

The Story Unfolds: White Media and The Understanding of Ethnic Diversity
an exploratory research into Dutch media

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Master's Thesis
June 2021

ABSTRACT

Turbulent times following the death of George Floyd in the United States of America ignited racial injustice debates around the world. In many places, the conversation moved beyond racial injustice and rather focused on broader topics such as diversity and inclusion. The Netherlands is no exception to this. Dutch citizens took to the streets to protest and demanded for a more inclusive and diverse society, of which the media is one specific sector. Previous literature into ethnic diversity in Dutch media organizations lack professional insights from the field, which are necessary in order to understand what meaning is attributed to concepts such as ethnicity and diversity. Therefore, the current study set out to gain this knowledge by conducting ten in-depth interviews with media professionals from a variety of Dutch media organizations. This includes radio, television, print media, online media, and local publications. Additionally, a descriptive survey was distributed among employees of one of the largest Dutch media organizations, ADR Nieuwsmedia, in order to understand how ethnically diverse such a workplace currently is. Several studies in the past have pointed out that Dutch media organizations are predominantly white, yet there are no up-to-date numbers available on this. The societal developments of the past months, including the growing impact of the Black Lives Matter demonstrations in 2020, led to assume there could have been a shift in the demographics of these workplaces. The survey results, based on 103 individual responses, as well as the interviews, indicated that media organizations are still predominantly white. Through a thematic qualitative analysis of the ten interviews, five main themes could be identified that explain the way in which the media professionals ascribe meaning to ethnic diversity in their organization. These themes are: ‘disconnected from workplace’, ‘awareness and change’, ‘need for visibility’, ‘power and responsibility’, and ‘diversity obstacles’. Overall, the interviewees communicated positive pro-diversity opinions, attaching value to ethnic diversity in the workplace. The main research question: “how do Dutch media professionals give meaning to ethnic diversity on the work floor”, was answered by the results of this study.

KEYWORDS: *Diversity, Ethnicity, Media, Journalism, Organizations*

Preface

Being a person of color working in Dutch media myself, I have always been aware of the norms that I did not conform to, or the requirements that I did not meet. Instead of this getting in the way of my professional aspirations, I let it become my motivator to attempt to catalyze industry-wide change. Ethnic diversity in media organizations has therefore always interested me, which ignited a passion in me to understand how media professionals deal with such topics. As the world is recovering from a turbulent year following the death of George Floyd, many ask themselves: what now? I asked myself this question too and realized that without anyone asking such and other questions, answers will not be given, and change will not take place. Therefore, it is in my personal and academic interest, and passion for the topic of ethnic diversity, that I aim to uncover how media professionals really think about their workplaces in terms of diversity, and what can actually be done in order for it to improve.

In truth, I could not have conducted this research without the support and participation of the media professionals that I interviewed. To speak freely about ethnic diversity is something many rather avoid, which is why I am endlessly thankful for the participation of these interview participants. Additionally, I express enormous gratitude for ADR Nieuwsmedia in allowing me to distribute this study's survey among the employees in the company. Gaining insights through this new data is a step in the right direction to make aspiring journalists of color like myself feel less isolated in the future. Finally, I wish to recognize the supporting role of my academic supervisor Dr. Jacco van Sterkenburg, who provided me with his expertise on this topic, through which he greatly supported the construction of this dissertation.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	2
PREFACE	3
1. INTRODUCTION	6
1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	7
1.2 RELEVANCE.....	8
1.3 THESIS SET-UP.....	9
2. THEORY	11
2.1 ETHNIC DIVERSITY	11
2.1.1 <i>Race, Ethnicity and Culture</i>	12
2.1.2 <i>Measuring Diversity</i>	15
2.2 DIVERSITY IN THE WORKPLACE	16
2.3 MEDIA AND ETHNICITY	18
2.3.1 <i>Active Audiences</i>	18
2.3.2 <i>Ethnic Diversity in the Media</i>	20
2.3.3 <i>Pro-Diversity Solutions</i>	21
3. METHOD	23
3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN	23
3.1.1 <i>Interviews</i>	23
3.1.2 <i>Survey</i>	25
3.1.3 <i>Sample</i>	28
3.1.4 <i>Operationalization</i>	28
3.2 DATA ANALYSIS.....	29
3.2.1 <i>Reliability and Validity</i>	30
3.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	30
3.5 LIMITATIONS TO THE METHODOLOGY	32
4. RESULTS	33
4.1 SURVEY OUTCOME.....	33
4.2 INTERVIEW THEMES	36
4.2.1 <i>Disconnected from Workplace</i>	37
4.2.2 <i>Awareness and Change</i>	38
4.2.3 <i>Need for Visibility</i>	40
4.2.4 <i>Power and Responsibility</i>	41
4.2.5 <i>Diversity Obstacles</i>	42
4.2.6 <i>Gender Diversity</i>	44
5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	45
5.1 MAIN FINDINGS.....	45
5.1.1 <i>Exclusionary Workplaces</i>	45
5.1.2 <i>Homogenous Workplaces</i>	46
5.1.3 <i>Pro-Diversity Measures</i>	46
5.2 IMPLICATIONS	47
5.3 CONCLUSION	48
5.4 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH	49

REFERENCES.....	51
APPENDIX A.....	56
APPENDIX B.....	60
APPENDIX C.....	61
APPENDIX D.....	64

1. Introduction

Sparked by the murder of an unarmed African American man in 2020 named George Floyd, hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets in over 2.000 American cities to protest racial injustice (Burch et al., 2021). The New York Times, among others, reported that in over 60 countries across all seven continents, people participated in demonstrations for the justice of George Floyd, as well as racial inequality and systemic racism. Dutch media reported that for the first time, thousands of Dutch people gathered in solidarity for the Black Lives Matter movement and racial injustice (NOS, 2020). Contrary to previous demonstrations that would normally not include more than a few hundred people, this time the protests organized thousands of people (NOS, 2020), including people from all races, ages, and economic backgrounds.

Arguably, these developments ignited debates throughout all layers of society, including the workplaces of media organizations. Considering my own role as a media professional in a large media organization, I have witnessed the increased amount of attention given to the topic of racial inequality following the death of George Floyd on May 25th, 2020. A common theme across these debates was to include more ethnic minorities in the organizations themselves. In my role as a media professional, I have personally witnessed and experienced this lack of ethnic minorities in such fields. Several studies conducted by the newspaper NRC looked into the exact numbers of ethnic diversity in media organizations a few years ago and concluded that these were not accurate reflections of society (Takken & Geels, 2018). The media is consumed by many, yet only produced by a few. It is therefore worth asking, especially in the context of the Netherlands, to what extent these media producers are able to represent those people that they produce media for. Such representation is important in a multicultural society as the Netherlands (Awad Cherit, 2008), making it relevant for media organizations to reflect the demographics of society.

The Dutch society has typically, throughout the last decades, been observed as a multicultural society, considering its diverse composition of ethnic groups (CBS, 2021b). It is therefore interesting to question to what extent this 'multiculturalism', the coexistence of multiple cultures in a society, is reflected in the segments of society, such as workplaces. More specifically, within significant workplaces such as media organizations. Moreover, what opinions do the established media professionals really have about ethnic diversity? Without a doubt, the death of George Floyd and the Black Lives Matter demonstrations have

left a footprint even on Dutch society. Yet it was most definitely not the first time ethnic diversity in the media was a topic (Takken & Geels, 2018).

1.1 Research Problem

The studies briefly mentioned earlier, as well as more studies that will be extensively covered in chapter 2, illustrate the extent to which ethnic diversity in media organizations has been studied. It is most certainly not a forgotten subject. There are, however, several problems that need to be addressed in order for future studies, as well as the current study, to be able to provide fruitful results.

First, the recent events of 2020 have undoubtedly changed the ways in which topics such as inclusion and diversity are discussed. The societal developments, as well as the public's outrage over racial injustice in the United States and elsewhere, caused the discussion around this subject to take on different meanings. However, considering the recency of these developments, there is not yet sufficient data on what exactly these 'diversity narratives' are. It is worthy to study the attitudes of media professionals towards these topics, considering they might have gained more meaning by virtue of the Black Lives Matter movement. Additionally, the most recent numbers on how ethnically diverse these media organizations in the Dutch context are, date well back to 2018 or earlier. It is therefore important to study this matter, in order to fully comprehend what ethnicity, diversity and inclusion really means to media professionals in the current times.

Second, although there are quite some studies into the diversity in workplaces, the topic of ethnicity or race in the workplace remains rather uncomfortable to discuss (Thomas, 2020), which causes resistance when such conversations are brought forward. However, it is unknown to what extent these resistances towards the topic of race and ethnicity have changed since the demonstrations in 2020, or how it varies between organizations, teams, or individuals. Despite it being a 'heated' topic, which can put media professionals in an uncomfortable position, it is important that such conversations are held in order to understand what meanings exactly are given to ethnic diversity. Therefore, the current research sets out to uncover these meanings.

Finally, studies about race and ethnicity often include the traditional white perspective, or white gaze, leaving out the lived experiences from people of color. As Wekker et al. (2016) describe it in their report on diversity at the University of Amsterdam, knowledge is often created, and thus shared, by specific people, who have traditionally been

white men. Therefore, the current study aims to examine the research topic, and give meaning to ethnic diversity, through the perspectives of a diverse set of people. It is important to include the voices that are traditionally unheard, as well as understand how the dominant ethnic group approaches this subject.

Therefore, to understand what meanings media professionals give to the topic of ethnic diversity, the current study poses the following research question (RQ): “how do Dutch media professionals give meaning to ethnic diversity on the work floor?” In addition, a closer look into one of the largest Dutch media organizations, ADR Nieuwsmedia (most known for its national newspaper *Algemeen Dagblad*), will help understand how ethnically diverse such large organizations currently are. Therefore, the research proposes the sub question (SQ1): “how ethnically diverse is one of the largest media organizations in The Netherlands?” Finally, as the current study proposes a solution-oriented practical study, a second sub question (SQ2) will guide the thesis in finding such practical solutions: “how do media professionals think about pro-diversity measures?”

1.2 Relevance

The Black Lives Matter protests in the summer of 2020 sparked debates about racial equality worldwide, as well as in the Netherlands. With a more critical view, people negotiated the meaning of diversity and inclusion in several social, professional and governmental institutions. The same goes for media organizations. In order for anything to change in media organizations, it is important to first know more about the actual mindset of media professionals, and their opinions on matters such as ethnic diversity and pro-diversity measures. Additionally, the study will provide an updated overview of ethnic diversity in one large media organization. Although ethnic diversity in the media has been extensively studied before (Williams & O’Reilly, 1998; Takken & Geels, 2018; Zantingh, 2017), there is no recent data available on the current situation in large media organizations in the Netherlands. The Black Lives Matter movement has awakened the interest in such data, which makes for the media to be under more scrutiny. Providing these more recent numbers will therefore contribute relevant data to these questions as posed by society. This makes the research have an extensive social relevance.

The study is also relevant to the general public, who often criticize the credibility of the media (Maukonen & Sanomat, 2021). Considering that the latest data shows there is almost no ethnic diversity in the media, it makes the critiques from the public all the more

credible. This makes for a large portion of the Dutch population to not be represented, or at least given the impression of not being represented. As an example, in the city of Rotterdam, almost 52% of the people do not have a white Dutch background (Basisregistratie Personen, n.d.). A large portion of those people have a non-western immigration background. Observing local media organizations such as the Rotterdam newspaper (Rotterdams Dagblad, part of ADR Nieuwsmedia), this same percentage is arguably not reflected in the people that create and distribute the local news. That raises fair questions about 'true' representation. This is something that must be further studied, and that can be supported by the findings of the current study.

This research however also has an academic relevance. Currently, there are a few studies that look into diversity in the media, yet most of those only quantify the numbers and present the data in percentages (Zantingh, 2017). Although that is very useful, it fails to tell us what the attitudes are towards diversity and inclusion of those actually working in the media, especially those at the top who have the power to set the agenda and make decisions on this topic. Moreover, what meanings do media professionals give to diversity and inclusion? Such qualitative data is currently unavailable, which makes for a theoretical gap in the understanding of diversity in the media. Moreover, many of these studies lack concrete solutions to the problem of non-diversity, which makes it less applicable for media organizations that desire pro-diversity change. Therefore, the current thesis will provide data that fills this research gap, getting a step closer to understanding the meanings given to ethnic diversity by the media professionals.

1.3 Thesis Set-up

In this dissertation, the main research question, as well as the two sub questions are answered. First, several in-depth interviews with media professionals from all across the media sector will be conducted. Through this, the research will be able to define the different meanings that these media professionals give to ethnic diversity. Using these insights from experts in the field, concrete solutions to the problem of ethnically homogenous workplaces can be formulated. Then, a descriptive survey is distributed within ADR Nieuwsmedia, which will provide insights on the current ethnic diversity in such organizations (see chapter 3). The survey provides insight of ethnic diversity in one of the largest Dutch media organizations. The research methods are further discussed in chapter 3.

The scope of the research is limited to Dutch survey respondents and interviewees only. For the survey specifically, only media professionals from one organization will have access to the survey. All the interviewees will be Dutch media professionals, yet from diverse backgrounds and ages. The total span of the research takes around five months, starting in February with pre-research efforts, until the end of June when all the results have been processed and the project is completed.

The first chapter of this study provided relevant background information on the research problem, as well as the research objectives. In chapter 2, the study lays out the theoretical foundations, explaining how ethnicity and diversity have been understood throughout the years, as well as in different contexts. Additionally, ethnicity in the workplace is further explored, as well as the role of media and its influence on societal developments. Then, in chapter 3, the two methods used in this research are explained, as well as the ethical considerations taken into account throughout the research process. Then finally, in chapters 4 and 5, the results will be presented followed by an extensive discussion and conclusion.

2. Theory

In the following sections of this chapter, several concepts as identified in the research questions will be thoroughly discussed. First, ethnic diversity and the different definitions of ethnicity are addressed. Through a historical lens, as well as a more race-critical lens, the subject of ethnic diversity is given meaning within the framework of a diverse range of literature. Then, diversity in the workplace is discussed. After this, more specific attention is paid to the relation between media and ethnicity, followed by several studies on ethnic diversity in the media over the last years.

2.1 *Ethnic Diversity*

Diversity has been a topic of debate for decades now (e.g. Hultén, 2009; Shore et al., 2009). Scholars have debated on the conceptualization of this word, as well as on the several practices and workings of it. Diversity, as scholars argue, is static: it does not change on itself (Jones & Jones, 2016). In other words, diversity is a noun, which needs the verb ‘inclusion’, in order to change either positively or negatively. This is, however, a rather complex and outdated understanding of the terminology, considering it assumes diversity to merely be the effect of something (in this case inclusion), and not the cause. However, the current study argues that diversity in fact can be a cause, or verb (Wekker et al., 2016), making it more of a solution rather than a problem. At the same time, diversity itself is a heavily debated word, with many different interpretations and meanings. Some scholars argue that diversity is a way of defining and recognizing cultural differences that in societies separate the ‘us’ from the ‘other’ (Fürsich, 2010), whereas others argue that cultural differences do not necessarily automatically signal differences in for example ethnicity (Desmet et al., 2015).

The terminology ‘us’ and ‘others’ requires careful examination. The concept of ‘othering’ as originally coined by Said (1978) in his works about the West and the Orient, has been rebuked and heavily criticized by many contemporary scholars (Fürsich, 2010). Said’s attempt to establish a clear binary between the ‘us’ and the ‘other’ has been labeled as Eurocentric and problematic (Fürsich, 2010). A more suitable way to describe this binary is the distinction of in-groups and out-groups (Point & Singh, 2003), which is a more dynamic way of conceptualizing the ‘us’ and ‘other’. Members of the in-group characterize the members of the out-group as ‘others’ (Point & Singh, 2003), yet these groups are not static, and depending on the context, an individual could either belong to the in-group or the out-

group.

The Cambridge Dictionary then defines diversity as ‘the fact of many different types of things or people being included in something; a range of different things or people’. Diversity can have several dimensions. Bateman and Zeithaml (1993) characterize diversity as having six primary dimensions: age, ethnicity, gender, physical attributes/abilities, race, and sexual orientation, as well as eight fluid dimensions: education, geographic location, income, marital status, military experience, parental status, religious beliefs and work experience. The primary dimensions can, to an extent, be observed from the outside, which is most commonly used by people to describe diversity. Additionally, they are primary as they simply cannot be changed. They can however take on different meaning throughout life, for example gender and sexuality, but they remain a core part of one’s identity (Bateman and Zeithaml, 1993). The fluid dimensions on the other hand can easily change and can also be more difficult to spot on the outside. The study by Jackson et al. (1995) defines diversity as certain observable differences that exist among members of a social unit. This social unit can for example be the workplace, e.g., the media, but also a cultural group or a religion. Similar to the differentiation made by Bateman and Zeithaml (1993), diversity can then be further divided into the surface-level and deep level diversity. The study by Jackson et al. (1995) describes surface-level diversity to be characteristics of people that are promptly observable such as age, sex, and ethnicity. Deep-level diversity then refers to the more latent characteristics that cannot directly be observed such as personality, attitudes, and skills (Jackson et al., 1995). Social identity theory tells us that individuals use these categorizations to identify themselves and others (Point & Singh, 2003).

2.1.1 Race, Ethnicity and Culture. For this study, diversity is approached to be a way of defining differences between people based on shared traits in groups, such as sexuality, gender, or ethnicity, rooted in the definition from Bateman and Zeithaml (1993). Ethnicity is the main topic of this research, as the research question aims to specifically uncover the complexities regarding ethnic diversity. However, to further complicate matters, there ought to be a differentiation made between two commonly, arguably wrongfully, interchangeable words: ethnicity and race. Historically, ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’ were designed to separate the two notions of biological or genetic traits and cultural traits (Stanford University, n.d.). There is however little agreement about the exact distinction, with scholars arguing that genetic differences between the races are minimal, and do not suffice to

differentiate the races for medical purposes (Duster, 2009). However, generally understood, although sometimes highly discriminatory, race is the social grouping of people based on certain shared physical or social qualifications which are viewed by society as ‘distinct’ (Schaefer, 2008). This is for example based on phenotypes such as skin color or hair texture.

As the term race in academics has sometimes led to discriminatory research, the current study prefers the term ‘ethnicity’. Ethnicity, throughout the last decades, has often been described by social research scholars as a demographic characteristic on a personal level (Oerlemans et al., 2009). This means it can be observed, as well as measured. Additionally, ethnicity can be self-identified, meaning a person is able to label themselves, in the way they feel most applicable. However, the term ethnicity took on different meanings over the years when organizational researchers argued that the concept is more of a relational demographic characteristic (Oerlemans et al., 2009). This is particularly relevant to the current study, as relational demography concerns the workplace, e.g., the media. In short, relational demography refers to the way in which individuals’ demographic characteristics are compared to the demographic characteristics of the social group they belong to (Oerlemans et al., 2009). Generally, the more similar an individual’s demographic characteristics are to those of the social group, the more positive their work-related attitudes and behaviors will be (Oerlemans et al., 2009).

Ethnicity can then be described in reference to a group of people that share or are perceived as sharing a common identity which is based on ancestry, language, a specific culture, religion, customs, beliefs, values, history, or memories of migration or colonization (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007; Cashmore, 1996). However, caution ought to be taken into account by using the sub trait of ‘cultural differences’ when talking about ethnic diversity, as the study by Desmet et al. (2015) argue that cultural and ethnic diversity are unrelated. In a large study conducted in over 70 countries, the study by Desmet et al. (2015, p.26) found that “the variation in culture that is explained by ethnicity is very small”. They conclude that the two are not necessarily related, and that a division based on ethnicity does not explain the diversity in cultural values, attitudes, or preferences.

Another problem arises when defining ethnicity and ethnic diversity in this way. This is because through this definition of using culture as an indicator for an ethnic group, our understanding of ethnicity is easily based on stereotypes, and stereotypical thinking. For example, labeling all those who share a similar cuisine and eating traditions as one ethnicity erases the existence of different ethnicities that happen to share the same cultural practices.

Moreover, connecting an ethnic group with specific cultural practices tends to ignore differences within ethnic groups. Labeling a person as being ethnically different because of their cultural practices, means that this categorization is inherently built on the stereotypes known about the ethnic group. Scholars and psychology researchers warn that this way of thinking prevents actual diversity and inclusion from taking place (Ros, 2021), as well as it can result in negative and essentialist attitudes toward ethnic minorities (Mastro & Tropp, 2004). Logical thinking would then suggest letting go of these categorizations, yet by not defining ethnic diversity as the differences between certain ethnic groups, makes it all the more complicated to study and understand how the mechanisms of ethnic inclusion and exclusion actually work. In sum, there is not one way of defining diversity, ethnicity, or ethnic diversity. The current study does make certain decisions regarding this terminology and conceptualize ethnicity and ethnic diversity in a certain way based on literature; however, it is worthy to note that different perspectives exist. Some of these definitions, as mentioned throughout this chapter, are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1
Definitions important to the study

Concept	Definition
Diversity	“Today diversity refers to far more than skin color and gender. It is a broad term used to refer to all kinds of differences ... [which] include religious affiliation, age, disability status, military experience, sexual orientation, economic class, educational level, and lifestyle in addition to gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality” (Bateman & Zeithaml, 1993, p.377).
Surface-level diversity	“[differences in] readily detectable attributes [that] can be quickly and consensually determined with only brief exposure to a target person (e.g. sex, age, ethnicity, team tenure)” (Jackson et al., 1995, p.217).
Deep-level diversity	“[differences in] underlying attributes that are more subject to construal and mutability (e.g., knowledge, skills, abilities, attitudes and values)” (Jackson et al., 1995, p.217).
Ethnicity	“An ethnic group is a collectivity having real or assumed shared ancestry,

history, and culture (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007, p.19).

Migration background	“The country with which a person has the closest ties, based on his/her parents' country of birth or his/her own country of birth.” (CBS, n.d.).
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2.1.2 Measuring Diversity. A common way of measuring ethnic diversity in academia, in the context of The Netherlands, is to look at one’s migration background. The Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS) measures the percentage of Dutch people with a migration background on a yearly basis. They define a migration background as born in another country or if either of the parents were born in another country (CBS, 2020a). However, this raises the question to what extent ethnicity can be measured or defined by a migration background. Third-generation immigrants for example are, according to this way of measuring by the CBS, not considered to be ‘of an immigration background’. This means they are not accounted for in these percentages of ‘people living in The Netherlands with an immigration background’. However, those people arguably define themselves to have a certain ethnicity, different from the dominant one in The Netherlands (being white Dutch), or the in-group (Point & Singh, 2003). This lack of other forms of measuring the number of ethnic ‘others’ in The Netherlands means that the numbers as provided by the CBS will be the foundation of this study, in terms of expressing the amount of people from a migration background (or other ethnicity than white Dutch), living in The Netherlands. However, the necessary caution ought to be taken as this way of categorizing people diminishes the ethnic identities of third- or other generation immigrant children.

Important to understand is a distinction that the CBS makes between a ‘western’ migration background and a ‘non-western’ migration background. Western, in this context, is defined as people with a migration background from countries in Europe (excluding Turkey), as well as North America, Oceania, Indonesia, and Japan (CBS, 2020b). The latter 2 are included based on social-economic as well as social-cultural status, in addition to having former relations to the Kingdom of The Netherlands as part of colonization. Non-western, on the other hand, is defined as people with a migration background from countries in Africa, Latin-America, Asia (excluding Indonesia and Japan) or Turkey (CBS, 2021). The categorization of these countries shows the relevance of using these statistics to express ethnicity, regardless of the limitations as mentioned earlier. Although considered ‘western’, Japanese or Indonesian people arguably have a different ethnicity than white Dutch people.

However, recently a think tank called the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) offered policy advice to the Dutch government. In their report, they advise to no longer divide Dutch people into the categories as mentioned above (Heck, 2021). This categorization, according to the WRR, cannot be scientifically supported, and would cause negative associations (Heck, 2021). In line with what other researchers have pointed out about negative stereotypes and thinking in ‘boxes’ (Ros, 2021; Point & Singh, 2003), the current study aims to avoid such categorization rooted in negative connotations of ethnic division. Therefore, the terms ‘western’ and ‘non-western’ will not be used in this study, and instead be referred to as ‘migration background’, or simply to what ethnicity one belongs.

2.2 Diversity in the Workplace

The workplace, as well as organizations in general, is one of the places where the topic of diversity has been extensively studied (Shore et al., 2009). In these studies, several aspects of diversity were a topic of concern, such as: (dis)ability, age, race, gender, ethnicity and economic class. These subjects have always been studied and approached from a reactive stance with negative wording (Shore et al., 2009). In other words, action is only taken as a reaction to what seems to be a problem. The study by Shore et al. (2009) argues that the way in which this type of research used to be conducted, mainly incorporates negative wording, which describe diversity as a problem, rather than the solution. In order for diversity in the workplace to work, organizations have to move forward with more positive and proactive standpoints, such as how diversity aids organizational success (Shore et al., 2009). Proactive suggests that action should be taken in advance of a future situation happening. Several studies have proven that this approach results in better diversity management (Shore et al., 2009), which means that this proactive and positive attitude towards diversity can in fact improve the numbers on ethnic diversity in creative industries such as the media.

However, in spite of what research suggests, the Dutch media often still approach the topic of diversity and inclusion from a reactive standpoint, where negative wording is used to uplift diversity numbers. For example, as argued earlier, diversity is still often seen as a ‘problem’, and something static (Jones & Jones, 2016). As a result, there is little to no improvement regarding ethnic diversity and inclusivity in the Dutch media (Takken, 2015). However, ethnicity is just one of the aspects of diversity. Looking at for example gender division, many studies point out how there is in fact a positive trend in establishing gender

diverse workplaces, as well as the positive effects of gender diversity (Kato & Kodama, 2017).

The same cannot be argued for ethnic diversity specifically. In fact, in many fields and sectors, both public and private, there is an inaccurate representation of society. In 2020, 24.2% of Dutch citizens had a migration background (CBS, 2021b). Although that does not necessarily accurately measure the amount of people with a different ethnicity than white Dutch, it is still used considering the lack of other available data. In several organizations, such as the national police and the municipality of The Hague, the CBS conducted a pilot study in which they counted the number of people with a migration background working in that organization. The reports by CBS (2017) show that in some of these organizations the percentages of people with a migration background do not match the 24.2% mentioned earlier. To indicate: in the financial services provider Achmea, only 12.0% of employees indicated to have a migration background (CBS, 2017). For the national Dutch police this was 13.0%. Only for the municipality of The Hague and the University of Applied Sciences in Amsterdam the number matched the 24.2%, with respectively 35.0% and 24.0%. However, looking at the number of people with a migration background in The Hague and Amsterdam, then again, the numbers do not accurately reflect the population. In both these cities, the percentages of people with a migration background are 55.6 (CBS, 2021b).

The above statistics clearly indicate a lack of ethnic diversity in the workplace, or at least an inaccurate reflection of the ethnic diversity in society. Shore et al. (2009) points out that diversity in the workplace, in race and ethnicity, can in fact create value and benefits of team outcomes. This is based on research conducted by the late 1990s, where the focus was more on work teams, organizational management, and the workforce (Shore et al., 2009). From this research, two perspectives arose that are quite the opposite (Milliken & Martins, 1996). The pessimistic perspective is that workplaces with increased ethnic diversity display negative effects on the social interaction, as well as an increased conflict (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). The optimistic perspective suggests that group performance is enhanced by ethnic diversity, as it comes with broader resources and multiple perspectives (Hoffman, 1959). This is however partly disputed by Shore et al. (2009), as they suggest the positive effects of ethnic diversity on work group performance cannot be fully supported conclusively. More current research, however, does offer conclusive support for these positive findings (Oerlemans et al., 2009). Additionally, several media professionals pointed out the necessity of ethnic diversity in the workplace, claiming that it is necessary in order to

understand the world, provide diverse networks, and gain financial opportunities (Takken, 2018).

2.3 Media and Ethnicity

In context of the current study, one specific workplace is studied: the media. This workplace requires a closer observation in order to understand its magnitude. The media play a central role in the communication services of the world (Happer & Philo, 2013), which comes with a large responsibility of correctly informing the public. How we understand this informative role has changed over the years. In the early 20th century, academia understood the consumption of media as the hypodermic needle theory (Croteau & Hoynes, 2013). They assumed that audiences are passive, and that any information goes straight to your brain without any critical analysis (Croteau & Hoynes, 2013). This was mainly rooted in the fear that western democracies could be easily destabilized by fascists and extremist media propaganda (Fürsich, 2010).

However, through mass communication research at the end of the Second World War, communication scholars struggled to measure these assumed effects of the media (Fürsich, 2010). Therefore, they instead argued in favor of radical rethinking that approaches the effects of media to be minimal, also called The Limited Effects Theory (Fürsich, 2010). Additionally, some scholars argued the model resembles rather a two-step flow communication model, in which mass media pass on information to opinion leaders, who then pass it onto audiences (Croteau & Hoynes, 2013). These opinion leaders act as gatekeepers, and in a way determine what becomes ‘big news’, and what the audiences will consume. Similar to the hypodermic needle theory, the two-step flow communication theory also assumes the audiences to be rather passive.

2.3.1 Active Audiences. These assumptions of passive audiences changed in the second half of the 20th century, where cultural theorist Stuart Hall conceptualized ideas of ‘active audiences’ (Croteau & Hoynes, 2013). One of his theories, The Reception Theory, argues that audiences decode messages differently based on their individual perception or interpretation (Croteau & Hoynes, 2013). Through that, the encoded message can take on different meanings, depending on the audience. Through this process of decoding, audiences can either accept the preferred encoded meaning, negotiate it, or oppose it (Croteau & Hoynes, 2013). He was not the only one, however. In 1974, researchers Blulmer and Katz

expanded on an 'active audience' theory from the 1940s, called Uses & Gratification, that explores the reasons people have to consume media. They explained that audiences consume out of necessity for information, to personally identify with something, because of social interaction and personal relationship, and for the purpose of entertainment (Croteau & Hoynes, 2013). These different uses, according to the theory, then gives the audience a sense of gratification and media satisfaction.

More recently, as part of the latest wave in communication research, the dominant paradigm is called 'framing research', of which the Agenda-Setting Theory is the most notable approach (Fürsich, 2010). This theory suggests that news media have the ability to influence the importance of issues that concern the public agenda (Feezell, 2017). This happens through the process of accessibility, which implies that the more frequently media covers a specific issue, the more important it is considered to the public (Feezell, 2017). This is because frequent news messages are more likely to be prominently present in the memories of audiences. The public is therefore influenced by both the 'reality' as portrayed by the media, as well as the observable 'reality' (Feezell, 2017). The way in which the media shapes this reality is based on gatekeepers (those who make the news and decide what is newsworthy), priming (the process of deciding what the most important news is), and framing (the way news content is shaped and contextualized). Common critiques on this model are however that the effect is weaker for audiences that already have their mind made up, as well as that the media cannot create problems; they can only decide its importance or priority.

Regardless of the model applied, all indicate an important and influential role of the media. Without fully grasping the magnitude of this role, and understanding its history, it becomes hard to understand the relevance of the current study. Media can for example, legitimize certain societal changes, by placing trust and credibility on it (Happer & Philo, 2013), such as the Black Lives Matter movement. At the same time however, they can also insert confusion and doubt into the public debate (Happer & Philo, 2013), which highlights the powerful role that the media fulfill. Researchers Mastro and Tropp (2004) further investigated this more negative role the media play in shaping public debate and opinion. They found that exposure to negative racial stereotypes for example, result in a similar negative attitude towards ethnic and racial minorities (Mastro & Tropp, 2004). Fürsich (2010) warns however, that all approaches that ascribe the media a strong impact have received intense criticism from other established scholars, who suggest that the theoretical

issues surrounding this topic remain a topic of academic debate. At the same time, social-scientific scholars agree that the media has at least a central or important role in society when it comes to defining and explaining issues of civic concern (Fürsich, 2010). Especially the latter is relevant in the context of the current study, which takes place in the context of social developments in terms of racial equality.

2.3.2 Ethnic Diversity in the Media. There are several previous studies that looked into the diversity within the Dutch and Flemish context regarding the media landscape (Vandenberghe et al., 2015; NRC, 2017). In other contexts, more studies have been done, for instance on sports media professionals racial stereotyping (De Heer et al., 2021). These studies approach diversity as a complex matter but argue that in a way the media serves as a realistic reflection of society (Vandenberghe et al., 2017). In a study about the diversity in the Flemish media landscape, Vandenberghe et al. (2017) critically notes that media have become part of a culture, and that culture ought to represent the society as a whole. The study by Vandenberghe et al. therefore argues for ‘demographic diversity’, meaning the media has to be a reflection of society in terms of age, gender and ethnicity.

Similar arguments can be used for media outlets all around the world, as in principle the free and public press represent an entire country. The fundamentals of the study by Vandenberghe et al. (2017) will therefore also be applied in the current research about the media landscape in the Netherlands. According to Zantingh (2017), the percentage of ethnic minorities within the NPO (Dutch public broadcaster) increased with 0.6 between 2010 and 2015. Although very minimal, Zantingh (2017) argues it is nonetheless very important. A medium has to think about what diversity means for their reporting, in terms of covering all perspectives, giving voices to everyone, and reaching all of your audiences (Zantingh, 2017). He continues that for every article posted, the journalist has to think to what extent their own biases affected the way sentences were formed and how meaning was attributed. Additionally, Zantingh’s (2017) research shows that when there was a certain inclusion of ethnic minorities present in media items, they would be presented as the ‘common man’, whereas white individuals would be presented as the ‘experts’.

In a study conducted in 2015 by the Dutch newspaper NRC, it became clear that among the nine big newspapers in the Netherlands, only 3.0% of journalists were from an ethnic minority (Takken, 2015). At the time, the percentage for the entire Dutch population was 11.7. The same newspaper conducted the same study again in 2018 to see what has

changed. They concluded that the percentage of journalists with a non-white immigrant background increased to 5.4% (Takken & Geels, 2018). At the same time however, the percentage of Dutch people with a non-white immigrant background increased with 2.0, to a total of 13%. Although this can be considered a moderately positive trend towards a more diverse media landscape, chief editors of several newspapers commented that the studies are pointless, and that they do not care about the ethnic background of a journalist (Takken & Geels, 2018).

These numbers are not limited to newspapers only. For television for example, the statistics are similar. The study by Koeman et al., (2007) show that among the Dutch television channels (both commercial and public), more than 80.0% of the on-screen individuals are white. From the percentage that is non-white, it mainly concerns fictional programs, as well as many American imported TV-shows (Koeman et al., 2007). However, this study dates back over 15 years, which means that likely there have been some improvements made. This ought to be explored in further research, in order to fully understand what the television landscape looks like now, in terms of ethnic diversity.

2.3.3 Pro-Diversity Solutions. Diversity expert Chanel Lodik emphasizes the importance of the use of people of color (POC) as experts. According to her, there has to be an accurate representation of the Dutch society within media (Meischke, 2020). She actively tries to connect POC experts to journalists, as a way of increasing the representation for ethnic minorities in the media. However, that does not tackle the issue of diversity *within* the media. In other words, is the level of inclusivity and diversity the same when a white journalist writes with the help of POC experts, or when actual POC journalists do the reporting themselves? This is something that will be further explored in the current study, as it will look into the specific mechanisms of diversity and inclusion according to media professionals.

Additionally, a common solution mentioned by those investing diversity in the workplace are quotas. In theory, such fixed shares should ensure that a target diversity percentage is reached. However, as Takken and Geels (2018) point out, chief editors of large media organizations do not favor the usage of quotas in their workplaces. Other studies do however illustrate the positive effects of quotas, as well as the extent to which quotas are applied in different countries (Dorrough et al., 2019; Flory et al., 2019). The study by Flory et al. (2019) specifically points out that practical solutions such as quotas to improve ethnic

diversity have a positive effect. Other studies more generally argue in favor of the usage of several quotas, such as gender quotas or disability quotas.

Another solution to the lack of ethnic diversity in workplaces are diversity messages (Flory et al., 2019). Including pro-diversity messages in vacancies, or as communication to applicants for example, can raise interest among applicants of color, without sacrificing the quality of the total pool of applicants (Flory et al., 2019). Such solutions seem easily applicable and will be explored through the questions in the interviews of this study, especially when discussing with interviewees possible solutions.

In sum, the literature as studied in this chapter helps define concepts such as ethnicity and diversity. It looks at how these definitions have changed over the years, as well as what meaning it takes on in different settings, such as the workplace. Additionally, the role of the media is analyzed, in order to understand its relevance of being studied. Media are a powerful social tool in meaning making in society, as some point out, yet their effects have been understood in different ways throughout the last decades. Moreover, the literature provides the current study with relevant numbers on ethnic diversity in Dutch media. However, these studies on ethnic diversity in Dutch media mentioned earlier only present data that is at least three years old. These numbers could have changed by now, as well as it does not take into account the rapid social changes as ignited by recent movements such as Black Lives Matter.

3. Method

3.1 Research Design

The current study will answer the research question by conducting a mixed method analysis, with a qualitative research method as the main methodology. The combination of two methods supports the parameters of the research question, as it ensures each part of the question is appropriately addressed. The research question: “how do Dutch media professionals give meaning to ethnic diversity on the work floor”, lends itself best to a qualitative content analysis, as conducted through in-depth interviews. However, to understand what ethnic diversity and inclusion entails in the Dutch context, it is fundamental to also explore the current situation in terms of numbers and percentages. Hence, a quantitative survey method will provide an indication of such numbers, as well as answer this study’s first sub question: “how ethnically diverse is one of the largest media organizations in The Netherlands?” In the following sections, the particular choice of methods is further explained. Then, the sampling method is addressed, followed by this study’s ethical consideration, as well as the methods’ limitations.

3.1.1 Interviews. The main qualitative part of this study concerned the understanding of mechanisms behind the limited ethnic diversity among media professionals, and what opinions these professionals have towards ethnic diversity. In other words, what are the different aspects of diversity that matter amongst media professionals? For example, do chief editors take into account diversity quotas when hiring? Or do media experts research diversity based on skin-color at all? Or diversity based on ethnic background? These questions, among others, were answered through in-depth interviews with several media professionals from Dutch media outlets from different areas in the media landscape. From television, to newspapers, to online blogs, to radio stations. The interviews provided a deeper understanding of what diversity means in the eyes of the media professionals, and how that reflects the company or the sector as a whole. As previous research indicated (Takken & Geels, 2018), the opinions on diversity among media professionals may be quite opposing to one another, which means there is no general consensus to the topic of diversity. It is therefore important to remain open to, and understand what these opinions are, and how they affect (or are affected by) ethnic diversity.

Qualitative data analysis is especially suitable when looking to discover underlying patterns of relations and meanings (Babbie, 2020). Through this non numerical examination,

as well as interpretation (Babbie, 2020), the findings of the in-depth interviews could be linked to the theory as presented in chapter 2. Then, through the thematic analysis research method, important themes throughout the interview were uncovered (see section 3.2).

There were a total of ten interviews conducted with media professionals from all across the industry. Getting media professionals to talk about such a sensitive topic as ethnic diversity required careful handling of their information and data. Several interviewees even emphasized that by contract they are not allowed to talk about certain topics without consent of the employer (confidentiality agreement), which is why the study required extra attention be paid to the privacy and data protection of all the subjects (see section 3.4). An overview of the confidential and pseudonymized interviewees can be found in Appendix B. Each interview lasted for about 45 to 60 minutes and was guided by the topic list (see Appendix C). The topic list provided a foundation to the questions asked, in order to make sure the answers of the interviewees would provide relevant data that could answer the research questions. Additionally, it ensured that the answers from the different interviewees were comparable to a certain extent, as they were asked the same, or similar, questions.

The interview was divided into seven sections. First, the interviewee was asked several introduction questions. The most important being the verbal consent for the audio recording. Again, the protection of the interviewees' identity was the number one concern of this research. Media professionals serve an important role in society yet are under constant scrutiny by the public and employer. Therefore, it was important that each interviewee felt comfortable by being recorded, in spite of the recording being completely confidential and not available to anyone but the researcher. Then, several questions about the interviewees' backgrounds were asked, such as age and ethnicity. The second section concerned the personal career of the interviewee. An example question is: 'what were your motivations to start working in the media sector?' After this, several questions were asked about the (making of) media. For example: 'for what type of audience do you make media', 'what kind of role do the media play in society', and 'what responsibilities do the media have towards the audience'.

Up to this point, no questions yet were asked about ethnic diversity. Again, this was a conscious decision considering the weight of the topic. The interviewees were slowly eased into it, as the fourth section more specifically asked questions about diversity and ethnicity. For example: 'what role does diversity play in the media', 'what role does ethnic diversity play in the media', and 'do you consciously think about ethnic diversity in your

own workplace’. After this, the interviewee obtained some background information about previous studies regarding ethnic diversity in Dutch media (Takken, 2015; Takken, 2018; Takken & Geels, 2018), to which the fifth section related. Here, the interviewee was asked about their opinion on the idea that the media have to be an accurate reflection of society in terms of ethnic diversity, as well as what possible causes and effects of a lack in ethnic diversity could be. For example: ‘what are in your eyes the causes of a lack of ethnic diversity in your own workplace’, ‘does ethnic diversity in your workplace influence the products that you make’, and ‘what are in your eyes the effects of a lack in ethnic diversity in the media’.

The sixth section of the interview required the interviewee to reflect on their own role in the media and the (ethnic) diversity of it. The interviewee was asked questions such as: ‘do you feel informed enough to make media about matters that concern people with a different ethnic background’, and ‘does your own ethnicity play a role in your own reporting or how you make media’. Right after, the interviewee was asked to paint an ideal future of the media landscape in the seventh section of the interview. Additionally, they were asked about possible solutions (in case they experienced the ethnic diversity in the media to be a problem) that could solve this issue. For example: ‘how do you see the media landscape change in the future with regards to ethnic diversity’, and ‘what solutions do you think would work to solve the lack of ethnic diversity in the media’. A complete overview of all the questions proposed in the topic list can be found in Appendix C.

3.1.2 Survey. For the second part of the study, a quantitative survey method was used to gather data on diversity and inclusion from one national media company. This dataset was used to uncover and express the percentages on ethnic diversity on the work floor, which was later used in the qualitative interviews. A survey is the most suitable method for the first part of this study, as it allows for a large study of participants, and the results can be used to express characteristics about a larger population (Babbie, 2020). The descriptive survey conducted by the current study is used to provide insights on the ethnic diversity on the work floor of one large Dutch media organization, which serves as a first general impression into the workings of ethnic diversity in such a large media organization. Additionally, survey research also allows us to explore certain phenomena more in-depth (Babbie, 2020), which in this case would be ethnic diversity and the attitudes of media professionals towards it.

The survey was distributed within one media company: ADR Nieuwsmedia which includes newspapers like Algemeen Dagblad, Rotterdams Dagblad, BN De Stem, and others. In this survey, participants were asked to answer some questions about diversity and inclusion. The survey mainly explored respondents' ethnic backgrounds to get an idea of ethnic diversity within the media organization. The survey asked questions such as: 'in what country was your mother born', 'in what country was your father born', 'in what country were you born', and 'how do you identify your ethnic background?' As explained earlier in chapter 2, a way of measuring ethnic diversity is in fact expressing this in terms of percentages of background, which is why the survey uses this variable. This is the most relevant variable to this part of the study, as it directly answers SQ1: "How ethnically diverse is one of the largest media organizations in The Netherlands?" Although these numbers are not completely representable for the entire media landscape, it will provide first insights into the current level of diversity within the largest print and online media company of The Netherlands. This specific company was chosen because of the personal network of the researcher, myself, with the workplaces of these organizations. The media world can be quite closed off, which is why these personal connections enabled better access to the employees and distribution channels, which made for higher participation rates in the survey.

The survey was divided into four main blocks (see Appendix A). The first one, as explained before, concerns the participants' background information such as ethnicity, gender, and age, and is made up of eleven questions. Both the question about gender and ethnicity contained a short explanation of the concepts, ensuring the participant felt informed enough, as well as safe enough, to answer it. The current study does not limit gender to the outdated binary understanding of 'man' and 'woman', and instead includes non-binary as well as an open-ended 'other' box. For ethnicity, the survey provided examples of what ethnicity could be, as well as that it explicitly states that ethnicity does not have to be the same as passport nationality. With careful consideration, yet purposeful intent, the questions were made to be all-inclusive, avoiding cultural sensitivities, and respecting the diverse character of the respondent.

The second part of the survey consisted of one single question with four statements. Here, participants were asked to express to what extent they agree with the statements about diversity. The question reads: 'what do you think about...', after which four situations were presented. Considering the sensitivity of the topic of ethnic diversity, the survey purposely

asked about both gender diversity as well as ethnic diversity. This also reduces social desirability bias, in which participants would answer the questions in a favorable manner for the outcome of the study (Babbie, 2020). The most important objective was that participants would truthfully answer the questions about their views on ethnic diversity in the media. On a 5-point Likert scale, participants indicated if they found the current situation regarding ethnic diversity on the work floor to be sufficient or insufficient. An example of such a situation asked is: ‘what do you think about the current gender diversity in your team?’ Another example is: ‘what do you think about the current ethnic diversity in ADR Nieuwsmedia?’ Participants could have also answer ‘I don’t know’, considering that some might not have been familiar with the level of diversity in the entire company, or choose to not express an opinion about it.

The third part of the survey consisted of one question with eleven statements. Respondents were asked to what extent they agreed with each statement, which they could express on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from ‘strongly disagree’ to ‘strongly agree’. For this question there was no ‘I don’t know’ option, as for such scenarios participants could answer ‘neutral’. Again, to avoid social desirability bias as much as possible, the statements were about both gender diversity and ethnic diversity, to avoid giving away the study is solely about one or the other. However, for the analysis of the data, all statements were relevant considering there could be a significant difference in attitude towards gender diversity compared to attitude towards ethnic diversity, for example. The statements for this question were for example: ‘something has to be done to improve gender diversity in ADR Nieuwsmedia’, ‘quotas help to improve ethnic diversity’, ‘more has to be done to improve ethnic diversity in ADR Nieuwsmedia even if that means that career wise, I would have to let someone else go before me’.

Important to note is that the results of this survey cannot be generalized to the entire media landscape. However, it did provide beneficial statistics that gave more insights in ethnic (and gender) diversity on the work floor and, as such, serve as a relevant foundation for the results of this study. To understand meanings given to ethnic diversity by media professionals in today’s media landscape, it is vital to have updated numbers from the industry itself. Previous research by NRC indicated that the statistics are quite comparable across the several media outlets (Takken & Geels, 2018). Therefore, the current study will approach the research problem in a similar manner.

3.1.3 Sample. For the interviews, a purposive sampling method was applied to obtain the ten interviewees (relying mainly on the researcher's network). However, the selection as carefully made with considerations for the diversity in companies, age, gender, and ethnicity. An overview of the interviewees can be found in Appendix B. These are confidential and pseudonymized, and any information that could reveal the identity of a subject such as home address, specific ethnicity, or job title, was not provided. Similar to the survey, the interviews were conducted online through either video calling or voice calling. No in-person interviews were conducted to ensure the health and safety of both the participant and the researcher, in light of the COVID-19 restrictions. The average age of the interviewees was 27,30. Four of the interviewees are male, six are female. Four of the interviewees are non-white, six of the interviewees are white. Although the sample is a diverse selection of media professionals, it is important to note that the research did not look for differences within the pool of interviewees. This research was only interested in the way the entire group gives meaning to the topic of ethnic diversity, not so much in differences between the minority members and majority members of the pool.

The survey was distributed only among media professionals working within ADR Nieuwsmedia (subsidiary of DPG Media). Considering the health restrictions in place as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the survey was distributed through online channels, and could only be completed digitally, through the online survey service Qualtrics. No paper versions were distributed. The survey was distributed twice through the weekly employee newsletter by the Editor in Chief, reaching not only the main newspaper AD, but also its regional and local subsections. Then, as a follow-up, the researcher posted the link to the survey in the online communication channels of each department. The survey could only be accessed via the link, and specifically asked respondents to indicate in what team they work. Therefore, any possible false responses could be filtered out. After three weeks of the survey being online and accessible, it compiled 103 responses. The average age of the survey respondents is 35,52. 57.4% identifies as male, opposed to 42.6% as female. The vast majority, 84.7% identifies as Dutch. The other 15.3% is made up of a variety of ethnicities, most being white (see section 4.1).

3.1.4 Operationalization. From the research questions, several concepts were defined in chapter 2 of this study. The concepts relevant to the research question were formed and given meaning through the examination of several literature studies. These

concepts are ethnic diversity, pro-diversity measures, and ‘meaning making’ regarding ethnicity and diversity. Then, through the descriptive survey as well as the in-depth interviews these concepts are measured. Ethnic diversity is measured by means of the survey questions about ethnicity such as question nine: “How would you define your own ethnicity?”. Then, the concept of pro-diversity measures resulted in several survey questions, as well as interview topics. For the survey, this was for example: “To what extent do you agree or disagree that quote to improve ethnic diversity should be implemented in ADR Nieuwsmedia?” Similarly, one topic of the interview concerned the interviewees’ perspective on the future, in terms of how they would ideally see the media sector change. In this topic, the interviewees were for example asked about what concrete solutions they would think work to improve ethnic diversity: “What solutions do you think would work to improve ethnic diversity in the media?” Finally, the third concept ‘meaning making’ regarding ethnicity and diversity, was measured through the analysis of most of the questions asked in the interview. For example: “Do you find it important to think about your own role in the conversation about ethnicity and diversity?” Or: “What role does ethnic diversity play in the media?” A complete overview of all the survey questions as well as the topic list for the interview can be found in Appendix A and C.

3.2 Data Analysis

For the qualitative part of this study, the research applied the process of thematic analysis, through coding, to come to the themes that are present in the interviews. The purpose of this research method is to identify certain patterns of meanings that are present across the several texts (interview transcripts) of the research (Brennen, 2017). These patterns were found through an extensive and rigorous process of data familiarization, coding, and the developments of the final themes (Brennen, 2017). Each step was carefully revised, allowing for an interactive research approach, where each part of the study and analysis was constantly revised and adapted (Babbie, 2020). The themes identified across the dataset represent the meanings given to diversity and the mechanisms behind the limited diversity.

The quantitative data of this study was collected and presented in the form of percentages, similar to the previous research (Takken, 2015; Takken & Geels, 2018), by showing the ethnic backgrounds of the participants. Using that data, the current paper illustrated the ethnic background of media professionals, expressed in percentages per

background. This helped paint a clearer picture of the current media landscape, as well as the attitudes among the media professionals within ADR Nieuwsmedia. As said, it served as supportive data, hence there were no SPSS calculations performed with the dataset. As the survey responses were not intended to answer the research question, such mathematical analyses were considered redundant.

3.2.1 Reliability and Validity. Throughout the coding process, the codes were constantly compared to earlier found codes. For example, after the first few interviews, the codes were reviewed in order to get an initial idea. Then, this knowledge was used when comparing the codes of the following interviews to the earlier ones. This constant comparison guarantees validity (Silverman, 2011), which strengthened the credibility of the research. Additionally, each step of the research was carefully documented, in order to provide transparency to increase the reliability of this research (Silverman, 2011). Each step of the data collections, as well as the data analysis was carefully explained and accounted for. Additionally, certain reliability strategies have been implemented, such as low interference descriptors (Silverman, 2011). The interview recordings have been transcribed in verbatim, and direct quotations were used in the results and discussion section. Additionally, the study ensured data triangulation (Silverman, 2011), by using multiple data sources in order to understand the research problem. These data sources are the literature study, the survey results, and the interviews.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Both methods used in this research are subject to be treated in an ethical manner. For the main method of the study, the interviews, extra precaution was taken to ensure ethical research. This is because many of the media professionals were formally not allowed to speak about their employers without the company's consent. Especially considering the weight of the topic, ethnic diversity, which is to many a polarizing narrative, it was of the highest priority that each interviewee felt safe and comfortable to do the interview. This started with them signing or verbally consenting to the informed consent (Babbie, 2020), which laid out the details of the study. In there, participants were informed that their participation was completely voluntary, and could have been withdrawn at any moment of the study (Babbie, 2020). Additionally, the participants were informed that their information would be completely confidential and pseudonymized. This means that from the second the

interview ended, the participant's name and information were given a pseudonym, and all other sensitive or compromising information was anonymized in all the processes of the research. In the results and discussion section of this research, the interviewees are referred to with letters, such as 'Interviewee A' or 'Interviewee B'. From transcribing, to coding, to reporting the findings in writings, nowhere was private information that could lead to the identity of the participant revealed to the public. A key document with the personal information was however available to the researcher, which is why the interviews were not completely anonymous (Babbie, 2020). This key document was safely stored on two locations, one with the researcher, and one with the academic professor guiding the research project. They are however completely confidential as no other person will have access to this confidential information. The confidential recordings and anonymous transcripts were all stored on a password-locked private computer of the researcher. The transcripts, which have been made anonymous, were submitted for review together with this research paper. Only the reviewing authorized professors will have access to these transcripts.

Similar ethical considerations were taken into account for the quantitative part of this study, the survey. Surveys ask for personal information, which can be quite uncomfortable for the respondent if it would become public (Babbie, 2020). Therefore, the confidentiality and safe storage of the survey responses was the priority of this study. Additionally, certain questions could have caused psychological discomfort with the respondent (Babbie, 2020), which is why the questions were asked in a way that minimized this risk. For example, the topics and questions naturally flowed from more easy-to-answer questions to more in-depth questions about the topic of this research. At the same time, none of the questions were asked in such a way that it would put the respondent at mental harm in any way. Respondents were informed at the start of the interview that they are not obliged to give an answer to any question. Each question could be skipped, and at any moment in time could the respondent withdraw from the research.

Finally, I recognize my positionality as a researcher. Working myself within ADR Nieuwsmedia, as well as being a member of an ethnic minority, my role as researcher was constantly taken into consideration. To not jeopardize the findings of the study, including possible research biases, I recognized my own position and prevented the aforementioned factors to influence this dissertation. I have rigorously used methodological guidelines throughout conducting the research, to avoid looking at the data in a subjective manner from my own position. Therefore, this research does not subjectively reflect my opinion only.

3.5 Limitations to the Methodology

There are a number of drawbacks to the chosen research methods of this study. First, in relation to the survey, the topic of the survey might work repelling to certain employees. For example, diversity is considered by some to be a sensitive topic, that one rather stays away from talking about. This might mean that the respondents of the survey do not accurately reflect the entire work floor, as only a specific group of people choose to participate. The research thus acknowledges, as said earlier, that the results from the survey cannot be generalized to ADR Nieuwsmedia in general, nor to the entire media sector. However, at the same time, as explained in chapter 2, the large media outlets throughout the country are in a way very similar to each other, with previous research showing little ethnic diversity in each of the studied workplaces (Takken & Geels, 2018). This means that although the results cannot be generalized, in a way it does offer an indication of how ethnically diverse such media organization are.

Another drawback of the survey is that ethnic diversity might be too complex of an issue for a survey, which means that the questions that should be quite straightforward could have been rather difficult to understand. Additionally, it limits the participant to closed-ended answers that does not allow flexibility. To counter this, the key part of the study conducted in-depth interviews, which served as the main method of analysis in this research. The meaning making in the interviews helped paint a clearer, more in-depth picture behind the abstract percentages and numbers gained from the survey responses. At the same time, however, it proved rather difficult to reach a point of saturation, considering that the experiences of each interviewee are different from those of others. This meant that each new interview provided relevant and valuable insights. However, the scope of the study and the realistic timeframe for completion of this dissertation resulted in a total of ten interviews being conducted. For future studies, the number of interviews should be increased in order to reach full data saturation.

4. Results

In the following sections, the results of the research will be presented. First the outcome of the survey study is given, then the themes as found throughout the interviews. The survey was divided into four parts, and therefore the data will be presented in a similar manner. The analysis of the in-depth interviews resulted in five major themes, which will be addressed each individually. This section is mainly descriptive, including minimal references to the literature. In chapter 5, the results are further interpreted in more detail, and explained within the literature framework as laid out in chapter 2.

4.1 Survey Outcome

The descriptive survey that was distributed among employees of ADR Nieuwsmedia resulted in 103 responses. Some responses were incomplete, yet still used for analysis of the data considering that none of the questions were mandatory to answer. For this reason, the sample size (N) for each question can be different. Out of the 101 valid responses for the question about gender, 57.4% identified as male, and 42.6% as female. None of the survey responses indicated another gender identification. Of these 101 valid responses, the vast majority defines their ethnicity as Dutch (84.7%). The other 15.3% is made up of a variety of ethnicities: Dutch/Indonesian or Indonesian (3 people), Dutch/German (1 person), Dutch/English (1 person), Dutch/Moluccan (1 person), Dutch/Russian (1 person), Dutch/Javanese Surinamese (1 person), Dutch/Balkan (1 person), Dutch/Hindustan (1 person), Dutch/Vietnamese (1 person), Dutch/Moroccan (1 person), Frisian (1 person), western (1 person), world citizen (1 person). The average age of the respondents is 35.52 (N=101), with the lowest being 19 and the oldest 64. The majority of respondents (50.5%) completed a degree at a university of applied sciences (HBO), 5.9% completed a bachelor's degree, 22.8% a master's degree, and 5.9% pursued postgraduate education (N=101).

The second part of the survey asked respondents to indicate to what extent they were satisfied or unsatisfied with the current level of diversity. This question asked respondents to reflect on both gender diversity as well as ethnic diversity. Notably, the difference in results between the two facets of diversity are quite interesting. Firstly, respondents were asked about diversity in their own team and secondly about diversity in the organization as a whole. For the first statement: 'what do you think of the current gender diversity in your own team', 20.0% answered satisfied, and 31.6% answered very satisfied. A total of 51.6% is happy with the current status of gender diversity in their own team, opposed to only 7.4%

being very unsatisfied and 27.4% unsatisfied. Comparing this to the question about current ethnic diversity in one's team, only 7.4% were either satisfied or very satisfied (see Table 1). A vast majority of the respondents (82.2%) were either very unsatisfied (41.1%) or unsatisfied (41.1%) with the current ethnic diversity in their team.

For the questions about gender diversity and ethnic diversity *company wide*, participants were less unsatisfied. Only 26.3% of respondents indicated to be either very unsatisfied or unsatisfied with the current gender diversity in the company. For ethnic diversity in the company, this was 69.5%. However, these outcomes did not automatically result in higher percentages of respondents that were satisfied, instead the answer option of 'neutral' was chosen more often (see Table 1).

Table 1
What do you think of the... (valid percentages only)

	N	Very unsatisfied	Unsatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Very satisfied	I don't know
current gender diversity in your own team	95	7.4	27.4	12.6	20.0	31.6	1.1
current gender diversity in ADR Nieuwsmedia	95	6.3	20.0	22.1	22.1	15.8	13.7
current ethnic diversity in your team	95	41.1	41.1	9.4	5.3	2.1	1.1
current ethnic diversity in ADR Nieuwsmedia	95	41.1	28.4	11.6	5.3	1.1	12.6

The third part of the survey asked respondents to agree or disagree on a Likert scale with a total of nine statements. Six of the statements were answered by 92 respondents, and three of the statements were answered by 91 of the respondents. Similar to the previous questions of the survey, attitudes towards both gender and ethnic diversity were asked for. The data shows that more people agree or strongly agree that more has to be done about ethnic diversity (84.8%) opposed to gender ethnicity (64.3%). A majority of the respondents

also agreed that ethnic diversity has an influence on the products made or services offered (68.5%).

As suggested in chapter 2, quotas are considered by some scholars to be a realistic solution to diversity problems. The respondents were asked about this, again both in terms of gender diversity and ethnic diversity. There is however no notable difference between the attitudes towards installing quotas to improve gender diversity or to improve ethnic diversity (see Table 2). More than half of the respondents, 51.1%, (strongly) agree that quotas help to improve ethnic diversity. However, only 38.0% thinks that they should be introduced in their workplace. For this question, more respondents tended to be neutral about it (29.3%), than for the other questions (see Table 2).

The last set of statements asked participants how willing they are to let someone else go before them in terms of career, when trying to improve either gender or ethnic diversity in their organization. Here, although a slight difference, more respondents (strongly) agreed more has to be done about ethnic diversity even if that means they personally would have to let someone else go before them (53.3%), opposed to the same questions about gender diversity (44.0%).

Table 2

To what extent do you agree with the following statements (valid percentages only)

	N	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
More has to be done to improve gender diversity in ADR Nieuwsmedia	92	3.3	5.4	37.0	41.3	13.0
More has to be done to improve ethnic diversity in ADR Nieuwsmedia	92	2.2	2.2	10.9	44.6	40.2
Ethnic diversity has no influence on the products or services being made or offered to the consumer or reader	92	23.9	44.6	17.4	10.9	3.3
Quota help to improve gender diversity	91	8.8	17.6	20.9	48.4	4.4
Quota help to improve ethnic diversity	92	8.7	17.4	22.8	44.6	6.5

Quota should be used to improve gender diversity within ADR Nieuwsmedia	91	13.2	25.3	27.5	31.9	2.2
Quota should be used to improve ethnic diversity within ADR Nieuwsmedia	92	9.8	22.8	29.3	32.6	5.4
More has to be done to improve gender diversity in ADR Nieuwsmedia even if that means career wise I would have to let someone else go before me	91	8.8	17.6	29.7	38.5	5.5
More has to be done to improve ethnic diversity in ADR Nieuwsmedia even if that means career wise I would have to let someone else go before me	92	7.6	14.1	25.0	43.5	9.8

Summarizing, the survey findings show how ethnically diverse the respondents are, as well as how satisfied or unsatisfied they are with the current gender and ethnic diversity. Additionally, the data show how many respondents agree or disagree with certain statements, such as the implementation of pro-diversity measures. These findings will be further reflected on in detail in chapter 5, discussion and conclusion.

4.2 Interview Themes

Moving on to the in-depth interviews with media professionals, the study surfaced deeper layers to the topic of ethnic diversity that can be understood in terms of several themes. Five major themes have been identified in the data: ‘power and responsibility’, ‘need for visibility’, ‘disconnected from workplace’, ‘awareness and change’, and ‘diversity obstacles’. Each theme will be thoroughly explained in the next sections, of which an overview, in the form of a code tree, can be found in Appendix D. The themes reflect the meanings given to ethnic diversity by the media professionals as a group. No comparisons are made between members of this group, as that was not the objective of the research. The order in which the themes are addressed is from most prominently present in the interviews, as well as most striking compared to the literature discussed earlier, to less prominently present and less striking.

4.2.1 Disconnected from Workplace. The most prominent theme as found in the data, as well as the most striking compared to the literature discussed earlier, is the theme that is titled ‘disconnected from workplace’. This refers to the way in which, both unintentional and intentional, people of color feel disconnected from media organizations. This happens through for example racism and discrimination, which makes people experience the workplace as unsafe.

The unsafe workplace, as described by the interviewees, refers to people of color, as well as white people, not feeling safe or comfortable in media organizations: “And later when I looked around me, I realized, this is not at all a safe work environment” (Interviewee J), or “... I’m not a baby, but at a certain moment I just don’t find it comfortable anymore” (Interviewee E). In some cases, as described by multiple interviewees, this unsafe work environment led to people of color leaving the organization or doubting whether they should stay or not: “And yes, many times I thought if this is something I feel comfortable with” (Interviewee A), “The person who left was also a non-white person” (Subject B), or “You have to think why are people with a diverse background leaving this place” (Interviewee C). Additionally, some of the interviewees pointed out that because of the homogenous workplace, people of color feel less welcome to join such an organization: “Therefore it results in people like me feelings less attracted to work in such organizations” (Interviewee G).

For some, these uncomfortable feelings stem from inappropriate jokes, discrimination, or racism: “Indeed, how they are always addressed as those Chinese that eat so weird” (Interviewee E). Several of the interviewees admitted to having either experienced racism and discrimination against themselves, or to have witnessed it happening against colleagues: “He was the only Moroccan in the organization, and that really became his only role. And to be honest, there were many jokes made about him” (Interviewee B). Additionally, some pointed out that this discrimination does not just happen towards ethnic minorities within media organizations, but also to those trying to get a job in those workplaces. One of them disclosed a personal experience of a friend that struggled to find a job in the media: “My Turkish friend who wears a hijab, she is an extremely qualified journalist, fun, can do anything, I can’t imagine you don’t want have her in your team. Yet she has consistently been denied because she wouldn’t fit the team” (Interviewee E). Another similar experience with a friend was shared by another participant: “... a friend of mine who wears a hijab, a journalist, she told me stories about applying for jobs, which

really opened up my eyes” (Interviewee F).

The interviewees of color also pointed out that cultural differences sometimes prevent people of color from entering the media sector or excelling in such creative jobs. These ‘cultural blockades’ are for example the notion that children from immigration parents are expected to financially excel in high-paid jobs such as banker or lawyer: “They told me: make sure to go for a well-paid job. And then you need to be really strong to say: no, I’m going to do something I like which maybe pays a bit less” (Interviewee I). Because of this, there might be less people of color interested in a career in media: “... people with a non-Dutch background, they don’t see journalism really as a place to make career” (Interviewee A).

Findings show that when steps towards pro-diversity are taken, these can be experienced by people of color as a ‘gimmick’. Here, gimmick refers to the ways in which attention is drawn to diversity on a superficial level, that covers up the lack of actual pro-diversity attitudes. The interviewees argued that in some cases for example, people of color are hired for their ‘diversity’: “I felt like: you know, we don’t see it in him, but he has the right skin color so let’s hire him” (Interviewee I). Also, media that is produced about ethnic minorities can come across as insincere or as a ‘gimmick’. Interviewees expressed that, for example, the timing of certain articles about ethnic minorities is very important, as well as who is responsible for writing them: “If there is only one person of color in a large media organization, then, you know, then it should not be the responsibility of that person to point out what’s wrong” (Interviewee J).

4.2.2 Awareness and Change. The next theme identified from the data is ‘awareness and change’. This refers to how the interviewees described their state of being aware of non-diversity and homogeneous media organizations, as well as how they experience a need and willingness to change.

Similar to the results of the survey, almost all of the interviewees pointed out that their workplaces were either entirely white or predominantly white. They described it to be homogenous or non-diverse: “Maybe 98% of my colleagues identify as white Dutch, I think” (Interviewee I), or “We write for a white audience, and I have to admit our entire organization is also very white” (Interviewee E). All of the participants were aware of these homogenous workplaces in the media and considered the issue of non-diversity to be a problem.

Many of the interviewees also expressed ‘negative feelings’ about the consequences of a lack of ethnic diversity in media organizations. Supposedly, it would lead to for example missing certain topics: “... entire subject will not be discussed” (Interviewee H), one-sided reporting: “And if you only let white people make media, you get a very specific view on reality” (Interviewee B), or ignorance: “... it leads to ignorance on entire layers of the society” (Interviewee E). Moreover, these negative feelings from the part of the respondents were also expressed about the way in which they believe change is not actively pursued, and often stays on the surface. One of them pointed out that “... the feeling of urgency of more has to be done for diversity, I think that that is just not big enough yet, and I think that has to change” (Interviewee D). Adding to that, others illustrated that in the field of media, there are always more urgent matters, which makes solving non-diversity not a priority: “There is always a more urgent problem than this” (Interviewee B).

Throughout the interviews, it became apparent that there was a collective wish for solutions: “... we eventually have to do unorthodox things in order to break this pattern” (Interviewee B). Some of these solutions are for example actively looking for people of color at other media organizations: “... and what they are doing is using headhunters to find young non-white journalists everywhere in the country” (Interviewee B). Some interviewees suggested to provide physical accommodations that make the workplace more suitable for ethnic (or religious) minorities: “Install a prayer room in your organization?” (Interviewee H) or change the requirements for a job in the media. One interviewee pointed out that you can attract more people from ethnic minorities by providing traineeships: “What we do now, is offer traineeships, and through that attract people without journalism experience, so that the threshold for people with a diverse background to apply for a media job becomes lower” (Interviewee C). Someone else said that the way in which ‘quality’ is defined by the employer or recruiter needs to change. She pointed out that those who decide what quality is, are often white people: “And yes, you know, we have to select based on quality for sure, but quality has many different aspects. I think that diverse media organizations result in more quality” (Interviewee J). Quality here, as explained by the interviewee, refers to the way in which an applicant’s skills are assessed. As illustrated in chapter 2, there is little ethnic diversity in the media, including in hiring positions, which might result in (unconscious) biases. ‘Quality’ is therefore, as suggested by the interviewee, wrongfully associated with ‘white’ or the ‘us’. This will be further explained in chapter 5.

The interview participants also suggested some quite specific solutions about media

networks and how they should change. For example, one of them argued that the way how many vacancies in the media are filled is mainly through personal and professional networks such as LinkedIn, which are often predominantly white: "... it's an us knows us world, you need connections" (Interviewee A). This means that journalists of color might not be reached. Additionally, some pointed out that the way vacancies are written need to become more encouraging and inclusive: "What we do now for each vacancy is mention that we invite and encourage people with a diverse background to also apply" (Interviewee C).

Without having asked the interviewees about it, almost all mentioned the Black Lives Matter movement, specifically referring to the Dutch demonstrations in the summer of 2020. These demonstrations and the movement in general made the interviewed media professionals aware of the lack of ethnic diversity and understand the urge for change: "... with the Black Lives Matter movement people became more aware of the situation in our country, and how people experience these things" (Interviewee C). Several participants pointed out how these protests were initially underestimated by their organizations, and therefore not reported on in time: "... in the case of Black Lives Matter, there wasn't actually anyone who really cared for it in our team, or at least a very small group" (Interviewee I).

4.2.3 Need for Visibility. The third theme concerns participants' wishes or urges for visibility of people of color. It addresses the way in which there is either not enough visibility currently, how there should be better visibility through for example role models, or how media organizations should reflect society in terms of ethnic diversity.

Most directly, interviewees urged for the need to have people of color in visible roles: "There can be more presenters with a migration background on television, preferably presenters of color" (Interviewee G). This is not only limited to those making media, but also to those invited to be visible in the media, for example the experts on television or in newspapers: "... not just for example only white people as your speakers, but also look at who else can be an expert" (Interviewee C). However, many of the interviewees argued that when people of color are invited to the table, or are put in a position of making media, they should not be limited to content only about their ethnicity or what makes them diverse: "I think we also just have to reach out to people with a migration background when we talk about heart disease or whatever" (Interviewee D), or "... invite people with a non-western migration background to talk about things they are very passionate about, things that don't necessarily have anything to do with their ethnic background" (Interviewee G).

One of the interviewees also pointed out that she personally felt inspired by seeing other blond women on television, which showed her that she could achieve similar success. She noted that: “A female scientists that dresses feminine, something I can completely identify with” (Interviewee J). Others pointed out that the same needs to happen for people of color: “If you have an example, you will be more likely to apply for a position yourself as well” (Interviewee H). When asked about concrete solutions to solve homogeneous media organizations, several participants indicated that people of color as role models can attract more people of color to the organization.

The need for people of color to be in visible positions in media organizations originates from the extent to how aware or unaware one is about ethnic diversity. As some of the interviewees pointed out: “I was not conscious of it, and now that I think about it: “yes we have to do more” (Interviewee B), or they expressed that ethnic diversity was not a topic of conversation on the work floor: “No, I have never had those conversations” (Interviewee D). Although most of the interviewees indicated to have thought or been consciously thinking about ethnic diversity in their workplace, most of them also expressed that the same did not apply to their colleagues or employers. This is an interesting finding, as it suggests that quite some people within the media sector may have other opinions compared to what is reflected in the thesis, through the interviewees. This limitation to the research will be explained in more detail in chapter 5.

However, all of the interviewees pointed out to have pro-diversity attitudes, such as considering ethnic diversity to be a good or beneficial for the company or using quotas in order to increase the visibility of people of color in media positions. One of them pointed out that “Diversity can help us to become better, just because it is our goal to provide all different perspectives on our topics” (Interviewee B). Others highlighted that people of color bring different perspectives into the workplace, “I think maybe a person of color looks at things in a different way” (Interviewee D), or that marginalized groups need to be visible: “I want to show my target audience that there are women and non-white people who contribute a very important part” (Interviewee E). Overall, all of the interviewees had very pro-diversity attitudes, and each named positive effects of a more diverse media organization.

4.2.4 Power and Responsibility. The fourth theme is ‘power and responsibility’. This theme represents a collection of narratives and opinions from the part of respondents that insinuate or describe certain power relationships in the media. Additionally, it includes

the role and responsibilities that (according to the interviewees) are carried by media professionals or the media sector as a whole. Several quotations reflect how respondents think about the role of power, the ‘top layer’ of the media, or how there is an established hierarchy, and how that is related to ethnic diversity in the media organizations. One interviewee said, for instance, that ethnic diversity will not increase unless something changes in the power structures of media: “...it won’t change unless people in power give up or share their power” (Interviewee G). Others point out that leadership in media mainly consists of white men and that there is a need for more ethnic diversity in the management: “I think that the media board has to change as well, that it just needs more diversity” (Interviewee D), “And that we really let them [people of color] decide, and that we give them positions of power” (Interviewee G), or “... at the top of the media there is a layer of old white men” (Interviewee F). Other interviewees also pointed out the need for people of color in these leadership positions: “... and I hope there will be more people with a multicultural background in leadership positions” (Interviewee E).

Additionally, findings show how interviewees often consider the theme of ethnic diversity a heavy topic to discuss within the organization as a result of the existing power dynamics. One interviewee says, for example, that talks about ethnic diversity “... results in heated conversations” (Interviewee B). In many cases, this is a result of the power dynamic between those at the top of the organization and those at the bottom advocating for pro-diversity change. Interviewees pointed out that this flow of feedback starts in society, is picked up by reporters and editors, and then it often stalls right before reaching the top layer of the organization. At the same time, however, participants noted that employees, including people of color, are not afraid to speak up: “She has the guts to open her mouth about that subject” (Interviewee B). Although the conversations about the topic of ethnic diversity are seen as ‘heated’ or ‘heavy’, interviewees argued that they should still take place, and that fruitful outcomes can only be produced when people let go of the feeling that they are attacked for their non-diversity attitudes: “I think when people let go of the feeling, oh, I’m doing something wrong, that that is a really big step, and that then you can really think of it [ethnic diversity]” (Interviewee J).

4.2.5 Diversity Obstacles. The final theme that was created refers to the ways in which interviewees expressed that pro-diversity change is either being blocked or prevented. These obstacles are for example monetary hurdles or conventional thinking.

Many of the interview participants pointed out that change in terms of more ethnically diverse media organizations is a time-consuming operation that will cost a lot of money: “I think you need time for this, because these kinds of things cost money” (Interviewee J), or “... it is something you have to be able to invest in, because it costs a lot” (Interviewee C). Other practical solutions such as finding experts of color also require extra time. At least, the interviewees expressed that having the same experts or guests each time, who are often white, is simply faster than going ‘out of one’s way’ to find people of color: “The index we have is very white. Very homogeneous in terms of sources available. You really have to search good in order to find diversity” (Interviewee A). Additionally, some of the interviewees pointed out that their job is very fast-paced, and they do not always have the time to put in the extra time and effort to find diverse sources. This conventional way of thinking and working results difficult-to-break patterns and traditions, that prevent pro-diversity change: “Internally there are just too many rusty patterns” (Interviewee G).

Another interesting finding that arose from the data is the mention of ‘filter bubbles’. Without the interviewees being asked about it, almost all talked about their own or others’ personal filter bubble. They described this as the physical or non-physical space that a person is in, through which they understand the world: “To me, a bubble is when you are not even aware of the fact that there is more outside of your own bubble” (Interviewee H). One of them pointed out how these bubbles lead to a workplace to be and remain non-diverse: “... that everyone has their own bubble, can lead to some workplaces maybe not seeing that there is a problem with the lack of diversity” (Interviewee H).

Some of the interviewees also argued that being white is sometimes considered an obstacle for writing about ethnicity or about discrimination, thus making this the exclusive domain of minority journalists. In doing so, being white becomes an obstacle to sharing the responsibility for pro-diversity reporting amongst white and non-white media professionals. For example, some of the white participants pointed out that it is not up to white journalists to write about topics that concern ethnic minorities. One respondent said for instance: “I can write something about it, but it’s not my place to put my own story into it” (Interviewee H). Non-white participants sometimes feel the same and are skeptical of white people writing about discrimination which they have not experienced themselves: “... there are now all these opinion pieces about white people who want to say something about antisemitism, and then I think to myself, what do you know about this?” (Interviewee E). One participant also explained how she would not feel comfortable ‘stealing’ certain stories away from

journalists of color, that they would feel less informed about if they reported on it themselves: “I wouldn’t want that. I would not want to take that opportunity away from others” (Interviewee E).

4.2.6 Gender Diversity. Another finding that was not a focus point in the interviews, but that still surfaced in the data, relates to gender diversity. Four of the interview participants mentioned that there is a difference between the way gender diversity and ethnic diversity are approached. Specifically, they suggest that within media organizations there is more attention paid to gender diversity than there is to ethnic diversity. Therefore, although not directly an answer to the research question, it is relevant within the wider framework of the study. One interviewee noted for example: “When you look at the difference in how we treat gender diversity and ethnic diversity, then that is a huge difference. A difference I cannot really explain” (Interviewee B). The interviewee means here that while gender diversity gets quite some attention within media, this is not yet the case for ethnic diversity. Additionally, the data also show that standing up for gender equality in the workplace is more normalized than it is for ethnic diversity: “If you tell a woman that she can’t be here because she’s a woman, then everyone would be upset. But if you say: I don’t trust that colleague because she wears a hijab, then there will be people who agree” (Interviewee E).

5. Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, the aforementioned findings will be discussed and compared. These results will be placed in a wider academic perspective, using academic literature and theoretical concepts. Then, the implications will be discussed, followed by a conclusion to this study. Finally, the limitations are discussed, as well as recommendations for future studies.

5.1 Main Findings

There are three major findings from this research. Each will be explained in the following sections, drawing on the results as presented in chapter 4. The main findings are that the workplaces, as described by the media professionals, are exclusionary, they are also predominantly white, and there are certain pro-diversity measures that can be taken in order to improve ethnic diversity in Dutch media.

5.1.1 Exclusionary Workplaces. The findings of this study suggest that in Dutch media there is a lack of ethnic diversity, as well as the workplaces being exclusionary in terms of race and ethnicity. The media professionals interviewed for this research explained how their organizations are lacking in ethnic diversity, and that they experience this as something negative. The five major themes identified through the analysis of the interviews point to homogenous workplaces and a work or office culture that excludes minority members. Interviewees of color expressed for example the feeling of disconnection from the workplace because of racism and discrimination. Although there is a willingness to change in terms of pro-diversity, the interviewees argued that there are certain blockades which prevent such change. For example, cultural differences between minority groups and majority groups, as well as the financial aspect of implementing such pro-diversity changes.

Another interesting finding briefly mentioned earlier is that one participant pointed out the definition of ‘quality’ should change, in terms of assessing candidates for vacancies. As the interviewee said, quality is too often (unconsciously) associated with being white. The biases of recruiters, who are often white, result (according to the interviewee) in a lower assessment of applicants of color. Biases generally advantage one group, while simultaneously disadvantage another. This finding relates to another theme that was identified, which are the power dynamics between the top layer of the media and those fulfilling creator roles such as reporters and editors. The biases by recruiters as well as the

power dynamic, can be understood in reference to the discourse of whiteness, as for example studied by Hylton and Lawrence (2015). Whiteness assumes qualities being related to or associated with being 'white', which results in for example white privilege or racism. However, it should not be misunderstood that whiteness ought to be understood in terms of the black-white paradigm. This reductionism oversimplifies racialized relationships of power, which would then ignore intra-racial as well as inter-racial racism (Hylton & Lawrence, 2015). The findings of this study do however closely connect to the concept of whiteness, as the interviewees pointed out that in their organizations, quality is unconsciously associated with being white. This discourse is rather difficult to challenge, which partially explained why pro-diversity change on this level happens so slowly.

5.1.2 Homogenous Workplaces. Nearly all interviewees pointed out that their workplace is almost entirely white. These observations are also supported by the survey results, which revealed that the vast majority of respondents in ADR Nieuwsmedia identify as white. Only a small group of the respondents, 7.0%, said their ethnicity was non-white. This number is similar to those of earlier studies by Takken and Geels (2018), who found that in 2018 this number was 5.4%. Interestingly, as the share of non-white journalists in Dutch media used to be 3.0% in 2015, a slight increase can be observed. When compared to the share of Dutch people with an immigration background, this is still not a reflection of society. Multicultural societies do however demand a certain representation of various ethnic groups (Awad Cherit, 2008), yet this seems to have not been reached. In 2021, 24.8% of Dutch people come from an immigration background (CBS, 2021b), of which 14.1% is non-white. The data from the survey conducted in the current study points out that these numbers do not match, as from those respondents only 14.3% has a different ethnicity than Dutch, and from that only 7.0% identifies as non-white. The need for media organizations to be an accurate representation of society (in terms of ethnicity), is argued in favor of by the studies presented earlier, as well as the interviewees' responses.

5.1.3 Pro-Diversity Measures. As illustrated through the findings in chapter 4, the interviewees are positive towards pro-diversity measures in the media. The findings point out that a majority of respondents believe pro-diversity measures, such as quotas, are a good solution to the non-diversity problems in media organizations. It is interesting to compare that with the quite opposing attitudes of chief editors in 2018. As Takken and Geels (2018)

pointed out, many were not in favor of such pro-diversity solutions. The current data thus finds that these attitudes, at least under the media professionals surveyed, have changed. The findings are however limited to ADR Nieuwsmedia and may not reflect other media organizations. The attitudes from the respondents towards quotas are also in line with what other studies pointed out (Flory et al., 2019), in which the positive effects of diversity quotas are outlined and supported by empirical evidence. The number of respondents wanting quotas to actually be installed is lower than those thinking it is a good solution (see chapter 4), which is confirmed by the variation of opinions on this matter by the interviewees.

Another pro-diversity measure that came forward during the interviews is similar to what the study by Flory et al. (2019) labelled as pro-diversity messages, in for example job calls. Some of the interview participants urged for such messages to be included in vacancies, for example. Therefore, although not a surprising finding, it does affirm the expectations as based on previous literature.

5.2 Implications

Previous research found that Dutch media are predominantly white and include little to no inclusion of non-white journalists. This is confirmed by the findings of the current study, as measured through the descriptive survey. The extent to which a media organization such as ADR Nieuwsmedia is ethnically diverse is therefore not challenged by the findings from this study. However, one of the research objectives was to provide newer data on this topic, in light of societal developments such as the Black Lives Matter demonstrations that could have influenced ethnic diversity in the workplace. The insights from ADR Nieuwsmedia succeeded in achieving this research objective, providing relevant insights that contribute to the academic knowledge on the topic.

Additionally, previous literature did not satisfy in explaining the meanings that media professionals ascribe to ethnic diversity. The current study therefore contributed to a better understanding of the concepts of ethnic diversity, as mentioned earlier, by providing the experiences of media professionals with the topic. Quite shockingly, for example, many interviewees pointed out the frequency and severity of racism and discrimination in Dutch media, as well as the ways in which people of color feel unsafe in their workplace.

Where previous research established certain pro-diversity measures, they were often theoretical and did not derive from the lived experiences from media professionals themselves as was done in the current study. Therefore, the solutions as suggested by the

interview participants provide a solid basis for media experts, as well as those in positions of power, to make concrete changes that are based on the experiences of media professionals themselves. These findings greatly contribute to the available academic literature on this topic, as it will help understand what exactly the urges and wishes are from those working in the field. On a meso level, the findings of this study also provide policy implications, that can result in pro-diversity change within organizations. Especially the pro-diversity measures serve as a handbook for diversity and inclusion departments to better understand what the problem is in the eyes of the media professionals, and in doing so implement feasible changes.

5.3 Conclusion

To conclude, the current study aimed to gain a better understanding of the way in which media professionals give meaning to ethnic diversity, as well as uncover how ethnically diverse one of the largest Dutch media organization are. To achieve this, the study set out to answer a set of research questions. The questions of this study are answered by three main findings. These are that the workplaces of media organizations are exclusionary, they are homogenous, and that there are certain pro-diversity measures that can improve ethnic diversity. The main research question (RQ): “How do Dutch media professionals give meaning to ethnic diversity on the workflow” is found to be understood in five major themes. The study found that people of color working in media generally feel disconnected from media organizations, or that others perceive them to be disconnected from these organizations. This happens through exclusionary practices such as discrimination and racism, but also through the lack of ethnic diversity that leads to journalists of color feeling unwelcome.

Other findings illustrated the needs for visibility, meaning that in order for change to happen, people of color need to be visible in the media. Not just on the consumer side, but also on the producer side. Additionally, there need to be experts of color included in media content, and not only when the topic of the content is about minority-related subjects. However, overall media professionals seem to be aware of the lack of ethnic diversity and show a willingness to work on pro-diversity change. That this change is not always happening is partly because of power relations between those at the top of the media and those working in lower positions, as well as certain obstacles such as costs, cultural differences, and conventional thinking.

The first sub question (SQ1): “How ethnically diverse is one of the largest media organizations in The Netherlands”, was answered by the data collected from the survey, as well as the observations made by the interviewees. Similar to what previous research suggested, ADR Nieuwsmedia is a predominantly white workplace, as found through the survey responses. Moreover, other traditional media organizations tend to be predominantly white as well, as most of the interviewees described their workplaces to be homogenous. The second sub question (SQ2): “How do media professionals think about pro-diversity measures”, was answered through the survey questions about quotas, as well as the interview topic about future perspectives and solutions. Overall, the survey respondents as well as the interviewees are positive about pro-diversity measures, with a majority considering quotas to be a good solution to non-diversity. Additionally, the interviewees provided concrete and applicable pro-diversity measures that they deemed necessary or useful to implement in their own organizations, such as traineeships, diversity scouts, prayer rooms, and more diversity-welcoming application calls.

Overall, the findings of this mixed-method study provide relevant insights into media organizations that contribute to the academic knowledge on ethnic diversity in (Dutch) media. Stressing the social relevance of this study as described earlier, the findings are even more valuable considering that understanding the opinions on ethnic diversity by media experts is the first step into solving what this study found to be a problem: homogenous media organizations. Future academic endeavors into this topic should consider widening the research scope, by including a variety of Dutch media organizations, as well as speak to a larger number of media professionals. Nonetheless, the results of the current study have proven to greatly contribute to the available academic literature, as well as providing a relevant framework to work from for future studies.

5.4 Limitations and Future Research

This research also has a few limitations. Firstly, the limited sample size of the survey poses a limitation for the generalizability of the findings of this study. That is, the findings cannot be generalizable to any other media organization. This challenges the way in which claims can be made about the ethnic diversity of ‘Dutch media’, hence the study explicitly refers to this concept in context of ADR Nieuwsmedia only.

Nonetheless, the results of this study are valid for the purpose of answering the research questions, as well as achieving the research objectives. To minimize the limitations,

future research should build upon this. Moreover, for such future ventures, the survey could be distributed within a range of different media organizations, to get a more accurate picture of the ethnic diversity in Dutch media. Another angle worth exploring is by approaching the topic of ethnic diversity and pro-diversity measures from a more negative standpoint, looking at how those against such changes give meaning to diversity. Obtaining these insights will help better understand possible resistance towards more ethnically diverse workplaces amongst some professionals, and how, for example, the solutions as suggested in the current study can help in solving this.

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Appendix A

Survey Questions: Diversity in the Media

This appendix consists of the survey questions as used for the purpose of this study. The survey is roughly divided into four sections. The first eleven questions provide background information about the respondent. The second part consists of one question about the respondents' satisfaction with specific topics. The third part consists of one question in which the respondents agreed or disagreed with nine statements. The fourth part consists of three questions and asked respondents their consent as well as their email address to receive updates on the study's results. The survey was distributed solely in Dutch, considering the Dutch-speaking sample. The questions asked respondents about their opinion on gender diversity, ethnic diversity, pro-diversity solutions, and satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the current situation.

Q0 In dit onderzoek wordt gevraagd naar uw mening over de etnische- en genderdiversiteit binnen het Algemeen Dagblad, de regionale titels en de regionale edities (ADR Nieuwsmedia). Het onderzoek maakt deel uit van het schrijven van een scriptie aan de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam (studie: Master Media Studies). Deze enquête, aangevuld met diepte-interviews, moet inzicht bieden in hoe mediaprofessionals aankijken tegen diversiteit. Het invullen van de enquête duurt hoogstens vijf minuten en uw antwoorden zijn volledig anoniem. Vul de vragen zo volledig mogelijk in, maar voelt u zich vooral niet verplicht om alle vragen te beantwoorden wanneer dit niet comfortabel of gewenst is. Als u vragen heeft over de enquête, het onderzoek, of de resultaten kunt u een e-mail sturen naar 470126np@student.eur.nl Ik stel uw inbreng zeer op prijs.

Q1 Wat is uw leeftijd?

Q2 Met welke genderidentiteit* identificeert u uzelf het meest?

*genderidentiteit verwijst hier naar het gender waarmee u zich identificeert. Dat hoeft niet hetzelfde te zijn als het geslacht dat staat geregistreerd in uw paspoort.

- Man (1)
- Vrouw (2)
- Non-binair (3)
- Zeg ik liever niet (4)
- Anders, namelijk: (5)

Display logic: hidden unless Q2 is answered with 'Anders, namelijk:'

Q3 Anders, namelijk:

Q4 Wat is uw hoogst afgeronde opleiding?

- Voortgezet onderwijs (1)
- MBO (2)
- HBO (3)
- WO - Bachelor (4)
- WO - Master (5)
- Postgraduate onderwijs (6)
- Anders, namelijk: (7)

Display logic: hidden unless Q4 answered with 'Anders, namelijk.'

Q5 Anders, namelijk:

Q6 In welk land bent u geboren?

Q7 In welk land is uw biologische moeder geboren?

Q8 In welk land is uw biologische vader geboren?

Q9 Hoe zou u uw eigen etnische* achtergrond zelf omschrijven?

*Etniciteit verwijst hier naar uw sociaal-culturele identiteit, migratieachtergrond, roots, of nationaliteit. Het gaat hier **niet** om uw nationaliteit zoals aangegeven op uw paspoort, wel om hoe u zelf uw etniciteit zou omschrijven. Dat kan hetzelfde zijn als de nationaliteit zoals aangegeven in uw paspoort, maar dat hoeft niet.

Antwoorden zijn bijvoorbeeld: Nederlands, Marokkaans-Nederlands, Surinaams, Inheems, Turks, Afrikaans, Afro-Nederlander, Aziatisch, Japans, etc.

Q10 Binnen welke redactie, subredactie, regiotitel, afdeling of team bent u werkzaam? Werkt u op een subredactie bij een regiotitel, dan kunt u alle twee benoemen.

Q11 Hoe lang bent u al werkzaam bij het AD of één van de regionale titels/edities? Het antwoord kunt u als jaren invullen, afgerond naar boven.

Q12 Wat vindt u van...

	Zeer onvoldoende	Enigszins onvoldoende	Neutraal	Enigszins voldoende	Zeer voldoende	Weet ik niet
de huidige genderdiversiteit binnen uw subredactie, afdeling of team? (1)						
de huidige genderdiversiteit binnen ADR Nieuwsmedia? (2)						
de huidige etnische diversiteit binnen uw subredactie, afdeling of team? (3)						
de huidige etnische diversiteit binnen ADR Nieuwsmedia? (4)						

Q13 In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stellingen?

	Sterk mee oneens	Oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Sterk mee eens
Er moet meer worden gedaan om de genderdiversiteit te bevorderen binnen ADR Nieuwsmedia (1)					
Er moet meer worden gedaan om de etnische diversiteit te bevorderen binnen ADR Nieuwsmedia (2)					
Etnische diversiteit binnen ADR Nieuwsmedia heeft geen invloed op de diensten en producten die worden gemaakt en aangeboden aan de consument, klant of lezer (3)					

Quota helpen om genderdiversiteit te bevorderen (4)					
Quota helpen om etnische diversiteit te bevorderen (5)					
Quota voor genderdiversiteit zouden moeten worden ingezet bij ADR Nieuwsmedia (6)					
Quota voor etnische diversiteit zouden moeten worden ingezet bij ADR Nieuwsmedia (7)					
Er moet meer worden gedaan aan de genderdiversiteit binnen ADR Nieuwsmedia, ook als dat betekent dat ik zelf qua carrière een ander voor moet laten gaan (8)					
Er moet meer worden gedaan aan de etnische diversiteit binnen ADR Nieuwsmedia, ook als dat betekent dat ik zelf qua carrière een ander voor moet laten gaan (9)					

Q14 Gaat u ermee akkoord dat uw antwoorden op de vragen uit deze enquête geanonimiseerd zullen worden gebruikt voor onderzoeksdoeleinden ten behoeve van de masterscriptie?

- Ja
- Nee

Q15 Bedankt voor het invullen van deze enquête. Bent u benieuwd naar de resultaten van dit onderzoek? Vul dan hieronder uw e-mailadres in. Het e-mailadres wordt niet gekoppeld aan de antwoorden en blijft uiteraard volledig anoniem. Zodra de resultaten bekend zijn, zult u een e-mail ontvangen met daarin het afgeronde onderzoek.

- Nee, bedankt.
- Ja, ik word graag op de hoogte gesteld van de resultaten van dit onderzoek:

Q16 Vul hier uw e-mailadres in.

Appendix B

Anonymized overview of interviewees

This appendix includes an overview of the interviewee participants. For the purpose of confidentiality, certain information is left out of this table, such as the specific ethnicity, as well as the participant's workplace and job title. This information could lead back to an individual person, which would jeopardize their privacy. A key document with the personal information is stored in a safe digital environment with the researcher as well as the academic supervisor of this research project.

Interview	Medium type	Ethnicity	Age	Sex	Date of interview
A	Radio	Non-white	22	Male	19 April
B	Newspaper	White	44	Male	21 April
C	Television	White	26	Female	28 April
D	Online news	Non-white	28	Female	26 April
E	Newspaper	Non-white	23	Female	3 May
F	Online news	White	23	Female	5 May
G	Online news	Non-white	21	Male	6 May
H	Online news	White	25	Female	14 May
I	Newspaper	Non-white	32	Male	16 May
J	Magazine	White	29	Female	19 May

Appendix C

Topic list used for the in-depth interviews

The following table is the topic list as used for the ten interviews conducted with the media professionals. The interviews were conducted in Dutch, as all respondents are Dutch speaking. The topic list is therefore also in Dutch. The main topics of the interview were about media and diversity, the role of media, the interviewee's reflection on their own position in the topic of ethnic diversity, and the interviewee's hopes for the future.

[Intro] Hallo. Hartelijk dank voor uw medewerking aan mijn onderzoek naar etnische diversiteit binnen de Nederlandse media. Met uw goedkeuren wordt dit interview opgenomen zodat het later verwerkt kan worden tot een geanonimiseerde transcriptie. Gaat u daarmee akkoord?

Onderwerp	Vragen
<i>Introductie-vragen</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Ten eerste, gaat u ermee akkoord dat er een audio-opname gemaakt wordt van dit interview?• Mag ik vragen wat uw leeftijd is?• Waar bent u momenteel werkzaam en voor hoe lang al?• Wat voor functie voert u hier uit?• Hoe zou u uw eigen etniciteit definiëren?
<i>Persoonlijke carrière</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hoe bent u bij deze functie terechtgekomen?• Wat zijn uw motivaties geweest om binnen de media te gaan werken?
<i>Maken van media</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hoe ziet uw een dagelijkse werkdag er voor u uit?• Hoe zou u de doelgroep omschrijven waarvoor u media maakt?• Wat voor rol speelt de media in de samenleving?• Hoe is deze rol veranderd ten opzichte van 10 jaar geleden bijvoorbeeld?• Welke verantwoordelijkheden hebben de media richting het publiek? → doorvragen: draagt u deze verantwoordelijkheden ook persoonlijk?
<i>Etniciteit</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Wat voor rol speelt diversiteit in de media?• Hoe kijkt u aan tegen diversiteit in de media? → kunt u hier iets meer over vertellen?• Wat voor rol speelt etniciteit in de media?• Als u kijkt naar etnische diversiteit op uw redactie, is dat een onderwerp van gesprek? → waarom denkt u van wel of niet?• In hoeverre vindt u etnische diversiteit binnen de media belangrijk of niet?• Wat is de verdeling qua etnische achtergrond op de redactie

	<p>waar u werkzaam bent?</p> <p>→ doorvragen: wat vindt u van deze samenstelling?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Denkt u zelf bewust na over de etniciteit op uw werkplek? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → doorvragen: waarom wel of niet? → kunt u een voorbeeld noemen van wanneer u bewust over etnische diversiteit nadacht? • (indien eenzijdig): is dit volgens u een probleem? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → doorvragen: waarom wel of niet?
<i>Mededelen</i>	<p>Verskillende onderzoeken van bijvoorbeeld het NRC wijzen uit dat de etnische diversiteit binnen de media niet heel goed gesteld is. Zo is er nauwelijks groei en zou het geen accurate afspiegeling zijn van de samenleving.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ziet u dit als een probleem of niet? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → doorvragen: waarom wel of niet? • Wat zijn volgens u mogelijk de oorzaken van dit gebrek aan etnische diversiteit binnen de algemene media? (niet eigen werkplek) • Wat zijn volgens u mogelijk de gevolgen van een gebrek aan etnische diversiteit binnen de algemene media? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → en zijn er andere gevolgen op uw eigen werkplek of redactie? • Beïnvloed etnische diversiteit op uw redactie het product of de dienst die u of uw collega's leveren? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → doorvragen: waarom wel of niet? → en hoe zit dit binnen de media in het algemeen?
<i>Reflectie op eigen rol</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speelt uw eigen etniciteit een rol binnen uw eigen verslaggeving of niet? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → doorvragen: hoe wel of niet? • Maakt u wel eens media over een etniciteit anders dan die van uzelf? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → heeft u hier een voorbeeld van? • Voelt u zich geïnformeerd genoeg om verslag te doen of media te maken over zaken die betrekking hebben tot een etniciteit anders dan die van uzelf? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → doorvragen: waarom wel of niet? • Vind u het belangrijk om na te denken over uw eigen rol in het gesprek rondom etniciteit en diversiteit? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → waarom wel of niet?
<i>Oplossingen en toekomstperspectief</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hoe ziet u het medialandschap veranderen in de toekomst met betrekking tot etnische diversiteit? • Hoe kan deze verandering worden gerealiseerd volgens u? • Een aantal onderzoeken wijzen uit dat quota helpen om diversiteit te bevorderen. Hoe ziet u dit voor u op uw eigen werkplek? • (alleen indien diversiteit als probleem wordt gezien): heeft u zelf nog andere oplossingen voor ogen?

Slotwoord

- Heeft u nog dingen toe te voegen aan dit interview waar we het misschien nog niet over gehad hebben?
 - U kunt mij na dit interview nog altijd bereiken via mail of telefoon mocht u vragen of toevoegingen hebben.
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Appendix D

Coding tree with example quotations

This appendix includes the coding tree of the study. The five themes are listed in the first column, followed by the subthemes or codes that are categorized in each theme. The final column includes example quotations from each code.

Theme	Codes	Example
Power and Responsibility	Media's responsibility	"You have a huge responsibility because you need so make sure that facts are correct and that people feel heard" (Interviewee C).
	Hierarchy and power	"I think the top of media has to change, there needs to be more diversity there" (Interviewee D).
	Difficult conversations	"It results in heated conversations" (Interviewee B).
	Pessimistic about change	"But I am very pessimistic about it..." (Interviewee G).
Need for visibility	People of color as role models	"If you would have an example, you might apply yourself faster as well" (Interviewee H).
	Reflection of society	"... a newspaper is a reflection of society" (Interviewee I).
	Diversity unawareness	"No, those conversations I have never had" (Interviewee D).
	Pro ethnic diversity	"... diversity results in multiple perspectives" (Interviewee A).
Awareness	Aware of diversity	"People become more aware of it I think" (Interviewee C).

and change

	Solutions	“I am in favor of rules being installed” (Interviewee E).
	Need for diverse networks and workplace	“... those that hire need to widen their networks in a diverse way” (Interviewee A).
	Negative feelings	“... it’s not on the level yet that can be accepted by everyone” (Interviewee F).
	Need for change	“Just going the extra mile to find people” (Interviewee H).
	Homogenous workplaces	“It’s mainly very white, and also a lot of men” (Interviewee I).
	Black Lives Matter	“... ever since Black Lives Matter I have to say I learned a lot” (Interviewee H).
Diversity Obstacles	Change costs time and money	“Yes, it costs a lot of time. People change slowly” (Interviewee H).
	Filter bubble	“They live in their own world. And in their own bubble” (Interviewee G).
	Generational differences	“And I think: the older the person, the less they see it as a problem that needs to be solved” (Interviewee F).
	Patterns and conventions	“Oh well, some people are stuck in a pattern” (Interviewee J).
	Awareness of	“White Netherlands often has a very one-sided view of

	whiteness	things” (interviewee E).
Disconnected from workplace	Unsafe workplace	“...when I look around me I think, this is not a safe workplace” (Interviewee J).
	Racism and discrimination	“... that in one of the shows someone got invited who is straight up racist” (Interviewee A).
	Job insecurity	“It’s difficult to get a job somewhere else” (Interviewee A).
	Cultural blockades	“... people with a non-Dutch background, they don’t see journalism as a place to make career” (Interview A).
	Diversity as gimmick	“It feels like I was hired for my skin color” (Interview I).
Non-category	Gender	“When you look at the difference in how we treat gender diversity and ethnic diversity, then that is a huge difference. A difference I cannot really explain” (Interviewee B).
