important notion that can be taken from the theoretical framework is that the presence of a dual identity can contribute to the shaping of a politicized social identity. The argument is that a dual identity grants individual's membership to their own group as well as the wider societal context. In the context of people with immigrant backgrounds, this means that they could carry an ethnic identity as well as a native or mainstream identity or carry a mixed identity that consists of elements of an ethnic and a native identity but is qualitatively different (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Simon & Ruh, 2008; Simon & Grabow, 2010). Membership of the native identity justifies the argument that these individuals should have access to the same rights and goods as other members of

the native identity. In other words, being withheld from those goods and rights is then perceived as unjust. Building on the theoretical framework, this research proposes the following conceptual model.



conceptual model: 1

This research follows the conceptualisation of Miller et al, (1981) which argues a politicized social identity consists of three dimensions: (1) a perceived belonging to a social group; (2) an awareness of the groups relative status and power in society; and (3) a commitment to participate in order to change the groups relative status and power. Whether an individual perceives itself as being part of a social group happens through the process of social identification. This process consists of (1) self-categorization and (2) social comparisons. How and when this process occurs is related to the social context in which this process occurs. Whether or not there is a commitment to participate depends on how the individual evaluates their group's relative status and power. If the individual concludes that (1) he or she is dissatisfied with their group's relative status and power position and (2) if the individual concludes that this dissatisfaction is legitimate, then this could lead to a commitment to participate. Lastly a dual identity could increase the probability that an individual perceives the dissatisfaction about their relative status and power position as legitimate.

3. Methodology & Research design

This research takes a qualitative approach. Qualitative methods are less suitable for the confirmation or invalidation of hypothesis, but they allow the researcher to capture more of the deeper-lying meaning and to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena (Ibid). Many questions about the role of social identities with regard to their political activities remain unanswered (Kranendonk et al, 2018). A qualitative approach can help develop a better understanding of concepts, and help support future research by developing new hypotheses. Quantitative methods are

better suited to confirm or invalidate hypothesis, but this is not the aim of this research. Rather, the aim of this research is to understand more about the role that social identities play with regard to political participation amongst people with immigrant backgrounds. Choosing a quantitative approach requires the researcher to sharply define concepts such as social identity in simplified manageable and measurable concepts, thereby carrying the risk of underestimating the complexity and multidimensionality of some phenomena (Sofaer, 1999). By focusing on people with immigrant backgrounds, this research can also provide more context specific answers on the dynamics of social identities with regard to political participation.

3.1 The interviews

In addition to a literature review, a total of 13 interviews were held to collect qualitative data. By conducting interviews, the thoughts, experiences and perspectives of different respondents could be collected, which provided this research with different insights. Furthermore, by conducting interviews, respondents are given a voice on a subject that is highly susceptible to different perceptions. The importance of a social identity, is for a large part dependent on the person that holds the identity. Identities are attached to groups by external parties all the time, but these identities might have completely different meanings for those groups and individuals that actually carry the identity. To get meaningful insights of what identity means for a group or an individual, it is important to include a variety of voices. More quantitative-oriented research requires the researcher to develop a more developed, pre-defined model of the concepts under study. With regard to the subject of this study, this carries the risk of putting groups in boxes they might not identify with and could also lead to stereotyping. All interviews were supported by a semi-structured interview guide. The reason this research has chosen a semi-structured interview is because it gives the respondent more freedom to talk about the topic the way he or she experiences it. At the same time, when the respondent shares information that is interesting for the research, the researcher can ask additional questions that are not necessarily written down in the guide. Following this method allows for acquiring rich and detailed description of respondents experiences and their different perceptions (Kallio, Pietilä & Johnson, 2016). In order to develop the interview guide, it was first necessary to gain substantive knowledge of the studied phenomena. To obtain this knowledge, a literary review was done before developing the interview guide. By doing a review of the existing literature the researcher could develop a number of sensitising concepts. In the end a total of three sensitizing concepts were included and used to analyse the data. The concepts used were *Social identity*, *Deprivation* and *Identity salience*. All three will be shortly discussed.

A review of the literature revealed how *social identity* can play a role in mobilizing citizens to participate, and how an individual identifies can vary. Social identity theory provides insights into how

individuals identify on the basis of groups, therefore special attention was given in this research to how respondents placed themselves within social groups, or if they mentioned groups as a motivation for them to participate. What a social group entails was not predefined and could be decided by the respondent, insofar that one respondent identified himself as football fan while another participant identified as an entrepreneur. It shows that identities can be shaped out of concepts on different levels and that although a football fan and an entrepreneur seem like unrelated concepts, both are being used by respondents as a reference to describe who they are and what they are not. During the first interviews the interviewer sometimes had the tendency to mention groups, which the interviewer perceived as social groups. However to prevent steering respondents towards specific social groups this was avoided in following interviews.

One consistent finding taken from reviewing the literature, is that in order for a social identity to become politicized, the individual must experience some form of *deprivation*. Deprivation involves the denial from some good or right but what this entails can be highly personal. For example, some might perceive the limits of how much a teenager is allowed to work as a deprivation, denying them from making more money. Others might perceive it as a right, protecting them from child labour. Respondent were given all freedom in describing what they perceived as a deprivation, but they were asked if they ever felt deprived within Dutch society.

Salience is a concept that was included in a relatively late stage of the research, analysing data led to some unresolved questions on respondents participation. Some respondents described their participation as something that was continuously committed to helping a certain social group, where others only seemed to take specific actions at certain times. A deeper look into the literature led to the inclusion of *identity salience* as a concept that can help explain the differences among these respondents.

The choice to develop sensitising concepts rather than definite concepts is due to the nature of this research. The concepts under study such as identities are fundamentally reflexive, their meaning is multifaceted and culturally and socially embedded (Liu, 2014). The aim of this research is to understand and interpret the different meanings that are given to these concepts by people with immigrant backgrounds and thereby adding to the understanding of the social world. The use of sensitising concepts facilitates the researcher and gives suggestions along which way the researcher should look, while at the same time allowing the respondents to construct the meaning of these concepts themselves. The interview was constructed by using sensitising concepts as a base for the questions asked to respondents. For example, the literature suggests that experienced deprivation related to membership of a social group could be a reason for an individual to become politically active. This information formed the basis for the questions: *Do you feel that groups with which you identify are sometimes disadvantaged in Dutch society?* and *Do you ever experience disadvantages*

from identifying with your social group? Knowledge on the phenomena can help the researcher guide the respondents to stay on topic and ask the appropriate questions whilst still allowing the open structure of the interview (ibid). The interview guide can be found in the appendix.

During the interviews the interviewer constantly kept an open attitude, allowing for the respondent to speak, whilst encouraging the respondent with simple nods and confirming sounds. To add to this, the interviewer consciously chose to remain neutral. At all times the interviewer tried to refrain from sharing opinions about the topic this way avoiding influencing respondents opinions and creating a safe atmosphere. Only when the respondent lost track of the topic did the interviewer attempt to guide the respondent back on topic. When more information was needed about specific topics questions were asked like: *“Before you mentioned ... could you tell me something more about that?”*, *“What you are saying is very interesting could you elaborate?”* or *“What exactly do you mean with...?”*. To increase transparency and reliability all interviews are recorded and stored. Every interview is transcribed word for word and provided with codes. The interviews were held by a relatively novice interviewer. In the first couple of interviews this led to the interviewer holding on to the interview guide a lot, as a result some of the first couple of interviews became quite stiff and unnatural. Later interviews went more fluidly and followed a somewhat more conversational structure, although in all cases it was the respondent who did most of the talking.

3.2 Sample selection

The process of selecting a sample starts with defining the population from which the sample has to be extracted. In order to demarcate the population a set of criteria have to be developed that decide whether a person fits the population (Robinson, 2014). Therefore, the following criteria were developed.

1. The respondent has to be from an immigrant background according to the Centraal bureau voor de statistiek (2018) definition, this means either the respondent or one of his/her parents has to be born outside of the Netherlands.
2. The respondent is or has been politically active according to the definition drawn up in the theoretical framework of this research and within the Dutch political sphere.
3. The respondent has to be of Dutch citizenship
4. The respondent has to live in the Netherlands

The first two criteria are almost self-explanatory as they describe the two main characteristics of the subjects under study. The third and fourth criteria are developed to ensure a certain degree of “Dutchness”. These criteria are more complex. The complexity lies within the fact that all respondents can objectively be called Dutch, referring to the fact that they carry a Dutch citizenship. However from

a socio-cultural perspective some of these respondents will identify as more Dutch than others. The concept of social-identity is central to this research and identifying as Dutch is a way for respondents to draw up a social-identity. It is therefore needed to give respondents a certain amount of freedom in identifying themselves as Dutch or not. As this research takes place within Dutch society, the wider society context as described in Simon and Klandermans' (2001) theory is, within the scope of this research, "the Dutch society". The third and fourth criteria are therefore established to demarcate the population enough to ensure the population is Dutch while still enabling to identify as non-Dutch.

The next step in selecting the sample was deciding on the sample size. In deciding on the sample size both theoretical as well as practical aspects have to be considered (Robinson, 2014). From a practical point of view the sample size should allow the researcher to finish the research within a limited time frame as well as allowing the researcher to conduct the interviews within the limits of available resources. From a theoretical point of view this research has more of an idiographic aim, searching for new meanings within cultural phenomena rather than achieving generalisable results. Therefore, the sample size should be kept relatively small allowing for the researcher to zoom in on individual cases (Ibid.). According to Robinson (2014) grounded theory puts the most emphasis on flexible sample sizes, as the researcher analyses data while collecting it simultaneously. This permits the researcher to weigh practical versus theoretical considerations and make real-time judgement about whether more data collection will produce additional insights. Bearing in mind the previous mentioned arguments, it was decided to choose a sample size range instead of pre-defining a specific sample size. This way the researcher was allowed a choice to conduct an extra interview within practical limits when the richness of data was deemed to little. It was decided that the sample size for this research should be in between the range of N=10 as bare minimum to be able to develop meaningful conclusions, up to and including N=15 as a maximum for practical, time-related considerations. In the end a total of thirteen interviews were conducted, after which sufficient patterns had emerged and the amount of new information started to reduce strongly.

In order to find respondents, different media channels were used, as well as personal contacts and lastly, the snowballing method was applied. Respondents were direct and indirect contacts in the researcher's direct personal network, some were found via fora on the internet and others were direct contacts of previous respondents. If a person showed willingness to participate, the interviewer checked whether the person fit the criteria by asking them some questions. If the person did fit the criteria an interview was scheduled.

To ensure variety and richness of data, theoretical sampling was applied, meaning that the sampling took place during the collection and analysis of data (Robinson, 2014). Age, gender and ethnicity were all taken into account during the sampling process. The reason these characteristics were taken into account was because, according to the Centraal bureau voor de statistiek (2017), these

characteristics all have a significant influence on participation rates. By ensuring variety, the researcher could take into account that certain findings might only be applicable for respondents that share a certain characteristics, while by aiming for a heterogenous sample, the researcher can increase the likelihood that findings are applicable in different contexts.

For example when the researcher noticed after several interviews that all respondent were younger than 30 years old, the researcher consciously started selecting some respondents of an older age. The researcher also attempted to find some respondents that held more extreme political orientations, as the first couple of interviews showed how most respondents held quite moderate/centre oriented attitudes, however it turned out that finding respondents that held more extreme attitudes and where willing to be interviewed was quite challenging. There is a good chance that these individuals are more reluctant to be interviewed as their opinions are less socially accepted, as such the inability to find such respondents impacts on the richness of the sample and unfortunately excludes some voices that are interesting for the topic of this research.

Table 2:

Respondent	Age	Ethnicity	Gender	Political orientation	Highest level of education
resp 1	23	Moroccan	Male	Centre	HBO-bachelor
resp 2	25	Indonesian	Male	Left	MBO level 4
resp 3	28	Surinamese	Male	Left	HBO-bachelor
resp 4	24	Dutch/ Moroccan	Male	Centre-right	WO-bachelor
resp 5	23	Surinamese	Female	x	WO-master
resp 6	53	Cape Verdean	Male	Centre-left	HBO-bachelor
resp 7	42	Portuguese	Male	x	WO-master
resp 8	23	Surinamese	Female	Left	WO-bachelor
resp 9	28	Moroccan	Male	Centre-right	WO-master
resp 10	24	Turkish	Male	Left	WO-master
resp 11	27	Indonesian	Male	Centre-left	WO-master

resp 12	23	Moroccan	Male	x	HBO-bachelor
resp 13	30	Turkish	Male	Centre	HBO-bachelor

3.3 The coding process

In order to analyse the data, all transcripts of the conducted interviews were coded. The coding process started with open coding, whereby the data was broken down in bits and pieces by analysing the transcript word by word. The goal of breaking down the transcripts and coding them is to extract concepts that might later be the building blocks for new conceptual models (Böhm, 2004, Ch5). Next to the codes, the researcher attached notes describing why a specific code was given to a piece of text, helping to regenerate the thought process in a later stage of the research.

The next step in the coding process was axial coding. During this process codes extracted from the open coding process were re-analysed for relation to each other and grouped when a relation seemed to be present and given a new single code or deconstructed and divided by for example two new codes. This process happened by comparing codes and developing code families. A code family could start off rather broad for example first all codes saying something about respondents' motivations were grouped under the code family "motivations to participate". As a result codes like "participating to help deprived groups" fell under the same family as "participating cause of political interest". In a later stage codes could be regrouped in for example the coding family "individual motivations to participate" and "group motivations to participate". This process of coding and recoding was repeated until the researcher achieved satisfactory results.

The last step in the coding process is selective coding during which concepts were judged on importance and applicability within the scope of the research. Core concepts are selected and patterns that had emerged and seemed to be of importance were given extra attention. The coding process started in a chronicle order, but eventually became a cyclical process. This means that when new data was added and new insights were gained, this caused the need for reconsidering codes and code-families, so the process was repeated until saturation was achieved. During the coding process the different codes that were applied to fragments of the interviews were stored and organized in a coding scheme. This scheme helped to keep an overview of the different codes that were applied to the interviews, it also helped relating different subcodes to each other.

3.4 Reliability and validity

In contrast to quantitative research where statistical methods can be applied to establish proper validity and reliability, qualitative research does not have such a tool. To ensure quality and stand up under scrutiny, qualitative research must aim to design and incorporate methodological strategies that can underline and enhance the trustworthiness of research (Noble & Smith, 2015). This section will describe the different strategies that were applied to achieve as high as possible credibility within this research. In developing this strategy a lot of strategies were adopted from Noble and Smith (2015). They chose to use a different terminology for criteria that have to be considered for assessing the quality of research when it comes to qualitative research as they find that measures of reliability and validity are more applicable to quantitative research. Section 9.3 in the appendix provides an explanation of the different terminologies used by Noble and Smith (2015). Table 2 will show the strategies that were applied in this research to achieve the highest possible truth value, consistency, neutrality and applicability.

Table 2:

Truth value	<p><i>reflecting on own perspectives and taking them into account:</i> To minimise the influence of researcher bias during the interviews, the researcher consciously avoided giving opinions on the matter,. Furthermore in the discussion section possible biases are discussed thoroughly allowing for the reader to capture the researcher’s perspectives and take them into account in the assessment of the research.</p> <p><i>scrutinizing methods and reflecting on methods applied in data collection:</i> The methodology section gives a thorough description on how the respondent samples were collected, describing every step of the process, therefore ensuring transparency. To add to this the discussion section will scrutinize the method used and account for possible sample biases that originated from the applied method.</p>
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<p>Consistency/neutrality</p>	<p><i>Maintaining a decision trail of research process:</i> The methodology section offers a rich description of the research process, clarifying on the decisions made during the interviews, the coding process and the selection process.</p> <p><i>Storing data and recordings:</i> Recording all interviews and transcribing the data word for word allows for revisiting the data, ensures transparency and makes it possible to differentiate between respondents accounts and researcher interpretations. This allows independent researchers to scrutinize findings and data interpretations</p>
<p>Applicability</p>	<p><i>providing a rich and detailed description of respondents characteristics as well as describing the context in which the interviews were held:</i> A description of the context and characteristics of the respondents allow for independent research to copy or differentiate from the sample and see if similar findings can be achieved.</p> <p><i>Acquiring a rich sample by consciously allowing diversity in respondents pool:</i> A rich sample avoids findings that are too context specific, by consciously creating diversity in the sample pool. To add to this a rich sample pool increases the probability that findings are applicable for all people within the population.</p>

3.5 Privacy

An important guidance in conducting ethically justifiable research are the informed consent guidelines (Boeijs, 2014). These guidelines tell researchers that respondents have to explicitly consent to participating in the research and should not be misled, they should be informed and be able to ask

questions before, during and after the research (Ibid.). To ensure compliance with the guidelines several measures were taken. When asking respondents to be part of this research they firstly were given some context about the content of the research, while the researcher reminded respondents at the beginning of each interview that they did not have to answer any question if they were uncomfortable doing so and asked them for consent for the recording and transcription of the interview. They were also given some information on how the interviews would be stored offered the contact information of the researcher to allow them to ask questions. They then were asked to read and sign an informed consent form that can be found in the appendix. To ensure privacy all recordings and transcripts are stored on a private folder not accessible by anyone other than the researcher. To add to this, although most respondents did not feel the need for being anonymised, respondents were all anonymised and their names were replaced by respondent 1, respondent 2 etc.

4.0 Results

This chapter will describe the main results that came forth from analysing the 13 different interviews. Section 4.1 will go over the different mobilisation processes respondents mentioned they went through. The first section will cover the mobilisations process that occurs through individual motivations. The second section will go over the mobilisation process that occurs through group motivations. After that, section 4.2 will cover how respondents attached themselves to different social identities. Since the focus of this research is on people with immigrant backgrounds, extra attention will be given to respondents' perception of their ethnic identity and how they relate this to their political activities. Respondents' dual identity and the role it plays in respondents political activity will be discussed at the end. This chapter will close with an analyses on how the different concepts come together and fit within the theory.

4.1 Group based mobilization vs Individual based mobilization

4.1.1 Individual based motivations

Respondents often held several motivations for becoming politically active, for multiple respondents individual based motivations as well as group based motivations were present. Respondents also mentioned different types of individual and group based motivations. The three most-mentioned individual based motivations were self-efficacy beliefs, a sense of obligation, and

political interest. These three motivations were also present in the literature. All three motivations will be discussed. Table 3 gives an overview of the frequencies of the number of respondents that mentioned a certain motivations.

table 3

Individual motivations	Number of Respondents
efficacy	11
Sense of obligation	6
political interest	6

4.1.1.1 Self-efficacy beliefs

Self-efficacy beliefs here present amongst almost all respondents, only respondents 7 and 2 did not mention this belief to be a motivation and one of them, respondent 7, even mentioned to be skeptical about the efficacy of his actions. Self-efficacy beliefs can be seen as an important prerequisite for people to participate, almost all respondents mentioned they believed that their personal skillset enables them to make a change or that through politics they can achieve the change they would like to see in society.

“researcher: And do you think you are active simply because you have the tools to be active or are there other reasons?”

respondent 12: I think because I know how to do it. So indeed because I have the tools and you don’t need a lot. But you have to know how to get attention, how to write things and how to publish that and show it.”

In the quote above the respondent ascribes himself a certain skillset, one reason for him to be active is because he believes this skillset will enable him to be effective. Besides respondents ascribing themselves a certain skillset, most respondents also share the believe that if you want to make a change, then political activities are a good way to do this. Respondents 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 all mentioned that a reason for them to participate is because they think they can make an impact.

“respondent 10: So I thought if I want to change anything about me but also about my environment then I will have to do this via politics, so I have to get to know people in that area. Because power lies with the masses so if you want to change something you will have to do this via the masses.”

4.1.1.2 A sense of obligation

Besides efficacy, a sense of obligation and political interest were the two most-mentioned individual motivations. 6 respondents mentioned having a sense of obligation to be politically active. Respondent 9 and 12 feel a sense of obligation to be politically active because they perceive themselves to be in a better position than a lot of their peers, because they feel they have a good education and a certain level of intelligence, or in the case of respondent 12, because he was raised in a good environment. Respondent 6 also mentioned that his education and skillset enable him to do something, although he did not mention that because of this skillset he feels obliged to do so. This respondent emphasised that it hurt him to see his peers ending up in bad situations. Respondent 7 felt like he had to do something because, according to him, racial issues are the most urgent problem in society that have to be resolved. Respondent 5 and respondent 11 also experience a sense of obligation to participate, but they related it less to their own skills or prominent issues in society that have to be resolved. In their view, participation is important because this is the way you can influence society, and they describe their sense of obligation as if it is a citizen's duty. In other words, according to them, in order for the political system to work people have to participate and show their voice. Respondent 1 also described a sense of obligation as a motive. This respondent feels that a lot of citizens complain about things but do not put in any effort to do something about it. This respondent feels that if he wants to complain about problems in society, then he should also be willing to invest in it to fix those problems, which triggered him to become politically active.

4.1.1.3 Political interest

Lastly, having a political interest was mentioned by six respondents, respondent 4, 5, and 9 mentioned that they have always had an interest in politics. For respondent 4 this interest was enough to make him think "If I like it why not participate in it?". Respondent 5 is not continuously active but because of her interest she scans the political landscape for topics she finds interesting or affect her personally and if they do, she involves herself in those topics by joining debates or participating in citizen initiatives. Respondent 9 also mentioned that he always had an interest for politics and when he saw that the topic of ethnicity was big in politics he decided to actively participate. For respondent 8 and 3 it was their education that caused them to be interested in politics. Gaining knowledge on the subjects caused them to realise what you can achieve with politics, therefore their interest increased and they became politically active. Lastly respondent 6 became active because, although he initially thought it was something he would not enjoy, he wanted to improve the position of his peers and to help out minority youth in Rotterdam west. Someone advised him that political participation would be a good way to do this, and he realised that he was not only good at it, he also liked the political game.

“respondent 6: Well before you know it, you kind of get addicted to the game to everything that comes with it. And yeah I was like hmm and at a certain moment you just find out you have the skills for it to get further in it. And I just started liking it while initially I thought: Boring it’s all just empty talk.”

4.1.2 Group based motivations

Besides individual motivations respondents also spoke about group based motivations. Not all respondents got mobilised to be active for specific social groups. Respondent 1 and respondent 4 did mention that they are there for everybody in society and not specifically for a certain group. Although respondent 1 mentioned that seeing groups that struggle to be heard, like minorities and elderly people triggered him to do something for these groups.

“respondent 1: stimulations, yes one of those stimulation that really made me politically active is just... You see that certain minorities in our society are struggling and are not really heard by certain organisations. You can for example think about groups with an ethnic backgrounds but also people that are illiterate, the elderly.”

All other respondents mentioned more specific groups, although there were differences between these. Some respondents mentioned more inclusive social categories than others. For example respondent 5 mentioned that he wants to be there for all deprived groups in society, whereas respondent 7 specifically focused on ethnic groups and women from ethnic backgrounds, and respondent 2 placed a strong emphasis on young people (he feels that they lack voice in society and he wants to put them in a better position). Respondent 3, respondent 8 and respondent 10 placed a strong emphasis on wanting to represent people from a lower socioeconomic class. Respondents 5, 11, and 13 mentioned that they wanted to give a voice to ethnic groups and respondent 13 added young people as a category he wanted to represent.

“respondent 13: Uh, yeah I think that one specific thing is that, I would like to show that there are civilians among us with a non-Dutch background, or with a non-western background who also want to... who would like to show their voice. So I would really like to show that those people are here too.”

Lastly, respondent 6 was very specific as he said he was active to represent the people in Rotterdam-West and when he became active it was for the young Cape Verdean groups in Rotterdam-West because they were raised in a deprived situation and not a lot attention was given to their problems. Later on he focused more on all deprived youth in Rotterdam-West and eventually as he professionalised he started focusing on Rotterdam-West as a whole. Table 4 gives an overview of the different social groups respondents mentioned, for which they are or have been politically active.

table 4:

Social group	Respondents
Everybody in society	2
All deprived groups	1
Ethnic groups	6
Lower socioeconomic class groups	3
Young people	2
People from Rotterdam west	1

When respondents mentioned why they became active for certain social groups, there answers were notably related. In total three different types of answers were given by respondents. Some respondents mentioned more than one of these answers as a motivation to be active for these groups. The first reason mentioned by several respondents was because respondents felt that a lot of individuals in these groups do not have the tools to stand up for themselves. The second reason mentioned by several respondents was that these groups are lacking opportunities and are in a bad position compared to other groups in society. The third reason was that there was a lack of voice coming from these social groups, and thus the respondents wanted to be a voice for them. All three reasons will be discussed.

4.1.2.1 Deprived position social group

A total of 9 respondents mentioned that they are participating for a certain group or certain groups because they are in a deprived position. For example, respondents 6 and 7 strongly believe that the social group they were active for are in a deprived position in society, and by participating for these social groups they may improve their position.

“respondent 6: If you look at the amount of kids that committed suicide, the amount of kids who ended up in psychiatric institutes, the amount of kids that are dead because of shootings, you know. In the end and I am not exaggerating if I say that it is more than half. That group that didn't make it and it's just a small group who made it in the end. And I think that along the way about 70 percent fell off. And for me that was always the trigger, like these are kids from our city and they are getting fucked up.”

Besides respondents 6 and 7, respondents 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 also mentioned that part of the reason they are active for specific groups is because they are not provided with the same opportunity as other groups in society.

4.1.2.2 Lack of efficacy social group

Next to a lack of opportunities, respondents 3, 8, and 12 also mentioned that they were there for certain social groups because those social groups lacked the tools to stand up for themselves. Respondents 3, 8, and 12 all shared the opinion that not everybody in society is born with the same capabilities, there are vulnerable groups in society that need to be protected by those that are capable to do this. Respondent 8 added to this that a big issue in her eyes is that a lot of people in politics are too far removed from the streets. She felt that her life experience granted her more insights into the problems of “vulnerable groups” than the average politician.

respondent 8: “Yes, I think so. I think and this is also clear from my previous answer. I think there are a lot of people who are not capable themselves, so they are either missing information or are not capable or are underrepresented for example the homeless. Those are the people from which I think that is where the attention has to go to for once.”

4.1.2.3 Lack of voice social group

The last reason that was mentioned by multiple respondents was that, the social groups respondents were active for, lacked voice or were underrepresented. This reason was mentioned by respondents 2, 5, 6, 8, and 13. By being politically active these respondents felt they could be an active voice for those groups. For respondent 13 his reason was not only to be a voice for this group himself, a goal he had by participating was also to enable this social group to show more voice themselves, as a result he organised two events to create awareness for this issue and give a podium to this social group.

“respondent 13: So what I experience very strongly, is that I know that certain groups are underrepresented especially people with a migrant background, because they don’t know how to speak the language or how to express themselves. Or maybe they believe they don’t have anything to say. While this is not the case. You always have something to say about certain issues so this activated me.”

To add to this respondent 1, although saying he was there for all groups in society, also mentioned that this was an extra motivation for him to be active. To help people that are not easily heard. Group-based motivations can be an indication that social identification played a role in mobilising respondents to participate, however some respondents mentioned social groups they were active for, but of which it was unlikely they were a member. An example is respondent 1 mentioning the elderly although this respondent still had to become 30 years old. The next section will go deeper into the different groups respondents mentioned they identify with. Table 3 will show an overview of the different individual- and group based motivations respondents mentioned.

Table 4

Group motivations	Number of respondents
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Deprived position group	9
Lack of efficacy group	3
Lack of voice/ underrepresented group	5

4.2 Social identification

Section 4.1 focused specifically on the individual- and group based motivations and although many respondents mentioned group based motivations not all respondents identified with the groups they mentioned to be active for. This section will go deeper into how respondents experience their identification with a social group and what it means to them. It does so by looking at how respondents self-categorized.

4.2.1 Self-categorization

In order to see which social identity respondents held, they were asked to self-categorize. Since respondents were given the freedom to categorize themselves within different social identities, there was some variation in how respondents categorized themselves. Although all respondents have an immigrant background and most of them identified in some way with their ethnic background, not all respondents necessarily identified very strongly with their ethnic identity. For example, respondent 7 did not like the concept of identification on the basis of groups so consciously chose not to do this. This is interesting because this respondent's sole reason to participate was to tackle racial issues. Respondent 4 also did not experience a strong social identity, he mentioned he does not really identify with groups per se but mentioned he feels like he fits in pretty well within different groups in general. This respondent also mentioned he was politically active because he enjoyed it and to help people in general, not specifically for certain groups.

“researcher: Ok, and uh are there groups with whom you identify as a person?”

respondent 7: There are people I love, but there are no people with whom I identify. So I find it hard this group identification stuff. I am looking for my peers but these are people in which I reflect my own ideals and I relate to their actions and how they act, but no I don't identify on the basis of a group.”

In some situations it was challenging to ask people with which groups they identified without specifying social groups and thereby stimulating socially desirable answers. This was also the case with respondent 2, who was initially also reluctant to name groups with whom he could identify, although after asking a second time he mentioned he does identify with the youth. To add to this he referenced to the youth as “we” multiple times which indicated he did feel as if he belonged to the group.

resp 2: I often notice on behalf of the youth that we also want to be heard, but unfortunately this doesn't happen a lot.

Respondent 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 all mentioned their ethnic background as part of their identity. Most respondents that identified themselves on the basis of their ethnic background also identified as Dutch, respondent 6 was a bit doubtful about identifying as Dutch, he said he identified primarily as a Rotterdammer. It must be noted that ethnicity as an identity is considerably more abstract than socio-economic class and age in the sense that the boundaries of the latter two are arguably more tangible and therefore easier to demarcate. This was also noticeable by how respondents identified themselves. For practical purposes, this research has chosen the label ethnicity but it is important to consider that respondents chose different labels for themselves that can be seen as an ethnic identity. For example respondent 5 chose to identify as a Dutch person of immigrant background. The identity chosen in this case includes every other Dutch person with an immigrant background regardless of their origin country. On the other hand respondent 12 explicitly identified as Moroccan-Dutch. The identity chosen by this respondent could include all Dutch people and all Moroccan people as if they were 2 separate identities in which case they exclude other immigrant identities. On the other hand, this identity can also be perceived as a newly developed identity namely a mixed identity that includes all other mixed identities and excludes non-mixed identities. Lastly this identity can also be perceived as an identity that only includes Dutch-Moroccans specifically. This research argues that all these identities can be present in a person simultaneously and might intersect. The identity chosen by the individual could be more meaningful in specific context and therefore receive preference. Section 4.3 will go deeper into contingency and identity salience as these two factors could influence whether or not a social identity becomes politicized.

Besides respondents ethnicity, a few other categories such as socioeconomic class, age, religion, political orientation and city of origin were mentioned by two or more respondents as a way to identify themselves. Table 4 will give an overview of the different social categories mentioned. It also shows the amount of respondents who placed themselves within these social categories.

Table 4:

Social category	Number of respondents
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ethnicity	9
age	3
religion	6
socio-economic class	5
city of origin	2

Although all respondents except for respondent 7 and 4 were able to mention a social category to which they attach themselves, these identities were not always linked to respondents' political activity. Besides ethnicity, only age and socio-economic class were linked to political activity multiple times, therefore these three identities will be discussed.

4.2.1.1 Age

Age is a social identity that is impossible to exit, however it can be argued that qualities associated with age are subjective, therefore in relation to political participation the weight a respondent attaches to age as an identity can differ. 3 respondents identified on the basis of age and related it to their political activities in some way. Not all respondents who related their political activities to their age also stated it was a motivation for them but they did state that it had an impact on their participation. Respondent 1 as well as respondent 4 said that being a young person in a generally older political sphere, grants you insights that older people might not have, respondent 1 added to this that the outside world found it refreshing that a younger person like him was politically active.

“respondent 1: For example another group that chose me a lot, is the youth for example. In our municipal council we mostly have an older generation being active. And if a young person like me come into the board you'll see that people find that refreshing.”

Respondent 2 did mention that his youth was a motivation for him to be politically active. He experienced a lot of dissatisfaction around social arrangements for young people and he is politically active in an attempt to change these arrangements. There were several specific issues he had problems with such as social security and educational opportunities, and he wanted the youth to be heard but felt like this was often not the case, so he decided to use his voice.

“respondent 2: In Rotterdam there is a lot of youth that can't get a job because of their last name or where those people live. And this is actually what cause me to think: Hey, I want to do something about this, I want to use my voice here.”

4.2.1.2 Social economic class

Since politics concerns itself with the allocation of resources, it might not be surprising that social economic class plays an important role for several respondents. 5 respondents placed themselves in a social category on the basis of their social economic class (sec). But not all of them

related their social economic class to their political activities directly. Respondent 12 for example speaks about how he identifies as someone from a lower SEC, although he does not directly relate this to his political activities. He does indicate earlier on that he wants to be there for deprived groups in general, mostly because he feels he has the tools to do so where others do not. Respondent 5 also identified herself on the basis of her socioeconomic class although she identified as middle class rather than lower class. She also did not relate this identity to her political activities since she was quite satisfied with her middle class position as contrary to her being a woman and being a person of immigrant background there is no negativity associated with her socioeconomic class,. Respondent 5 does however want to differentiate herself from the higher class as she sometimes has negative feelings towards people from the higher socioeconomic class.

“respondent 5: Sometimes not because of my socioeconomic class but because I have an immigrant background or because I am a woman I experience negative feelings, because of others not because of me.”

Some other respondents drew stronger connections between their socioeconomic class and their political activities. For example, respondent 3 and respondent 10 both strongly identified as socialist and both identified with the lower socio economic class. They both believe that a lack of financial resources are strong limiters of opportunity and both are active because they want to do something about this. Respondent 10 also linked his ethnicity to his lower socioeconomic class, as he felt people tend to forget that a lot of Turkish people came here only a few generations ago without any money and it takes time to overcome this lack of money. According to him people to often judge themselves and are judged by others on the basis of ethnicity, while the real reason those groups are behind is because they come from poverty.

“respondent 10: I have always been in a class struggle, I can say that I come from a lower socioeconomic class. And that is why I have this political interest. I thought how can I raise my socioeconomic class, how can I achieve that? And then I thought Politics!”

Respondent 3, besides being a socialist at heart, also said that he is motivated to help people in poverty through politics because he is doing better now himself and he wants other to have the same.

“respondent 3: yes I do identify with poverty, I grew up in a neighbourhood, they call it a deprived neighbourhood but yeah, and then you see you have a little less than most of your classmates. But yeah now I am doing pretty well and you want other peoples to have that as well. That what it is about you want the best for others too.”

Lastly respondent 8 also said that she wants to be active for people from the lower socioeconomic class. She feels that because she comes from this environment but is better educated than the average person she might be able to translate the needs from the people from her environment to the people that are present in the political sphere, who are according to her too often stuck in their own ivory tower.

“Respondent 8: Yes my goal is actually to form some sort of bridge between the people that are higher educated and the people that are street or so to say. And I truly hope that I can always be there in the middle. That I can understand what happens on the street and that I can translate it to the top so it can be picked up.”

4.2.1.4 Ethnicity

Most respondents do mention that their ethnicity has an impact on their political participation. Several respondents mention situations where their ethnic identity mobilised them. Some respondents do not feel like their social identity mobilised them but they do believe it influences their ability to participate. In the end, respondents mention five different ways in which their ethnic identity has influenced their political participation. The first way in which their ethnic identity influenced respondents is because respondents’ experienced fewer opportunities for themselves and/or for their peers, which they hope to improve through participations. This reason was mentioned by respondent 6 and 7. Respondent 6 grew up in an environment where he saw that his peers, with whom he shares an immigrant background, experienced a lot of problems. Seeing his peers experiencing these difficulties and feeling like nobody was doing something about these problems was what triggered him to be politically active. For respondent 7 discrimination and racism are the main issues, he sees this as society’s most urgent problem and he is active specifically to raise attention for this issue.

resp6: So you saw that the streetlife that struck a lot of youth back then, here in the west. That it led to a lot of youth slowly getting into trouble. Either it was criminality or drug abuse, a lot of people with psychological problems. So in those days, I was like: So who really cares about kids like me?

The second reason respondents mentioned is that because of their ethnic identity they can add different perspectives to the political sphere. They can identify problems or issues in society that they believe are overlooked by others who do not share this identity and have different growth trajectories. This reason was mentioned by respondent 1 and respondent 13. The third reason respondents mention is that they feel that their social group is underrepresented in politics and by being active they become a part of the solution for this problem. The fourth reason is that they experience politicization of their social group and respond to this by becoming politically active.

respondent 5: I am very much involved in society, I truly enjoy learning more about different cultures, societal relationships, globalisation that kind of stuff. At the same time it touches me personally, because I know refugees and I also have an immigrant background. So the way they were talking about immigrants was disturbing me. So I thought: No, this is not how we are going to talk about this.

Lastly, respondents mention that by being politically active they can show the good example of being involved in Dutch society. This can go both ways: they can show their social group that they do have a voice in society and they can show people outside of their social group that there are people with an immigrant background that are very much willing to participate in society and contribute to it.

Respondents 9 and 11 for example, both feel like they themselves are raised in a situation that allows them to respond differently to negative influences from society, but they see that a lot of people who also have an immigrant background struggle to achieve the same results as they do. Respondents also mention that their ethnic identity causes them to be a representative of their ethnicity when they are participating whether it is voluntary or not. Respondents feel like judgment of their behaviour is linked to their ethnicity, their ethnic identity is seen as impermeable and thus the status of their peers relies partly on how the outside world perceives the respondent. Furthermore when other people with an ethnic identity are judged, respondents experience this as having an impact on them as well. Their ethnicity is something that inevitably has impact because they are associated with it. Rather than motivating them directly it causes them to be a representative of certain groups.

“respondent 9: You see Moroccans becoming police agents, members of the second chamber, lawyers, mayors like Aboutaleb or Marcouch. And my goal is to play a part in that. In the sense that I want to make the future brighter for the generations that come after us.”

4.2 Linking social identity and political participation

As already discussed in the theoretical framework, whether or not a social identity becomes politicized is dependent on several factors. Section 4.2.1 shows how respondents attached themselves to several social identities, but not in all cases these identities were politicized. This section will discuss the different conditions under which respondent mentioned their social identity became politicized. Most respondents are able to link their social identity to their political participation in some way. However, this does not necessarily indicate that their social identity has been politicized. Miller et al, (1981) describe a politicized social identity as identification with a group as well as a political awareness regarding the group’s relative power and status positioning in society together with a commitment to participation aimed at improving the groups power and status position. There are examples where respondents mention identification with a group and even an awareness of the groups relative power, but not always was there participation aimed at improving that groups power and status position. An example is respondent 1 who emphasised that he was not participating specifically to improve his social groups power and status position. He did however claim that his social identity helps him allocate problems within his social group better than non-members. Furthermore, he felt like people that he perceived as members of his social group wanted him to be their representative because they saw him as a member of their social group. This example shows how the respondent experiences an influence from his social identity, however following Miller et al’s (1981) description this does not entail a politicized social identity. On the other hand respondent 6 started participating with a commitment to improve his group’s power position, as he experienced a lack of opportunity amongst his social group. This example clearly shows a politicized social identity. Other respondents show

examples where their identity only becomes politicized as a result of events in the political sphere. Respondent 5 and 11 both mention a situation where a social group they identify with got framed in a negative way and where they felt they had to respond. Respondent 13 mention how his political activity often sleeps but get activated or triggered by events in society.

4.2.1 Contingency and identity salience

When looking at the data, contingency seems to play an important factor. Several respondents describe their social identity or one of their social identities as something that became politicized only in certain situations. Even when the identities did not become politicized some respondent mention that they can only identify with a certain social group in specific contexts. Respondent 2 gives an example of this when he was asked if he feel Dutch. He mentions that his passport says he is Dutch but that he does not know if he always feels Dutch. When he was asked to explain he mentioned that in Rotterdam he can feel Dutch, but when he is in a city like Leeuwarden he feels like he is different. This feeling could be explained by the fact that Rotterdam has the biggest percentage of immigrants from a non-western background (Centraal bureau voor de statistiek, 2018). As a result, respondent 2's ethnicity is less salient in Rotterdam. On the contrary in Leeuwarden, Respondent 2's ethnic identity becomes more salient, which in turn affects the way respondent 2 identifies himself. It shows how social identification is not a one-time process but something individuals can re-evaluate depending on the context they are in. Respondent 5 and 6 mention similar situations where they mention that they primarily identify as Rotterdammers rather than Dutch people. Respondent 5 elaborates on this and mentions that if she thinks about Rotterdam she does not feel like she is seen as of lower status because of her immigrant background whereas she does feel like that outside of the urban western areas of the Netherlands, she argues that this feeling can simply occur because people over there perceive her as different. What is interesting is that Rotterdam can be seen as a part of the Netherlands. Rotterdam culture is part of the Dutch culture as Rotterdam is a Dutch city. However, respondents partly detach the Rotterdam identity from what they perceive as a Dutch identity by giving it a different subjective meaning. Respondents also mention situations in which identity salience had led to the politicization of their social identity. Respondent 5, 9, 11, and 13 all mention how their social identity became politicized in certain situations while their social identity is not politicized per se. Respondent 5, 9, and 11 describe a situation where a social group they identify with became a prominent topic in politics. In other words the politicization of their social identity happened because voices from the political sphere politicized a social group they identified with.

“resp12: At first it wasn't a reason to become active, but it became a personal reason man. I think up until the moment that the “less less less” chants came on tv, I was never personally hurt.

researcher: And did this trigger you?

resp12: Yes man a lot. Cause I was like now you crossed a line!”

For respondent 13 it was the prominence of politics as a topic in society at that particular time that caused his social identity to become politicized. As a result he decided to participate in an attempt to resolve this issue.

“resp13: Well at the time the city was really concerned about how inhabitants thought about the future of the city and that is quite the political topic. And what then comes to mind for me is that i know that a lot of group in the city in particular people with immigrant backgrounds are underrepresented and are not feeling like they are being heard.”

Taking a look at when respondents' social identity become politicized, three different situations can be identified. Respondent 6 and 7 describe a situation where they identify problems that are present in society that deprive social groups from opportunities and place them in a lower status their participation is committed to the improvement of opportunities for their social group. By participating they attempt to politicize the problem, to raise political attention for it and change the situation. Respondent 5, 9, and 12 describe a situation where the social group they identify with is a salient topic in political discourse. By participating in this political discourse respondents politicize their own social identity. Their participation in those situations is committed to the development of a more positive frame for their social group. The third situation, mentioned by respondent 13, is a situation that is aimed at fixing flaws in the political system. In this situation the respondents' identity became politicized because the respondent felt like the social group was an underrepresented group and should be mobilized to participate. His participation in this situation is committed to improve the representation of his social group in the political sphere.

4.2.2 Being a good example

A last interesting notion mentioned by three respondents is using participation to show a good example. Respondent 1, 9, and 11 mention that part of the reason they are active in politics is to show that they are well-integrated citizens that want to contribute to Dutch society and do not reject it. What is interesting in this situation is that their actions are not necessarily directed at improving the status and position of their social group, yet this act of participation is partly intended to improve the image of their social group.

4.3. Dual identification

According to Simon & Klandermans (2001), a politicized social identity is a dual identity. The belief to be a part of a marginalized group that suffers from deprivations in contrast with the wider societal context can work as a driver to be political active. When looking at the data, nine respondents

mention explicitly that they identify themselves as having a dual identity. Some respondents very consciously define themselves as Dutch-Moroccan or Surinamese-Dutch others mention being bicultural or hybrid. Respondents who identify themselves as carrying a dual identity mention that it can be a source for internal conflict but they also see it as something that gives them added perspectives on situation which they perceive as a positive effect of having a dual identity. Respondent 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 all perceive themselves as carrying a Dutch as well as an ethnic identity. Respondent 8 and 13 describe their dual identity as a hybrid identity which carries elements of both a Dutch as well as an ethnic identity but doesn't completely cover both of them. It results in a feeling of identification as well as differentiation with both sides of their identity.

“respondent 13: My category is some sort of hybrid. Because I kind of fall in between. You grow up and you are not completely Dutch and also not completely Turkish. If I am in another country they do treat me like a Turk because of where my parents grew up. But if I pretend to be Turkish in Turkey It also doesn't really fit cause I am a foreigner over there as well. So you shimmer inbetween.”

Respondents 1, 9, 10, and 12 explicitly say they are both and feel like they can relate to both. Respondent 9 perceives his dual identity purely as an enrichment. He acknowledges that for some it might be a source for internal conflict, but he feels like he himself was raised in such an international setting that it allowed him to be accepting of both identities. For respondent 12 his dual identity was a source for conflict, but he feels like he came out stronger and now he feels it allows him to blend in with a lot of different types of people. Respondents 9 and 12 both call themselves “citizens of the world” as a statement that you can take elements from different identities if you wish to and allow yourself to be different things at the same time. All respondents that state they have a dual identity praise themselves with a quality that comes from this, which is the ability to identify and relate to a variety of groups. They feel like their dual identity allows them to bridge the gap between different social groups. It must be stated that Respondent 8 ascribes herself this quality more from a socioeconomic point of view than an ethnic point of view. Respondent 6 even mentions that it is this quality he used for his personal campaign when he was trying to become part of the municipal council.

“respondent 6: Once when I wanted to become councilmember, I used the slogan I translate the street to the board.”

What is interesting is that, although no respondent mentioned explicitly that their dual identity is the reason for them to participate, this ability to bridge gaps between different social groups or to translate issues from one group to another is seen by respondents as an important skill for them in their political activities and for some bridging gaps between groups is even a political goal. Respondents 6 and 8 mention for example that this is a skill they have and they want to use, to make issues from their environment known in the political sphere. Respondents 12 and 13 mention that this is what they want to be, they want to be a bridge builder to overcome differences between social groups when they are active. Respondent 10 and 11 both mention that because they are a mix of both they can relate to

multiple groups. Lastly, respondent 11 says he would like to represent that mixed group that is more nuanced as a counteraction against the polarized political sphere.

Another effect of carrying a dual identity is that some respondents seem to feel empowered by their Dutch citizenship, it gives them ownership over the course of the country because they are part of the country. When respondents experience deprivation based on their identity these deprivations seem to come from their ethnic identity. Respondents never mention their Dutch identity as being deprived and as discussed in an earlier section, almost all respondents have had some negative experiences with their ethnic identity.

“respondent 12: The Dutch man in me is never being deprived in politics, maybe only in the streets. But it is the Islamic Moroccan guy in me that feels deprived.”

On the other hand respondents mention their Dutch side as something that is empowering, respondents 1, 5, and 10 all mention the fact that they are Dutch as a reason for them to have the same rights as any other person. Respondent 6 mentions the fact that he is from Rotterdam-West as a reason that he can represent those people and when respondent 11 talks about himself representing the mixed group in the Netherlands he mentions the fact that he is well integrated as an argument why he can do so. It shows how it is their Dutch side that justifies them to raise their voice, that they have achieved what is required of them to be legitimate Dutch people.

“respondent 10: I find that Dutch side of me very important. Because it is that Dutch side that gives me power and the opportunity to express those frustrations.”

Respondents' consciousness about their dual identity seems to not only make them motivated to have the wider societal context, but also accept the marginalized group of which they are a part. Improving the position of their ethnic identity is, according to respondents, often something that works both ways. For them, it is about showing the marginalized group that there are opportunities present within society and that their ethnicity is no reason to fail in society, but at the same time it is about showing the rest of society that it is not always easy for these groups, that they do not always have the same opportunities, that this should be understood, and people should be aware of the struggles the marginalized group faces.

“respondent 12: You know if you look at the numbers are Moroccans overrepresented in criminality? Yes. Is that a positive thing? No. Does it make sense? Yes! Do you know what I am saying?”

“respondent 13: When something happens on a national level in politics. Something that creates a negative image about Dutch people with a non-western background. Then it always causes a sort of defense mechanism to be activated. To show that it's also different. But then it's a corrective look toward those that I think are wrong, but also towards the group that is being discussed. So yeah, yeah I am a bridge builder.”

5.0 Analyses

To answer the research question: *What is the role that social identity plays in relation to political participation among people with immigrant backgrounds?* This research started with finding out more on how people with immigrant backgrounds get mobilised to participate. In other words: *SQ1: What motivates people with immigrant backgrounds to participate politically?* Respondents mentioned several individual based motivations as well as group based motivations. The individual motivations identified by Verba, Nie and Kim (1987), were largely in line with the motivations mentioned by respondents. Efficacy beliefs were mentioned by 11 respondents as a driver for political participation, indicating a relation between people's choice to participate and the belief that participating will have impact. The other two motivations, political interest and a sense of obligation, were both mentioned by 6 respondents.

Group based motivations were also present among respondents, respondents identified groups they were active for on different abstraction levels. Ranging from all deprived groups to people in a certain neighborhood. What should be noted is that although Verba, Nie and Kim (1987) describe a group motivation as “a desire to have an influence on policies that are relevant to a social category of which one is a member” or in other words, a group with which a person identifies. This did not always seem to be the case. Respondents that said they wanted to be active for all deprived groups, mentioned groups they perceived as vulnerable groups such as “the elderly” while these people were of young age. There are several explanations possible for this. There is an alternative group mobilisation process that does not require the individual to be a member of that social category. Another explanation would be that depending on the context, this person does perceive the elderly as part of his social group, although maybe not within the social boundary “the elderly”, but rather within the boundary “deprived groups”. When people explained why they were active for certain social groups, three different explanations were given by respondents namely: The deprived position of those groups, the lack of efficacy of those groups and the lack of voice coming from those groups. What is interesting here is that respondents sometimes linked their group motivation to their individual motivations. For example, they carry self-efficacy beliefs and describe themselves as being able to participate because in comparison to most of their peers, they are highly educated. In this case respondents seem to identify themselves with a social group on one level and differentiate themselves from this social group on another level, they perceive this differentiation as something that allows them to be better capable at participating. Some respondents also linked their self-efficacy beliefs to their sense of obligation. In

these situations respondents describe their skillset as something that comes with a responsibility to use them for what they perceive as good. In these situations respondents also made comparisons with others, where respondents perceived themselves as relatively privileged for example because they are not poor anymore or because compared to other people with immigrant backgrounds they were raised in a safe environment.

The second subquestion is aimed at finding out more about the groups people identified with. In order to find out more about how people's identification with groups influences their participation, it was first necessary to find out with which groups people identify. Therefore SQ2a is as follows:

SQ2a: How do people with immigrant backgrounds categorize themselves within different social identities?

Most respondents had no problem mentioning one or multiple groups with which they identify themselves. Respondents mentioned a variety of groups ranging from football fan to entrepreneur, respondents did not relate all their social groups to their political activity. Only respondent 5 elaborated on why some of the groups she identifies with trigger her to be politically active where others do not have that effect. She mentioned that her socioeconomic class is no reason for grievances, while her ethnicity does sometimes cause her to experience grievances. In total respondents mentioned three different social categories they belonged to that mobilised them to participate, these categories were: Age, Socioeconomic class and ethnicity.

The third subquestion *SQ2b states: How do people with immigrant backgrounds relate their social identities to their political activities?* This question aims to discover whether respondents described their social identity as being politicized, or whether they link their social identity to their political activities in some other way. When respondents are mobilised to participate for their social group, the process they describe is largely in line with what Miller et al, (1981) describe as a group consciousness. (1) Respondents identify with a certain social group, (2) they are aware of an issue related to this social group and (3) they participate in order to resolve this issue. Respondents that participated for their social group mentioned three types of issues they wanted to resolve (1) they perceive their group to have a lack of opportunities in comparison to other groups, (2) they experience negative frames related to their social group coming from the political sphere and (3) they feel like there is a lack of voice coming from their social group. Miller et al (1981) do not include increased efficacy beliefs related to membership of a group in their model. However an increase in efficacy beliefs derived from group membership also received scholarly attention (van Zomeren et al, 2008). Furthermore, Verba, Nie and Kim (1987) mentioned that group membership can lead to access to group resources. With regard to this, there is only one group resource that was mentioned by several respondents. This resource is access to group-specific knowledge, according to these respondents their membership to a group gives them insights in issues and access to knowledge regarding that group that

non-members might not have. Respondents felt like having this knowledge made them better able to do something about issues related to their group. This could indicate a relation between group membership and self-efficacy beliefs when the issue of concern is related to that specific group.

To add to this, some respondents describe a politicized social identity not as a continuous state but rather as something that gets activated by impulses from society. Respondents 5, 12, and 13 all describe the politicization of their social identity as something that happens when an issue related to their social identity makes their social identity more salient. Contingent factors seem to be ignored for a large part in studies on social identification and participation, this is also discussed by Huddy (2001) who identifies this as an issue in studies concerning social identification and participation, but as these respondents show, this can be of important to understand the dynamics through which a politicized social identity occurs.

Lastly respondents 1, 9, and 11 mention how they use the identity to show a good example. Rather than participating in certain political activities to fight negative framing, they participate and use politics as a platform to show they are well-integrated citizens that contribute to Dutch society and to change the opinions others hold about their social group. It is hard to say whether this entails the politicization of a social identity. It does however show an awareness among these respondents about the status of their social group, it also shows a commitment to change their social status by participating. Although the act of participation itself might not be related to solving issues related to their social group, nonetheless it is interesting that these people choose politics as platform to show a good example. It is possible that it is not only the direct instrumental value of participation for a social group that mobilises people, one could argue that the publicity that potentially comes with participating is appealing in itself.

The last subquestion occupies itself with how dual identification can play a role in relation to political participation and is formulated as follows. *SQ3: What is the role that dual identification plays in relation to political participation among people with immigrant backgrounds.* Out of 13 respondents 9 respondents felt like they carried a dual identity. All these respondents were able to attach certain qualities to their dual identity. The most important quality respondents attached to their dual identity is the ability to identify with and relate to a variety of groups. Several respondents felt like their dual identity allows them to bridge a gap between different social groups. Some respondents also mentioned how their dual identity allows them to identify issues with a certain social group and translate them to another. There was no respondent who mentioned they participate because he or she has a dual identity. However, some respondents do perceive the ability to identify and translate issues from one group to another as an important skill. Four respondents called themselves bridge-builders and felt like this is a role they could fulfill when they participate. Another way in which some respondents related their dual identity to political participation lies largely in line with what Simon &

Klandermans (2001) claim. According to Simon and Klandermans (2001), a dual identity allows members to make a legitimate claim for changing their position within society, because their membership of this society allows them to be supported for these claims. Some respondents mention similar experiences. They mention that it is their ethnic identity that experiences deprivation, while it is their Dutch identity that allows them to participate within society and to fight the deprivations they experience from their ethnic identity.

6.0. Conclusion

This research started with the question: *What is the role that social identity plays in relation to political participation among people with immigrant backgrounds?* If and whether respondents relate their social identity to political participation seems to be related to multiple factors. Respondents who mention that they got mobilised to participate for their social group do consistently indicate that this was triggered by grievances. The source for these grievances differed, but respondents mentioned issues related to the social group with which they identify. Earlier research already identified that grievances related to membership of a social group can mobilise people to participate. According to social identity theory individuals might look for cognitive alternatives when they perceive their social group to be of lower status, if this lower status is perceived as illegitimate (Hogg, 2016, ch1; van Zomeren et al, 2008). Political participation can in this case be seen as a tool to achieve this change, but this theory does not provide any answers why politics should be the chosen method. Miller et al (1981) provide more insights in this by stating that a social identity can be become politicized if there is a belief that this lower status comes from inequities in the social system. However, the literature provides very little insight in whether there is a difference between sources for grievances. Could there be a stronger relation between grievances related to membership of a social group and political participation if there is a specific source for these grievances? Although the qualitative nature of this research does not allow for identifying causal relations and generating generalizable conclusions, there were two types of sources for grievances mentioned by respondents, that are especially interesting and hold potential explanatory power. Some respondents mentioned how negative frames are attached to a social group with which they identify, inside the political sphere and to counteract this happening they participate. An argument can be made that people who identify on the basis of this social group might be more inclined to choose politics as a platform to counteract these negative frames because the frames originate from the political sphere. Furthermore respondents mention that there was a lack of voice coming from their social group, which is an issue that is directly related to politics. This argument can be extended further, individuals might also be more inclined to participate in politics

when a social group they identify with is salient in the political sphere, not necessarily because they want to counteract arguments but rather because they perceive themselves as experts on that social group. Many respondents perceived their social identity as something that granted them specific insight that others who participate and are not part of their social group might miss. This indicates that there might be a relation between self-efficacy beliefs and the salience of a social group in political discourse. Lastly, there are indications that a dual identity can help individuals identify issues within their marginalized social group and translate them to the wider societal context. In the context of people with immigrant backgrounds, respondents perceive their Dutch side as something empowering whereas their ethnic identity can be perceived as a source for grievances but also as something that grants them access to issues and possible solutions they can identify and make known within the political sphere.

In sum, there are several factors that can influence whether an individual's social identity plays a role with regard to their political participation. A factor that has been widely researched and is also mentioned by respondents are grievances. But the results indicate that the source for grievances can also be of influence. Respondents can consciously use their social identity as a source for knowledge when they participate. Through their social identity they also identify and or experience problems they could tackle through participation. Identity salience is of importance for how individuals threat their own social identity and on whether their identity becomes politicized.

7.0. Discussion

This research adds to the already existing research on the social identity-politics links by providing more qualitative answers and perceptions from the subjects under study. The results indicate that there is a relation between social identifies and political participation, but they suggest that this relation correlates with a number of factors. Huddy (2001) mentions how identity salience has been largely neglected in studies researching the relationship between social identities and political participation. The results from this research indicate that identity salience could be of importance. Other interesting findings that were not found in the literature is the relation between a dual identity and certain qualities that come with it. The perception that respondents carried some qualities that other people within their social group did not have, which allowed them to translate issues from one group to the other was widely shared among respondents. This research also gives some insight in which issues are a source for feelings of deprivation. Respondents indicate that they experience a lack of opportunity, negative framing of their social group in political discourse, and a lack of voice, as reasons why their social identity affects their political activities.

Future research could be aimed at finding more quantitative results about the link between a dual identity and political participation. People who carry a dual identity could play a prominent role in overcoming issues between marginalised groups and the rest of society. People who carry a dual identity could play a key role in connecting different social groups, furthermore these people can provide insights to the political sphere about people they otherwise might not reach and simultaneously allowing voices from their social group to reach the political sphere more easily. Whereas the rise of parties like Denk and the PVV imply a polarising trend where one group competes against the other. These individuals show a motivation to overcome this distance and move groups closer together. An argument can be made that these individuals are counteracting this trend by showing an opposite example. As this research shows how there are examples of people that would like to see barriers being removed between social groups.

Besides these findings there are also some limitation to this research. Despite using theoretical sampling with the intention to obtain a rich sample, there is an overrepresentation of young males with a higher level education in the sample. Furthermore, most respondents come from the Randstad, which makes the sample not fully representative of people with immigrant backgrounds in Dutch society. The argument can be made that males and higher-educated people are more politically active as confirmed by data from the Centraal bureau voor de statistiek, (2017) but the differences are not as big as this sample implies. People with immigrant backgrounds are also more present in the western area of the Netherlands which made the probability of finding politically active immigrants higher. It would be interesting to find a broader sample and include more people from other areas in the Netherlands. Other limitations with regard to the sample is the amount of people with center-orientated political preferences. Including individuals with less centre-oriented preferences could add context to the research. The argument can be made that such people would have more polar attitudes rather than the desire to build bridges between groups. Miller et al's (1981) theory might have more explanatory power with regard to these people as there is a possibility that there will be a higher dislike for the out-group and a lesser inclination to remove barriers between groups. Future research could include respondents with more polar attitudes. To add to this, van Zomeren et al (2008) and Klandermans et al (2008) identify interacting positive relations between social identity and efficacy beliefs. According to Verba, Nie and Kim, (1987) increased efficacy beliefs could result from group membership since they allow access to group resources. This research identified one group resource that was absent in the literature and could be very interesting. This resource is group specific knowledge. Group specific knowledge is interesting because it shows how important it can be to promote diversity in the public sphere. Future research could also invest in finding characteristics of individuals that are able to deal with sometimes conflicting identities and are able to use a dual identity to their benefit. Identifying these characteristics could help political parties and public bodies recruit people that carry dual identities and use their potential as connectors.

A last limitation that has to be discussed is researcher bias. Although the interviewer was prepared and conscious about possible bias, the interviewer shared a lot of attitudes with respondents about overcoming differences between groups, therefore the interviewer might be unconsciously inclined to confirm such attitudes. Respondents often also came directly or indirectly from the researcher's network which could be a cause for finding many respondents with similar central orientated political attitudes. It should also be noted that because of practical reasons, interviews were not always held in the most private places, although there were no notable objections from respondents to speak freely there is a chance that the context of where the interviews were held have influenced respondents answers.

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9.0 Appendix:

9.1 Interview guide

Topics:	Voorbeeldvragen
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<p>Algemene informatie</p> <p>Naam:</p> <p>Afkomst:</p> <p>Leeftijd:</p> <p>Opleiding:</p>	
<p>Social identity</p>	<p>Zijn er bepaalde groepen met wie u zich identificeert of associeert?</p> <p>Waarom identificeert u zich met deze groepen?</p> <p>Ervaart u soms nadelen van identificatie met deze groepen?</p> <p>Is er een bepaalde religie waarmee u zich identificeert?</p> <p>Ziet u de groepen waarmee u zich identificeert als een onderdeel van de Nederlandse identiteit?</p> <p>Hoe kijkt u naar groepen in Nederland met wie u zich niet identificeert?</p> <p>Ervaart u soms conflict tussen de verschillende groepen waarmee u zich identificeert?</p> <p>Hoe denkt u dat de groepen met wie u zich identificeert worden gezien door mensen die zich niet met deze groepen identificeren?</p> <p>Ziet u dit als terecht?</p>

	<p>Speelt uw identificatie met deze groeperingen een rol bij uw politieke participatie?</p>
<p>Politieke participatie</p>	<p>Op wat voor manieren houdt u zich bezig met politiek?</p> <p>Wat zijn de redenen voor u om politiek te participeren?</p> <p>Waarom vindt u dat belangrijk?</p> <p>Wat denkt u te kunnen bereiken door politiek te participeren?</p> <p>Vindt u dat de groepen waarmee u zich identificeert voldoende worden vertegenwoordigd in het Nederlandse politieke landschap?</p> <p>Zo niet: Speelt dit een rol voor u om politiek te participeren?</p> <p>Heeft u het idee dat groepen met wie u zich identificeert worden benadeeld binnen de Nederlandse maatschappij?</p> <p>Zo wel: Speelt dit een rol voor u om politiek te participeren?</p> <p>Ziet u politieke participatie als een effectieve manier om de groepen met wie u zich identificeert te vertegenwoordigen in de Nederlandse maatschappij?</p>

Afsluiting:	<p>Zijn er nog dingen die u kwijt wilt met betrekking tot uw sociale identiteit/of de groepen met wie u zich identificeert?</p> <p>Zijn er nog dingen die u kwijt wilt met betrekking tot uw politieke participatie ?</p> <p>Heeft u verder zelf nog vragen?</p>
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9.2 Coding scheme:

Concept	Code	Subcode
1.0 General info	1.1 Ethnicity 1.2 Age 1.3 Gender 1.4 Education	
2.0 Motivations to participate	2.1 Individual motivations 2.2 Group motivations	2.1.1 Types of individual motivations - efficacy

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - political interest - grievances - sense of obligation <p>2.2.1 Types of group motivations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - based on ethnicity - based on SEC - based on age <p>2.2.2 Reasons for group motivations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - lack of efficacy social group - lack of voice social group - deprived position social group
3.0 Social identification	3.1 strength of identification social group	<p>3.1.1 strong identification social group</p> <p>3.1.2 weak identification social group</p>
4.0 Perceptions social group	<p>4.1 status social group</p> <p>4.2 Deprived status social group</p> <p>4.3 types of social groups</p> <p>4.4 ethnic identification</p>	<p>4.1.1 types of status social group</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - good status social group - deprived status social group <p>4.3.1 Types of social groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - youth - religion - ethnicity - city of origin <p>4.4.1 strength identification</p>

		<p>ethnic identity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - strong identification - weak identification <p>4.4.1 perceptions of ethnic identity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ethnic identity as a source for grievances - ethnic identity as a source for enrichment <p>4.4.1 types of grievances ethnic identity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - negative framing of identity in societal discourse - lack of voice ethnic group - lack of opportunity ethnic group - politicization ethnic group
5.0 dual identity	<p>4.1 perceived dual identity</p> <p>4.2 perceived single identity</p>	<p>4.1.1 qualities dual identity</p> <p>4.1.2 grievances dual identity</p>

9.3 credibility qualitative research guidelines

<p>Alternative terminology associated with credibility of qualitative research (Noble & Smith, 2015, pg 2)</p>
<p>Truth value instead of Validity:</p> <p>Truth Value considers the interpretive/constructivist idea that multiple realities exist. The researcher accounts for this by outlining experiences and viewpoints that can lead to bias; respondents perspectives should also be presented as clearly and accurate as possible</p>

Consistency and Neutrality instead of reliability:

Consistency considers the “trustworthiness” of the research. The methods that have been applied in conducting the research should be presented as transparent as possible. This can be achieved by maintaining a decision trail, other independent researchers should be enabled to follow the same path and arrive at similar findings.

Neutrality is achieved when the researcher has addressed consistency, truth value and applicability. It acknowledges that the findings are intrinsically linked to the researchers perspectives. But accounts for it by addressing this and attempting to achieve the highest level of consistency, truth value and applicability possible.

Applicability instead of generalisability:

The researcher considers whether the findings can be applied in other context.

9.4 Informed consent form:

Naam van het onderzoeksproject	The social identity to politics links
Doel van het onderzoek	Dit onderzoek wordt geleid door Ricardo Hoogendoorn. U bent van harte uitgenodigd om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek. Het doel van dit onderzoek is om kennis op te doen over de rol die sociale identificatie speelt bij politieke participatie.
Gang van zaken tijdens het onderzoek	<p>U neemt deel aan een interview waarin aan u vragen zullen worden gesteld over politieke participatie en sociale identificatie.</p> <p>U dient tenminste 18 jaar te zijn om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek.</p> <p>Tijdens het interview zal, aan de hand van een topic list, dieper worden ingegaan op het onderwerp. Van het interview zal een audio-opname worden gemaakt, zodat het gesprek later ad-verbatim (woord voor woord) kan worden uitgewerkt.</p> <p>Dit transcript wordt vervolgens gebruikt in het verdere onderzoek.</p>

<p>Potentiële risico's en ongemakken</p>	<p>- Er zijn geen fysieke, juridische of economische risico's verbonden aan uw deelname aan deze studie. U hoeft geen vragen te beantwoorden die u niet wilt beantwoorden. Uw deelname is vrijwillig en u kunt uw deelname op elk gewenst moment stoppen.</p> <p>- Er kan enig ongemak verbonden zijn aan uw deelname aan deze studie, vanwege de gevoelige aard van het onderwerp. U hoeft geen vragen te beantwoorden die u niet wilt beantwoorden. Uw deelname is vrijwillig en u kunt uw deelname op elk gewenst moment stoppen.</p>
<p>Vertrouwelijkheid van gegevens</p>	<p>Uw privacy is en blijft maximaal beschermd. Er wordt op geen enkele wijze vertrouwelijke informatie of persoonsgegevens van of over u naar buiten gebracht, waardoor iemand u zal kunnen herkennen.</p> <p>Voordat onze onderzoeksgegevens naar buiten gebracht worden, worden uw gegevens anoniem gemaakt: geanonimiseerd. Enkele eenvoudige voorbeelden hiervan:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • uw naam wordt vervangen door een anoniem, op zichzelf betekenisloos getal. <p>In een publicatie zullen of anonieme gegevens of pseudoniemen worden gebruikt. De audio-opnamen, formulieren en andere documenten die in het kader van deze studie worden gemaakt of verzameld, worden opgeslagen op een beveiligde locatie bij de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam en op de beveiligde (versleutelde) computers van de onderzoekers.</p> <p>De onderzoeksgegevens worden indien nodig (bijvoorbeeld voor een controle op wetenschappelijke integriteit) en alleen in anonieme vorm ter beschikking gesteld aan personen buiten de onderzoeksgroep; in dit geval aan een onderzoekscommissie van de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam die hiertoe bevoegdheden heeft.</p> <p>Naam respondent: _____ Handtekening: _____</p>

