Between a rock and a hard place: The social and emotional consequences of

institutional racism perceived by ethnic minorities in the Netherlands.

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Thesis group: Controversies of Knowledge at the Edge of Chaos

Word count: 9974

Dear reader,

Please bear in mind that this paper might contain some triggering content and could therefore be a heavy read. I would highly recommend taking a moment to unwind or doing something that makes you feel alive after reading through it.

Acknowledgments

To those who move with strength and resilience everyday.

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Abstract:

In 2022 institutional racism within the tax and customs office was officially acknowledged by the Dutch PM. The aftermath of what is known as the 'Childcare Benefit scandal' led to the investigation of multiple State bodies to further identify patterns of institutional racism. However, the perspectives and perceptions of institutional racism among ethnic minorities have often been overlooked, despite being valuable to detect patterns of institutional racism. This paper centers the perspectives of Dutch communities of color by assessing how they perceive the consequences of institutional racism. Participants perceive the consequences of institutional racism through their disadvantaged social position that State institutions could improve, but instead uphold. Moreover, ethnic minorities affirmed being impacted emotionally and behaviorally by institutional racism, leading to the development and use of several coping mechanisms to survive the daily manifestations of institutional racism.

<u>Keywords</u>: Critical Race Theory, Ethnic Minorities, Intersectional Discrimination, Institutional Racism, The Netherlands.

I.   Introduction

On January 15th, 2021, the -shortly lived- Dutch government, *Rutte III,* collapsed due to an unprecedented malpractice involving institutional racism; the Childcare Benefit Scandal (European Parliament, 2022; NOS, 2021). The Dutch Tax and Customs Administration was guilty of implementing discriminatory algorithms to identify potential fraudulent profiles who have applied and received childcare benefits (European Parliament, 2022). The algorithm was programmed to identify fraude based on 'foreign names' as well as double nationality, which according to several investigative journalists was an intentional and known practice amongst both government officials and Dutch tax and customs administrators (RTLnieuws, 2019). Consequently, over a thousand families with a migration background have strayed into severe poverty and large debts (exceeding tens of thousands euros) due to the discriminatory malpractice of the tax authorities (European Parliament, 2022). Furthermore, over a thousand children have been displaced to foster homes, as a result of indebted parents losing custody over their sons and daughters (European Parliament, 2022). Not to forget the collateral damage that the duped families have experienced on both mental and societal levels, with some families losing their homes and others not receiving the social support they had the right to (European Parliament, 2022). None of the duped families have yet been compensated for the consequences of the discriminatory algorithm (NOS, 2023). The Association of Dutch Municipalities estimated that the lawsuit between the duped families and Dutch tax and customs administration can run until 2030 (NOS, 2023).

On May 25th, 2022, the Dutch prime minister, Mark Rutte, officially admitted to institutional racism being part of the cultural and administrative blueprint of the Dutch Tax and Customs Administration system that was responsible of the of the so-called 'Childcare Benefit Scandal' (European Parliament, 2022). Institutional racism can be understood as the patterns, procedures, practices and policies that take place within institutions and systematically

disadvantage and oppress non-white communities (Better, 2002). Although racist incidents within Dutch government branches have been criticized (e.g. racial slurs used by extreme-right populist Geert Wilders), institutional racism has never been nationally nor publicly recognized in the Netherlands, until May 25th, 2022..

Since the Childcare Benefit Scandal and the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, the Dutch State been taken accountable for a list of scandals related to institutional racism. With the awareness about institutional racism increasing more investigative reports have been conducted within other Dutch State-institutions (Ghorashi, 2020). Recently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been charged guilty of institutional racism after a lengthy investigative report in December 2022 (Rijksoverheid, 2022). The police also recognized institutional racism within their organization. Between November 2022 and April 2023, police officers made at least thirty reports of racism and discrimination caused by their colleagues (BNNVARA, 2023; Trouw, ,2022). Furthermore, on February 14th, 2023, human rights activist, Mpanzu Bamenga, won his lawsuit against the Dutch State in which the Dutch Appeal Court officially ruled the use of ethnic profiling as an illegal and discriminatory practice (NOS, 2023; BBC, 2023). Before this ruling, the Dutch State had authorized the Royal Marechaussee (the Dutch Royal Customs) to make use of an algorithm at border controls that filtered travelers based on their skin color, ethnicity and country of origin. This ultimately led Black people and people of color experiencing significantly more border checks than white people (NOS, 2023).

II.   Problem Statement and Research Question(s)

1. Knowledge Gap & Research Question

Although institutional racism is becoming more obvious and intolerable, Dutch society and literature still has a long way to go to tackle (institutional) racism. Indeed, due to the

universalist and egalitarian strands that are embedded in Dutch culture, the acknowledgment of racial discrimination and the concept of 'race' (or the recognition of color) is rather taboo in both Dutch vocabulary and -until recently- in academic research (Ghorshi, 2020; Weiner, 2014; Essed, 1991). The presence of institutional and structural racism have often been rejected or reduced to simple incidents and odd outcomes of 'good intentions' (Ghorashi, 2020). Although naming racism is a challenge throughout the European continent as a whole, the governmental influence on social and scientific research on the study of racism is drastic in the Netherlands (Ball et al., 2022; Weiner, 2014). No other European country monopolizes research about minorities (of color) through State-funding as much as the Netherlands, which impacts both the quantity and quality of research available about this topic (Essed & Nimako, 2006). Therefore, research-based policy making about racism, migration and minorities are also insufficient (Essed & Nimako, 2006). There are three main reasons as to why both quality and quantity of anti-ractist and minority research are lacking. First, researchers are likely to study, name and blame the overt racism expressed by extreme right parties, yet are unlikely to expand on institutional racism within Dutch State organs, which is partially due to the dependence on State-funding Essed & Nimako, 2006). The second challenge is the omnipresence of white native-Dutch researchers in the field of minority studies, which not only excludes ethnic minorities from contributing to this field but more importantly creates a lack of inclusive and diverse environment which is essential, especially in a field that aims to counter and understand the inequalities and discrimination of minorities. In fact, academic evidence showcases that a lack of inclusive and diverse networks may uphold systems of inequality (Tilly, 1998). In a nutshell, institutional racism is understudied, but also institutionally upheld through (1) the dependence on State funded research, (2) a lack of diverse research bodies (3) and the societal taboos and misunderstanding of how racism operates. This puts forward an important knowledge gap, to study institutional racism from a holistic, inclusive and critical perspective.

Whilst some forms of discrimination have been studied and monitored since the 1970s such as discrimination in the housing market and employment, research about the embedded racism in Dutch society and State-instances remains poor (Weiner, 2014). Therefore, this study will specifically focus on the institutional racism that is perpetuated by the Dutch State and the adjacent instances, authorities and bodies that uphold it.

This paper aims to contribute to the field of minority studies and institutional racism by including the elements that have been overlooked through mainstream and State funded research in the Netherlands. Since the BLM-movement and the recent public recognition of institutional racism in the Netherlands, there seems to be a window of opportunity to discuss problems surrounding racial discrimination. However, the complexity of institutional racism is yet to be uncovered, in order to comprehend the nuanced perception of- and diverging experiences with- institutional racism by ethnic minorities in the Netherlands (Weiner, 2014; Essed & Nimako, 2006). This paper strives to shed a light on and contrast the experienced racism of Dutch ethnic minorities with regard to State institutions. The matter at hand is to dive deeper into the intricacies of institutional racism in the Netherlands to understand the lived experiences with institutional racism within this group and its impact on these communities. Hence, leading to the following research question:

How do Dutch ethnic minorities perceive the consequences of institutional racism in their lives?

2. Research Population

The Netherlands is home to a nonhomogeneous and diverse community of color that includes a range of ethnicities and have an immigration background. Therefore, the terminologies 'ethnic minorities', 'people with an immigrant background' and in some instances 'people of color' may be used interchangeably in Dutch contexts. The largest Dutch and 'non-Western'

communities of color -as referred to by the National Statistical Office to the Netherlands- are (1) the Turkish diaspora, (2) the Moroccan diaspora (3) the Surinamese diaspora and (4) the Caribbean diaspora (constituted of islands of Aruba, Bonaire, Curacao, Sint Eustatius, Sint Maarten and Saba) (CBS, 2020; Rijksoverheid, nd). *Figure 1* presents a proportional overview of these diasporas, whilst accounting for the first and second generations[1]. Based on this overview, it may be deduced that the most prominent communities of color in the Netherlands are either part of the Black community (e.g. Surinamese and Caribbean) or the Middle-Eastern and North African (MENA)-community (e.g. Turkish and Moroccan). Although nuances exist among and within these groups, quantitative studies show that the experienced and measured racism of the MENA-community on the one hand and the Black community on the other hand are comparable in the Netherlands (Van Der Leun & Van Der Woude, 2014; CBS & SCP, 2022; NOS, 2022). The nature of this study is qualitative and will strive for a detailed description of the consequences of institutional racism perceived by these ethnic minorities.
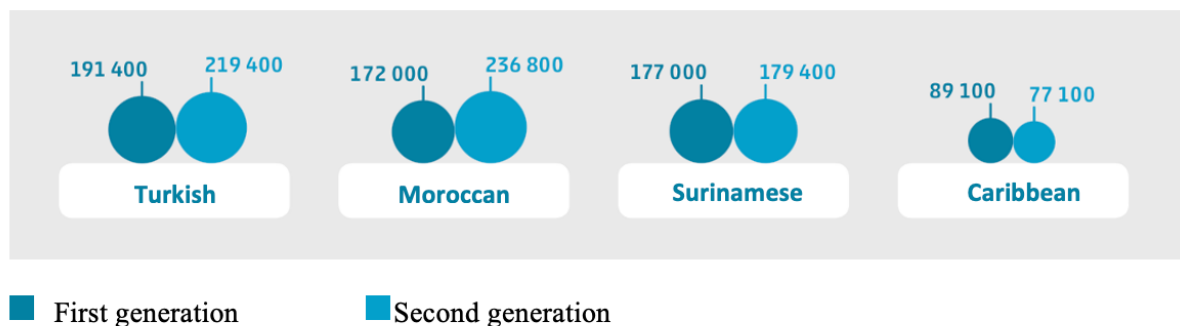
Figure 1: Largest Non-Western population groups in the Netherlands by background (CBS, 2020)

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[1] First generation: Dutch citizens with an immigration background born outside of the Netherlands.
Second generation: people born in the Netherlands with (at least one) parent who isn't born in the Netherlands and has an immigration background (MPI, 2022)

<center>**III.   Theoretical Framework**</center>

1. Typologies of Racism

A. <u>Institutional Racism</u>

The popularity of institutional racism in both academic and political realms has led to a form of conceptual fuzziness and is in some cases considered a 'catch all phrase' (Williams, 1985). This makes delimiting 'institutional racism' in this paper even more important to strengthen its external validity.

Institutional racism derives from the assumption that racism and racist ideologies are inevitably embedded in institutions of all sorts, including State institutions which consequently creates persisting inequal opportunities and outcomes for racialized groups (Andriessen, 2020). Furthermore, Better (2002) adds that institutional racism also reinforces the privileged social position of white people at the detriment of communities of color (i.e. ethnic minorities). The working definition for institutional racism used in this paper is also put forward by Better (2002): "institutional racism denotes those patterns, procedures, practices and policies which operate withing social institutions so as to consistently penalize, disadvantage, and exploit individuals who are members of non-white groups" (Better, 2002, p.11). This paper will specifically look at how the consequences of those disadvantaging procedures within State institutions are perceived by ethnic minorities.

B. <u>Everyday Racism</u>

Besides institutional racism operating on a macro-level, it is important to bear in mind that institutional racism is upheld by -and trickles down to- individuals. In other words, the racist ideologies that uphold institutional racism are carried by individuals whilst impacting individuals. Furthermore, Essed (1991) highlights that a comprehensive definition of any form of racism, must include both micro- and macro-units of analysis. Hence, Essed (1991; 2002) argues that racism is a double-edged sword that operates on micro- and macro-levels

simultaneously, every single day and refers to the concept of 'everyday racism' which encompasses the macro (institutional racism) and the micro (i.e. microaggressions). Ergo, everyday racism bridges the institutional with the individual and is a useful analytical tool to comprehend the nuanced experiences with institutional racism among Dutch communities of color. Both institutional and everyday racism are thus important components in this paper that strives to investigate how ethnic minorities perceive the consequences of State induced racism which can be manifested through micro- and macro-dimensions.

2. Racism in the Netherlands

As previously touched upon, one of the main challenges within Dutch society is the recognition of color. Philadelphia Essed and Gloria Wekker are the academic founding mothers of theorizing and understanding racism in the Dutch context. In their books and research papers, both authors write about the false innocence of 'colorblindness' in the Netherlands. Essed and Schaap (2017) write the following: « Despite the intent of colorblindness being anti-racist, it has these often racist elaborations » (p. 97). Hence, by ignoring color and thus our racial and ethnic differences, the problem of racial discrimination is perpetuated. Colorblindness has often been applied by Dutch government officials or citizens, with the aspiration to create a fair, equal and righteous society, which is the very ignorance Wekker (2020) writes about in her book *White Innocence*. Wekker (2020) explains that the attempt to recognize racial or ethnic differences is highly confrontational for a society that fundamentally believes that everyone is equal, and therefore treated equally.

Despite the egalitarian convictions that infuse Dutch culture and its society, prejudice and racism are still present. The rejection of the term 'race' in the Netherlands does not mean that Dutch discourse surrounding race is inexistent. Key terms -used in both everyday life and research- to refer to racial differences in the Netherlands are; culture (including religion), ethnicity, multi-ethnic, allochtoon (ethnically non-Dutch) and autochtoon (ethnically Dutch)

(Essed, 1991; Weiner, 2014; Andriessen, 2020). This implies that racism in the Netherlands is more explicitly fueled through ethnic-hierarchies than racial-hierarchies. Whether one refers to 'ethnicity' or 'race', both are used to propagate racism and hierarchical power-relations which serve the interest of the dominant group (ethnically and native white Dutch people) whilst marginalizing ethnic minorities (Essed, 1991).

3. The Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Much of the antiracist research and its theoretical frameworks in both European and Dutch contexts have been disregarded as 'US-imports' (Essed & Nimako, 2006). However, a fundamental theoretical lens for antiracist studies is the CRT that emerged in the 1970s in the US (Delgado & Stefancic, 2010). Although this theory focusses primarily on the manifestations of race and racism in society, it is important to contextualize the CRT from a Dutch perspective. Essed (1991) writes that racism within the Netherlands is relatively 'new' compared to racism in the US, as racism primarily took place within the Dutch colonies, instead of the mainland. One interesting perspective Siebers (2017) puts forward in his article about applying CRT to the Dutch context is the parallel between racism and culture. As previously mentioned, the term 'race' is highly problematized in contemporary Dutch contexts, as it implies a biological or emic understanding of humanity through eugenics (Siebers, 2017). Hence, the discrimination or marginalization of people of color in the Netherlands is unlikely to be explicitly verbalized through a hierarchical and biological understanding of 'race'. Instead, 'cultural incompatibility' is the more justified or at least politically correct and normalized route to oppress and exclude people of color and people with a migration background. Such discourse is also more present among conservative and extreme right wing parties within the House of Representatives for example (Siebers, 2017). This cultural incompatibility between Dutch and non-Western cultures follows a Huntington-inspired reasoning which argues that different civilizations are incompatible and bound to clash, which is further elaborated in his book *The*

Clash of Civilizations (1996). However, incompatibility is a subjective and value-loaded idea that also implies the superiority of one culture, demography, population and civilization over the other. Hence, the Dutch lack of cultural relativity and emphasis on cultural incompatibility, showcases the nuanced understanding of race and racism, and thus application of CRT in this context. Shortly put, Dutch CRT will lean more directly towards a cultural and ethnic understanding of hierarchies, superiorities and power-imbalances to study the embeddedness of racism and 'racial' -or in this case 'ethnic'- categories in the Netherlands.

Although the birthplace of the CRT is the US, it contains 5 core principles, that are universally applicable. Moshel (2011) puts all tenets forward in his article. The first tenet of CRT has been touched upon earlier in this paper; racism is inherent to a system and cannot only be reduced to individual incidents or the few 'rotten apples' in a society. Hereby, CRT emphasizes on the structural and institutional or 'macro' character of racism.

Secondly, there is no such thing as colorblind universalism, as skin color and ethnic background have repeatedly been used to discriminate people of color and ethnic minorities due to subconscious biases that are internalized and deeply embedded in Western and European societies. The third principle highlights the importance of historical analysis in order to contextualize topics like racism. Present-day racism are echoes of the past. When speaking of racial oppression in the Netherlands for example, it is essential to take into account the colonial past, racial hegemonies and the Transatlantic Slave Trade that were enabled through racist ideologies and laws. Next, knowledge-production should legitimize both the experiences and critical consciousness of Black people and people of color (or ethnic minorities) in order to better understand how racism operates. This principle ought to be applied on a societal level, but also in research methodology. The fifth and final tenet, consists of an interdisciplinary understanding of social injustice. CRT does not operate in a vacuum, but also builds upon other theories such as post-structuralism, Marxism, feminism or post-modernism. The underlying

explanation for this is that racism intersects with other social inequalities, as « one cannot fight racism without paying attention to sexism, homophobia, economic exploitation, and other forms of oppression and injustice » (Moshel, 2011. p. 1649).

4. Intersectional discrimination

Based on to the intersectional character of the CRT, racism ought to be understood through the intersections of social inequalities which Kimberly Crenshaw's (1998) developed to explore the oppression and marginalization of Black women in the US. Crenshaw (1989) looked at the intersectionality of gender, race and class and inspired more researchers to use and build upon the literature of 'intersectionality' and more specifically 'intersectional discrimination' in relation to other context. When looking at intersectional discrimination and racism in Europe several elements may intersect and determine one's social position or level of marginalization, such as gender, race and class, but also skin color, nationality, culture, accent, religion and facial features for example (Ball et al., 2022). 'Intersectional discrimination' is therefore an important theory in analyzing the perceived consequences of institutional racism by ethnic minorities.

IV.   Research Design

1.   Qualitative research

The research question at hand will be answered through a qualitative study. Due to the limited amount of critical and inclusive research on institutional racism, this paper will utilize interviews to comprehend how ethnic minorities perceive the consequences of institutional racism and how it may impact these communities of color. Moreover, though interviews experiences, knowledge and impact of- institutional or systemic racism can be identified and/or generalized (Essed, 1991; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Furthermore, CRT stipulates that the testimonies of communities of color are important to include to research methodology when

studying racism, hence the importance of interviews. Thematic analysis has been used to articulate the main topics when analyzing the interviews, which I will further elaborate in section IV.4.

2.   Interviewing

In order to grasp the complexity of institutional and structural racism, the research population has been roughly divided in two categories, with 5 respondents per group. The ten respondents are either part of (1) the Black community (including Dutch-Surinamese and Dutch-Caribbeans) or (2) the MENA-community (including Dutch-Turkish and Dutch-Moroccans) living in the Netherlands. This study opted for semi-structured interviews. The question-protocol included a set of pre-defined questions, yet also allowed for follow up questions that were not part of the script. All respondents were offered to choose between in-person or online interviews to ensure that each respondent was met with an interviewing experience and environment that they feel most comfortable with. Three respondents have expressed a preference for face-to face interviews. Furthermore, three out of the ten interviews were conducted in Dutch, as these respondents felt more confident and at ease expressing themselves in Dutch.

3.   Sampling

In order to delimitate the research population of this study, I have focused on ethnic minorities from the 'second generation immigrants' and beyond. The second generation is born and raised in the Netherlands and has been more aware of differentiated treatment since their childhood. Research shows this group is more likely to experience and identify instances of racism and discrimination than the first generation (CBS, 2020). Based on these findings the research population has been narrowed down to a group that is more likely to be familiar with the research topic at hand.

The recruited respondents will be purposefully selected to fit the research population (i.e. Dutch-Surinamese, Moroccan, Caribbean, Turkish and second generation or beyond). Similarly to Essed's (1991) sampling method, respondents will be recruited through (1) references by interviewees (or snowball sampling), (2) references through personal contacts and (3) references through professional contacts. The recruiting process will thus involve theoretical, convenience- and snowball sampling methods.

4. Coding

All ten interviews have been recorded, the seven online interviews have been transcribed through the transcription tool of Microsoft Teams, whilst the in-person interviews were transcribed through My Good Tape. The interviews were analyzed with the help of a code book on AtlasTI. The coding trees will be developed based on a combined approach including predetermined and emerging codes. This means that some coding-themes will be formulated before inspecting the interviews and others after analyzing the interviews (Pearse, 2019; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The large themes that have emerged based on the theories, the topics discussed earlier in this paper and the interview guide (see Appendix 2) are: (1) institutional racism (2) intersectional discrimination (3) State institutions and (4) experienced safety and protection by Dutch government institutions. These themes have been included to the code trees, the remaining and complementary codes on the code tree have emerged whilst analyzing the interviews, inductively. Appendix 1 gives an overview of the constructed code tree based on the predefined and emerged codes.

5. Respondents

Table 2 gives an overview of the anonymized respondents, their pseudonyms, ethnic background, gender as well as their age. The sample of this study includes as many female as male respondents. The age of the respondents ranges between 22 and 44 years. Generally, second generation immigrants in the Netherlands are younger, but rarely older than 50 years

old, considering the major migration flows that occurred in a post-WWII or post-colonial era (CBS, 2020). This implies that the sample is rather reflective of the range of second generation age-groups.

Respondents	Ethnic background	Gender	Age
R1 (Kim)	Caribbean	Female	23
R2 (Romano)	Caribbean	Male	22
R3 (Aisha)	Surinamese	Female	44
R4 (Maria)	Surinamese	Female	23
R5 (Ryan)	Surinamese	Male	32
R6 (Sinem)	Turkish	Female	32
R7 (Emre)	Turkish	Male	25
R8 (Karim)	Moroccan	Male	24
R9 (Anas)	Moroccan	Male	33
R10 (Ikram)	Moroccan	Female	24
Total	5 respondents from the Black community / 5 respondents from the MENA-community	5 female & 5 male respondents	Ranges between the age of 22 and 44

Table 1: Anonymized overview of the ten respondents including ethnic background, gender and age.

<center>**V.   Results**</center>

The findings retrieved from the interviews will be ordered in three main parts to grasp the perceived consequences of institutional racism by communities of color. Before diving into the findings that answer the research question at the heart of this paper the general understanding of institutional racism according to the participants as well as the institutions they associated with the Dutch State. This short contextualization is an important building block for the result sections as the perceived consequences of institutional racism differs across State-institutions.

The first perceived consequences of institutional racism by ethnic minorities in the Netherlands will be elaborated by looking at a number of State institutions. Here participants perceive the consequences of institutional racism through diverging levels of neglect, trust and experienced protection. The second perceived consequence of institutional racism is its interconnectedness with ethnic profiling, which amplifies the marginalization of people of color in the Netherlands, As explained by the respondents. Finally, an unexpected yet important consequence of institutional racism perceived by the interviewees was its emotional impact that pushes ethnic minorities to develop and make use of coping mechanisms use within State institutions and on a daily basis.

1. Contextualizing Institutional Racism

A.   <u>Perception of Institutional Racism</u>

Before diving into the perceived consequences of institutional racism by Dutch ethnic minorities, the respondents were first asked how familiar they were with the concept of institutional racism with the aim to grasp their understanding of this term that is so central to the interview. All respondents were familiar with the term which allowed for a more in-depth follow-up conversations. Institutional racism is 'the racism or discrimination' (Anas) that infuses 'behavior, discourse' (Sinem) and 'thought patterns' (Kim). This form of racism operates primarily through 'governmental institutions' (Emre, Karim, Kim, Maria),

'(powerful) organizations' (Karim) 'corporates' (Kim) or 'bigger companies' (Maria) but can also take place at 'work and schools' (Sinem, Maria) for example. Moreover, it is a 'subtle' (Emre) and 'invisible' (Sinem) process that 'decreases equal chances of'- or creates 'boundaries for- people based on their ethnic background' (Emre, Romano).

B. *The Dutch State Institutions*

In order to assess how ethnic minorities experience institutional racism through the Dutch State, its complementary institutions were mapped by the participants. *Figure 3* illustrates a bubble chart of the institutions that are tied to the Dutch State and authorities according to the interviewees. The three frequently cited State-bodies were (1) the Dutch government (including: the house of representatives/ second chamber, the senate/ first chamber and political parties), (2) the Tax and Custom Office and (3) the Dutch Defense forces (including: the police, customs, and the army). However, it is important to note that throughout the interviews other State institutions (e.g. the education system) were held accountable for institutional racism despite the respondent not mentioning them in the beginning of the interview. This showcases that perceptions about institutional racism and the bodies that respondents hold accountable may evolve throughout the interviews.

Figure 2: Institutions that are tied to the Dutch State and authorities according to the respondents.

* i.e. Immigration and Naturalization Service -IND, Fiscal Information and Investigation Service, Service Execution Education - DUO, General Intelligence and Security Service – AIVD and embassies.

** i.e. Asylum Seeker Center- AZC and Immigration and Naturalization Service -IND.

2. **Unfolding the consequences of Institutional Racism within the Dutch State**

After mapping the sub-branches of the Dutch State, the perceived consequences of institutional racism from the most relevant State bodies will be unraveled. Here I will dive into some key-

elements of this research, by integrating forms of intersectional discrimination as one of the perceived consequences of institutional racism across State institutions, which simultaneously nuances the perceptions and impact of institutional racism on Dutch communities of color.

A. *The Dutch Government*

i.   Class- and ethnic-based discrimination

One of the perceived consequences of institutional racism within the government was that institutional racism was upheld through intersectional discrimination, where class and ethnicity (or 'race') intersected. Respondents affirm that the government neglects the needs and wellbeing of specifically poor communities of color. Karim's first instinctive response about his perception of the government was 'money grabbers' who don't guarantee the 'interests of ethnic minorities'. Moreover, Romano stated that "political parties want to keep the people who are poor, poor. They serve the rich white people in the Netherlands". Respondents don't only feel discriminated and neglected by the government, but also mentioned concrete examples of the latter, such as the inaccessibility to the housing market because of one's ethnic background and socio-economic background (Anas) or motions being frequently dismissed by the House of Representatives despite them benefitting ethnic minorities (Maria). Hence, respondents don't feel protected nor equally treated by the government based on their intersecting identities. A priori, the political interests and wellbeing of ethnic minorities aren't safeguarded by the government which is one of the perceived consequences of institutional racism.

The intersectional discrimination and institutional racism ethnic minorities are subject to through the Dutch government aren't matters that have been officially or nationally acknowledged. This will be a reoccurring pattern throughout the findings. Perceived racism by ethnic minorities will rarely be officially acknowledged by the very State institutions that cause

it. There is a wisdom that the participants detain in terms of identifying and perceiving instances of institutional racism that are yet to be uncovered by these very institutions.

ii.   Affirmative action

Due to the neglect and exclusionary politics observed by the participants, their trust in the government is poor. The interviewed ethnic minorities perceive the government as a performative and ungenuine institution that perpetuates institutional racism through a lack of affirmative action.

Respondents question the honesty of the government as well as their political agenda, especially when the government tries to tackle institutional racism. When engaging in 'inclusive' and 'representative' politics, respondents often identify forms tokenization to legitimize 'populist agenda's' (Karim, Kim, Ikram). However, mistrust was also triggered due to a lack of political representation, "I don't trust the government" says Kim, "because no one looks like me". Due to the lack of diversity and representative political figures within the government institutional racism is more likely to remain untouched, as Ikram explains most white politicians "are not in touch with different ethnicities and groups". Moreover, 'the latest apologies for the Transatlantic Slave Trade don't feel genuine, but forced' according to Kim, 'by fear of potentially losing votes'. She also emphasizes that for an apology to be meaningful it must be accompanied with real change.

Nevertheless, change remains unseen by multiple respondents, through the dismissal of changemaking motions, but also by the lack of repercussions on powerful politicians who enabled and contributed to instances of institutional racism such as the Childcare Benefit (Anas). The checks and balances surrounding institutional racism are thus weak and insufficient, despite the first amendment being repeatedly breached. Yet, 'even political parties don't seem to have the power to take policy makers within the government accountable for

institutional racism' (Ikram). Multiple respondents testified 'not feeling protected at all', feeling ignored and let down by the government, due to the manifestations of institutional racism that they identified (e.g. intersectional discrimination, lack of political representation, the use of tokenization and poor checks and balances) A priori, participants don't feel supported nor protected by the government and perceive the impact of institutional racism through the lack of affirmative action that may benefit them on a societal level.

B. *The Dutch Defense Forces*

An important subbranch of the State mentioned by a majority of respondents were the Dutch defense forces. Respondents unanimously perceived the Dutch defense forces in a negative daylight, as "they cause more harm and instill fear" (Romano), Kim trusts "them the least" and Ryan has "always been afraid of the police". The consequences of institutional racism perceived by the interviewed ethnic minorities were also rooted in intersectional discrimination where gender overlapped with ethnic background. The use and experience of mental and physical violence was also considered an important manifestation of institutional racism through this State body. Furthermore, the experiences and perceived consequences of institutional racism with the police was nuanced across and within cities by the respondents.

i.   Gender, race, stereotypes, and violence

When dissecting the experiences and perceived consequences of institutional racism from Dutch defense forces, men of color are more impacted than women. Women feel less targeted and criminalized than their male counterparts, which again raises an important nuance in terms of intersectional discrimination. Although gendered stereotypes are more emphasized in interactions with, for example, the police it does work in the advantage of women of color. Sinem affirms that her womanhood (i.e. 'ability to act cute and unaware') can be a privilege that is more likely to portray her as 'innocent' than for example 'a Black man', because of

how they are perceived. Male respondents repeatedly feared 'being in the wrong place on the wrong time' or being seen as the 'suspect' by default (Romano, Ryan, Karim). Respondents mentioned men of color and more specifically Caribbean, Surinamese and Moroccan men (Karim, Romano), have overlapping experiences with the police. These groups are ethnically profiled and subjected to similar stereotypes such as being 'lazy', engaging in 'criminal activities' and are therefore perceived as a 'threat' (Emre, Karim, Ryan, Romano). Moreover, their firsthand experiences with institutional racism and the police are also marked by both mental and physical violence:

> "They (the police) were always very derogatory (…) You can't say anything. You can't stand up for yourself because you'd just get hit. (…) They provoke you to do something by saying things like 'Yeah, you don't have such a big mouth now, do you?' How can you say that as a civil servant?" -Ryan

This striking 'disbalance of power' may also feel 'dehumanizing' (Ikram). Mental violence from the police is not only reflected through verbal abuse but can also through through the previously mentioned stereotypes. Knowing that biased and racist stereotypes prevent communities -and men- of color from equal treatment and protection is a hard pill to swallow, it's 'frustrating', 'saddening' and 'unfair' (Ryan). Romano argues that 'the groups and communities that feel protected by the police are white', as they frequently 'use the police to protect themselves from us, Black communities. That's why Black communities don't see the police as protecting". As such, institutional racism within the police is amplified and enabled by society and more particularly white people which furthers the marginalization of Black people, people of color, but more specifically men. As such institutional racism among police brigades is perceived to be reinforced by other societal actors.

ii.   Urban disparities

The perceived consequences of institutional racism within the defense forces and more specifically the police were nuanced across and within Dutch cities. Karim expressed feeling safer in his home city Haarlem; "we don't have issues with the police", however he associates institutional racism within the police with the bigger cities like Rotterdam, The Hague and Amsterdam where he felt more targeted and was frequently checked 'the police in Amsterdam are tougher and find you quickly' he explains.

Contrastingly, Ryan was confronted at a young age with 'random' (ID) checks in Northern Rotterdam and confirms Karim's previous statement about the presence of institutional racism in bigger cities: "In our area it was a policy to carry our IDs from the age of 14. If you didn't carry it because you were wearing pants without pockets, you were taken home by the police in a van". Through a conversation with a police officer he learnt that these practices were technically illegal. "It turns out there were a few places in Rotterdam where it was allowed, including my neighborhood (…) which before gentrification was known as a 'vulnerable neighborhood.'".

Maria also recognizes that in The Hague 'sensitive' and diverse neighborhoods like the "Schilderswijk" are highly affected by random police checks, "more than people from Zeeheldenkwartier for example, which is more upper class and white." The consequences of institutional racism, including unlawful and racist character of 'random' checks performed by police departments did thus diverge across and within cities. Some neighborhoods were disproportionally affected by institutional racism based on the discriminatory stereotypes about communities and men of color, even from a very young age.

C. *The Tax and Customs Administration*

i.   Lived experiences and surveillance

The first case of institutional racism to be publicly admitted in the Netherlands took place at the Tax and Customs office. Respondents affirm directly feeling and perceiving the impact of institutional racism within the tax authorities through lived experiences. The Childcare Benefit scandal 'hit close to home' for three respondents who know at least one victim in their close circle (Kim, Ryan, Aisha). Furthermore, Anas received an official apology letter from the tax authorities stating that he was wrongfully listed as a potential fraudulent based on his ethnic background. Other respondents have also been surveilled by the tax authorities but find it hard to trace it back to institutional racism due to the lack of transparency in the proceedings and algorithms employed by the tax authorities. Ryan, Ikram and Kim have all been checked, scrutinized, or closely monitored when declaring their taxes, but question the proceedings that led to this outcome. "I've been really thoroughly investigated by the tax authorities for 5 years" says Ryan, "but I will never really know whether it was institutional racism". Therefore, some consequences of institutional racism remain difficult to assess with certainty. However, the instinctual worries and the lack of transparency from the tax authorities remain valuable signals to take into consideration with regard to more subtle manifestations of institutional racism.

ii.   Suspicion and fear

Although institutional racism has only recently been acknowledged by the tax authorities, respondents admitted feeling weary of the tax authorities long before the scandal. Hence, the perceived impact of institutional racism was present prior to its official recognition. This confirms why the sentiments and suspicions of communities of color are valuable to identify institutional racism and that its consequences can be felt even before official State bodies have (officially) recognized institutional racism. Some respondents stated that they -and/or people

from their direct environment- felt unsafe and unrightfully targeted by the tax authorities in the past. However, these concerns were not taken seriously until institutional racism was confirmed by politicians and researchers through 'official' investigations, which in essence illustrates which actors are taken seriously when flagging (institutional) racism. Here the sentiment and suspicions of communities of color regarding institutional racism are again correct yet remained overlooked, which in itself can be interpreted as a manifestation of institutional racism. Respondents affirm not being surprised by the outcome of the investigations, instead 'it felt like a confirmation of why the tax authorities shouldn't be trusted' (Kim), because 'we've told everybody this is going on yet they only started acknowledging it right now' (Romano). As Ikram explains, fear towards the tax authorities and suspicion of ethnic profiling was present among ethnic minorities long before institutional racism was a fact:

> "I remember growing up with the stress around -and fear of- the tax authorities (…) we were always super careful and precise, there's no room for mistakes (…) It was almost anticipating the fact that you would be scrutinized. You knew every small mistake could be detrimental."

Consequently, respondents perceive the consequences of institutional racism through their lived experiences on the one hand and the delegitimization of their concerns, sentiments, and knowledge about institutional racism within the tax and customs administration on the other. Hence, enhancing their mistrust and fear towards the tax authorities.

D. *The Education System*

Most respondents mentioned that their first memories of- and experiences with- institutional racism took place at school, "that's the first time name calling" (Ryan) and "institutional racism" occurred (Romano). Age and stage of education are factors that determine the

experienced racism within school institutions, Maria points out that the older she got, the more she started feeling different and recognized patterns of racism in the classroom and at school. The perceived consequences of institutional racism within the education system are the early confrontations with racist stereotypes that have long term consequences for respondents' self-image and the way they are treated. Moreover, the impact of institutional racism felt by ethnic minorities is also dependent on the level of education and the dominant narratives at schools.

i. Long term consequences of disempowerment and racism

The transition from primary to secondary school and university is a challenging rite of passage for the respondents who were raised in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods and attended primary schools with "a majority of people who are not ethnically Dutch" (Ikram) and where they "didn't experience any form of discrimination" (Kim). Upon starting high school most respondents were amongst the few people of colour in the classroom, and started being "confronted with a lot of stereotypes" (Ikram) and were "mocked for being Black" in that sense "school as a system failed to protect me" says Kim. University adds a layer to the experienced alienation in the education system according to Romano, as efforts to fit in can lead to a 'loss of self-identity' yet will never result in being treated as an equal, as "no matter what you do you'll still be the odd one out, you'll just to be the Black person in the group".

A reoccurring consequence of institutional racism within the education systems is the identity loss that results from it, causing the "erasure" (Maria) or 'embarrassment of' (Ikram) one's cultural and ethnic heritage. Being an ethnic minority and facing differential treatment alienates students of color to a point of internalizing negative thought patterns of themselves and their identity. This self-image however stems from a bigger force, namely racist stereotypes, which will be elaborated in the following paragraphs.

ii. Racist stereotypes, neurodivergence and culture

Negative and racist stereotypes of communities of colour are at the source of many setbacks within the education system. Often in their final year of primary school students of color are advised to follow 'easier' and 'lower' high schools tracks regardless of their grades and capacities. Anas, Maria and Ryan share this very experience from the 8th grade. "Dumb" and "lazy" are the popular stereotypes that ethnic minorities are faced with regarding institutional racism within the education system. Respondents experience these stereotypes as "demotivating" (Maria) and don't feel "encouraged to continue studying and to get a good job" (Romano). The impact of these racist stereotypes lead to 'overcompensating to not be seen as the dumb Turkish student' (Sinem), but can also shatter one's self esteem as Romano and Ryan both quit university, due to the unsafe and disempowering atmosphere at higher education.

> "I didn't feel smart enough (…) I gave up quite fast, because teachers gave up on me, so I gave up on myself too"- Ryan

Furthermore, Neurodivergence among Black people and people of color is not taken seriously within education systems, due to racist stereotypes. They are portrayed as "unwilling to study (…) and a burden" (Romano) which makes obtaining official diagnoses more difficult. "In middle school, no one believed I had dyscalculia, they just thought I was dumb" says Maria who has been diagnosed with dyscalculia later on, but through personal means instead of a school referral, which is the usual way young people get diagnosed. "I feel like the other people who had such problems were treated it better than me" she adds.

Other racist stereotypes experienced by Karim and Romano were purely cultural, which negatively portray ethnic minorities. 'There was this one German teacher in high school, and he just expected me not to have a father, (…) because I'm Caribbean they expect me to have

these stereotypical struggles" (Romano). Moreover, Karim was asked by his teacher to enlighten fellow students about domestically and physically abusing women, "because it's part of his culture".

Overall, institutional racism within education systems are perceived through the racist and negative stereotypes that communities of color are alienated by. Their potential, intelligence, (mental) health and cultural wealth are overshadowed by racist stereotypes that impact one's self-image, but also one's future as students are demotivated, under classified in the 8th grade and may quit school as a result of the perpetual disempowerment and racism .

iii.   Ethnocentric narratives and curricula

The final manifestation of institutional racism within the education system were the ethnocentric curricula and narratives. Respondents perceive the history program as biased, don't feel represented throughout the material which isn't illustrative of some 'painful parts of history' (Emre). Kim builds upon this by mentioning the double standards in the narrative between discriminated and oppressed populations in history by contrasting the chapters about the Transatlantic Slave Trade (framed as 'the Dutch Golden Age') with WWII and the Holocaust which was met with the appropriate narrative and the bitter truths that occurred, contrary to the previous historic event. Romano dives into the field of academic research at universities and observes that academic research often doesn't include nor foster to Black people and people of color, because "most of the time it's just about white people (…) especially in medicine and psychology (…)" which also impacted Romano's family in the medical treatment they received. Consequently, respondents mention feeling disregarded and unseen due to the lack of inclusive curricula and research which reveals one of the ways institutional racism is embedded in education systems.

3. The vicious gears of ethnic profiling

Several respondents perceived or experienced ethnic profiling as a result of institutional racism within a variety of institutions such as municipalities, Dutch defense forces and tax authorities. Nevertheless, a striking consequence of institutional racism within the Dutch State institutions is the self-fulfilling prophecy of ethnic profiling, but also its interconnectedness with institutional racism in other sectors. *Figure 3* shows two co-existing dynamics that keep ethnic profiling in place according to the respondents.
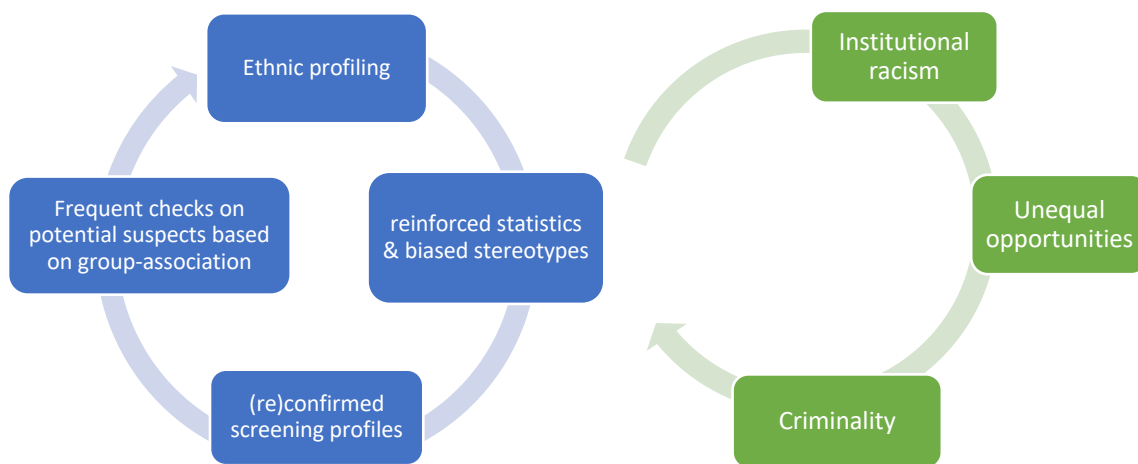
Figure 3: The vicious cycles of ethnic profiling: positive feedback loop of ethnic profiling and interconnectedness with institutional racism

A. *Positive feedback loop of ethnic profiling*

Both Romano and Emre expressed their concerns with ethnic profiling, nonetheless, they also pointed out that ethnic profiling often relies on statistics. Emre explains that based on "face value", people of his background are represented more negatively in crime statistics. However, he also thinks that such numbers are oversimplified and exacerbated by racist "stereotypes" within State institutions. Therefore, these biased numbers may perpetuate biased screening profiles and reinforce institutional racism. People of color are thus more targeted as a result of biased screening profiles, leading to an overrepresentation of ethnic minorities on the screening

list of potential suspects which in turn increases ethnic profiling and eventually reaffirms the stereotypes and biased perception of ethnic minorities, in other words; those who seek shall find. Consequently, a positive feedback loop is continuously upheld and increases the chances of experiencing ethnic profiling through state institutions as an ethnic minority (see: bleu cycle).

B. *Spill-over effect of institutional racism on ethnic profiling*

Similarly, Romano feels conflicted about ethnic profiling, "because (…) the people who are doing criminal activities and the people the police is racially profiling are the same people", however, "you also have to look at the reason why those people who are committing criminal activities" which according to Romano's experience and perception is due to institutional racism. As long as people are criminalized and associated with negative stereotypes within institutional fields, they will not have equal chances compared to white people and vice versa (Cf: green cycle). Romano mentions examples of institutional racism from other sectors or institutions that can reinforce each other but also ethnic profiling. He explains that the demotivating, negative and racist stereotypes of ethnic minorities at school are more likely to lead (young) people on a criminal path to climb the social ladder and make good money. Secondly, due to racial discrimination in the labor market, ethnic minorities are not only more likely to make less money, but because of financial difficulties children growing up in low-income households can be easily initiated to make easy money through illegal or criminal activities. Finally, he also explains that intergenerational poverty is a cycle that is difficult to escape from especially in a society where ethnic minorities don't have equal opportunities as white people. Romano concludes the following: "It's a loop, but it's an inevitable loop, because if you don't fix the problem of institutional racism -which is the reason why those people are committing crimes- you can't fix the ethnic profiling."

4. Emotional and Coping Responses to Institutional Racism

The effects of institutional racism perceived by participants were also marked by the description of emotional experiences when encountering instances of institutional racism. Institutional racism and everyday racism trigger a 'survival system that is always present' (Sinem). These emotional responses are worthwhile to analyze, as the perceived consequence of institutional racism by the ethnic minorities of this research are not only societal but also emotional.

A. Assimilation and self-adaption

A frequent defense mechanism described by respondents is to adapt to the dominant group and environment they're in. Some participants find this constant code-switching difficult as it jeopardizes their authenticity, whilst others adapt to different spaces with more ease. Emre describes his code-switching process as "pressing buttons" that allows him to "look at things the Western way or non-Western way". Karim navigates with more "caution" in "white spaces or workforces" by 'watching his language", yet he feels limited that as a person of color he has "to assimilate to the white majority". One of the respondents who experienced a "loss of identity" in the past due to constant attempts to assimilate was Romano. His assimilation took a radical turn. Due to the 'pressure of fitting in' at university, Romano shaved his long hair off to not appear "unprofessional". Similarly, Maria "wanted to have straight hair and lighter skin" as a teenager. Hence, adapting or assimilation can be a behavioral and physical process, this highlights that the consequences of racism in the Netherlands are not solely based on 'cultural incompatibility', but also on skin color and race.

An interesting nuance Sinem brings in about the topic of assimilation is her sexuality. "As a kid I understood that I had to be as white as possible", however now "when I pull the 'gay card' (…) people assume that I am so white and so Dutch, so integrated and emancipated. (…) so when I am in trouble I use the gay card, that is the game I'm playing to protect myself".   The

consequences of racism may thus be overshadowed by one's sexuality which implies a form of assimilation by proxy. Sinem therefore speaks of the strong effects of Dutch 'homo-nationalism' on her experience with institutional racism and assimilation in Dutch society.

B. Safe(r) spaces versus invisibilization

Contrary to the previous coping mechanism, participants also seek for safe space that allows communities of color to worry less about institutional or everyday racism as well as being confronted with it too much. These are spaces in which Black people and people of color "find their own" (Romano), "feel connected" (Emre), "empowered" (Ikram), can "bond over their struggles", "protect their peace" and "don't have to adapt" nor "walk on eggshells" (Kim). Respondents mention the importance of being surrounded by entrusted and likeminded people of color, be it at work or in their personal lives to feel safe(r). White spaces are therefore also associated with unsafety due to the increased chances of experiencing microaggressions and racism.

In spaces that feel unsafe, respondents expressed a tendency of trying to invisibilize themselves, to blend in the background and "to not be seen". Karim's mother taught him to not put himself "in the spotlights (…) when something is going on" to avoid being picked as the offender. At school Romano "falls back a little, during the first couple of months" and will "sit in the back of the classroom" just by himself, "figuring out everything and everybody". At border controls Kim is "scared", to stand out in a crowd, and is "very reserved" when she travels, "I don't make eye contact, look at my phone, don't do anything weird. I'm overthinking every step". The weight of standing out can be heavy to carry as respondents are hyperaware of the racism that could be inflicted on them based on the power-imbalances in these 'unsafe' spaces. The perceived consequences of institutional racism by ethnic minorities in this case is the urge to protect oneself as much as possible (from experiencing institutional racism) through safer spaces and by moving with caution to not stand out.

C. Self-reliability

Another defense mechanism that emerged from the interviews in light of institutional racism is self-reliability. Many respondents believe in their capacity and ability to reclaim their rights in unrightful situations related to institutional racism. To be "articulate and well-spoken" (Anas), to 'believe in one's ability to figure it out' (Romano), "to have the means and the network to defend" oneself, to ensure "financial stability to hire any lawyer" (Sinem) or to "have multiple jobs as a plan B" (Kim) were elements that reinforced the sentiment of self-reliability among respondents. Through these testimonies, respondents showcased a strong sense of resiliency and willingness to fight back or to be prepared to defend oneself against institutional racism.

> "I know that (…) we are able to fight back, and it might make me think and worry less about institutional racism, but I know that there are people in the Netherlands for whom that is not the case. And that angers me." -Anas

D. Institutional racism and mental health

Being confronted with racism (in)directly triggers negative feelings and emotions among all respondents. Some of the sentiments evoked when experiencing or reading (headlines) about institutional racism are the following: Anger, fear, agitated, irritated, disconnected, demotivation, disgust, tiredness, exhaustion, sadness, painful, numbing/ cynical, depressing, stressful, powerless, undignified, irritations, apathetical, frustration, disappointed, infuriating, hopelessness, bitterness etc.

Respondents explained that not reacting, ignoring, normalizing or mentally preparing for racism is a form of self-care. Words like 'crazy', 'insane' have been used to describe what ought to happen if they would not use their defense mechanisms or if they would constantly

react upon instances of racism. This sentiment was shared by the majority of respondents, including Maria:

> "I just go crazy and it just keeps me up at night, I cannot really handle injustice really well. So I try to not allow everything to get to me."

Sinem expresses the complexity and conflicts with dealing with institutional racism and how it impacts one's mental health in the long run: "I think the moment you succeed (professionally), (…) the living, instead of surviving, kicks in, but once the living starts you look back at 30 years or 35 years or 40 years of surviving (racism), all of my friends, including me, are in therapy right now because we had to survive like crazy". The perceived consequences of institutional racism are mentally heavy and emotionally challenging to deal with. None of the coping mechanisms liberate ethnic minorities in the Netherlands from the chackles of institutional racism and everyday racism, instead they are trade-offs and manifestations of the discomfort that ethnic minorities are confronted with everyday.

VI.   Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that the consequences of institutional racism can be perceived through two core realms, the first being societal and the second emotional. The societal consequences were perceived through participants' lived experiences with institutional racism through several State institutions, which resulted in low levels of trust and perceived protection. Intersectional discrimination was often brought up to nuance the perceived consequences of institutional racism across State institutions. However, one constant finding was the lack of engagement, inclusion and recognition of the concerns of ethnic minorities with regard to institutional racism.

One of the perceived consequences of institutional racism within the Dutch government was the perpetuation of the latter through a lack of affirmative action, as well as the intersection between class- and racial-discrimination. Intersectional discrimination was also observed in relation to the defense forces, The intersection between gender and race, but also urban disparities determined the lived experiences -including the violence- that mainly Black- and MENA-men were subject to. Furthermore, institutional racism within the tax and customs office was felt and suspected by respondents prior to its official recognition. Here again ethnic minorities perceived the consequences of institutional racism through their lived experiences, but also the delegitimization of their sentiments and suspicions regarding instances of institutional racism. Finally, racist stereotypes have been identified by respondents as manifestations of institutional racism across several institutions. However, the long-term impact of these racist stereotypes were substantial, as they disempowered students of color through negative self-image and differentiated treatment. The education system was not only perceived as a relatively unsafe environment because of the persistence of racist stereotypes, but also due to the lack of inclusive curricula and narratives put forward.

The consequence of institutional racism within the Dutch State institutions were also perceived through the self-fulfilling prophecy of ethnic profiling, which is strongly tied to manifestations of institutional racism from other sectors. Here two vicious cycles were identified, namely the spill over-effect of institutional racism and a positive feedback loop of ethnic profiling.

The perceived consequences of institutional racism also impacts participant's emotional responses and wellbeing. Participants make use of assimilative code-switching responses that range from adapting one's language and attitudes, to one's appearance. The creation of safer spaces is another coping mechanism participants may use to decrease the chances of experiencing racism. To minimize the chances of experiences institutional racism, blending in the background was another emotional response that participants used. Although several

participants strongly believe in their capacity to fight back against injustice and institutional racism, the impact of the latter is still heavy on their mental wellbeing. To hold on to the frustration of racism is detrimental to the sanity of the participants. Hence, the importance of learning to let go and find spaces where the body can rest from the so-called 'survival-modus'.

VII.   Discussion

This paper aimed to critically contribute to the field of institutional racism in the Netherlands with the motive to center the perspectives, lived experiences and knowledge of people of color. This is not only important from an academic and theoretical point of view, but also shifts the foundations and legitimacy of our collective and societal knowledge production when studying institutional racism. Most research in the Netherlands is monopolized by homogenous groups of researchers and does not always include the perceptions of ethnic minorities. However, Essed (1991) argues that populations who have historically experienced racial discrimination, have the sensors and intuitive knowledge that allows them to recognize instances of racism. This was also observed through some emergent findings of this paper. Furthermore, Witte (2010) wrote a descriptive analysis of how institutional racism was embedded within the Dutch State between 1950 and 2009. The findings may however need to be reassessed especially in a post-Childcare Benefit era. This paper may be a starting point to bring in more contemporary and co-created findings about institutional racism within the Dutch State. Whilst Witte (2010) didn't include the perspective and perceptions of ethnic minorities in his book, this thesis does so based on a CRT methodology which is not common in Dutch research about institutional racism. Hence, through this paper the perceptions and impact of institutional racism on ethnic minorities in the Netherlands can be better understood and built upon to create and devlop a more inclusive and equal society and political system for everyone. Besides Essed's comparative research on the experiences of Black women in the Netherlands and the US, there aren't many qualitative research articles or books that provide a broad, comprehensive and

eventually comparative overview of how (institutional) racism impacts different ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, be it socially or emotionally. Further Dutch-based research may consider filling this gap, whilst further centering the voices of Black people and people of color in academia. Hereby, one of limitations of this paper could be compensated for, namely the weak external validity due to the sample size and sampling method. Moreover, the research population of this paper is not representative of all ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, as many other nationalities could not be included, but also because communities of color are not a monolith. Interpretations, experiences, and perspectives will undeniably differ within and across ethnic groups. Furthermore, this paper aimed to give a broad overview of participants' perceptions of institutional racism in multiple State-institutions. However, more depth and thicker descriptions could have been provided if one single institution was at the heart of this study. Another common limitation in qualitative research may be the subjective interpretation the interviews and therefore also findings. A strength but also limitation to the replicability of this research was that several respondents explicitly expressed feeling more comfortable talking about racism, but also referring to 'white people' in the presence of a person of color. The identity of the interviewer may thus determine the outcome of a study, another Black researcher or researcher of color could have gathered more or different findings than myself.

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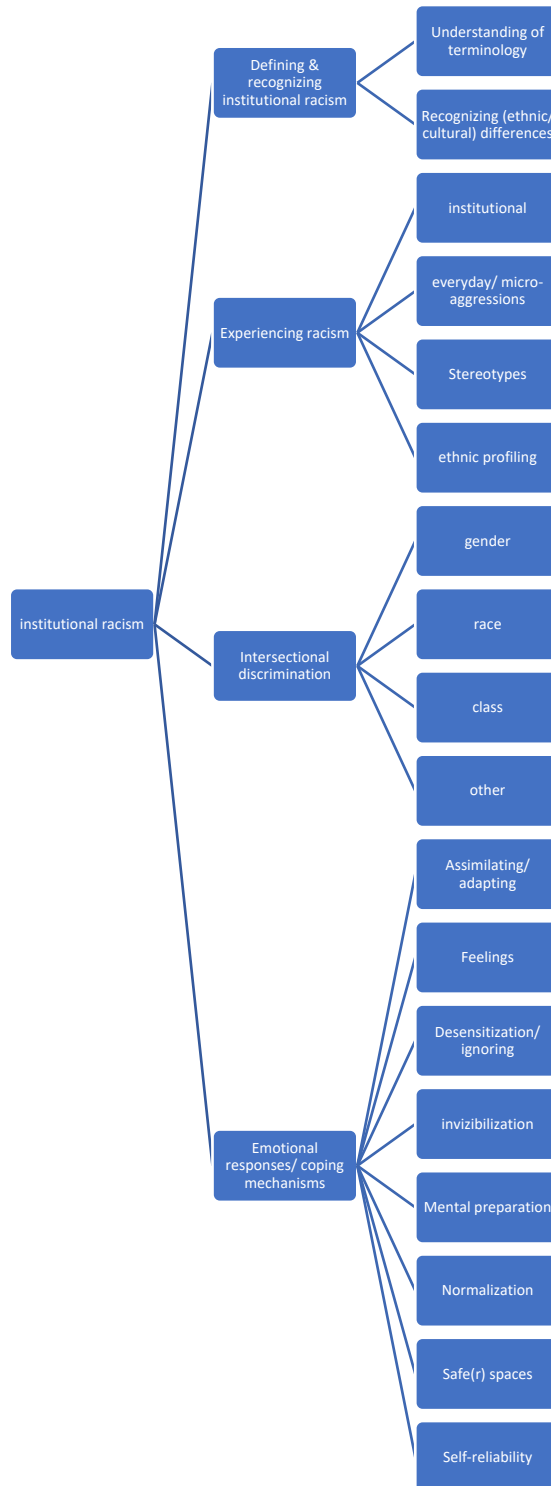
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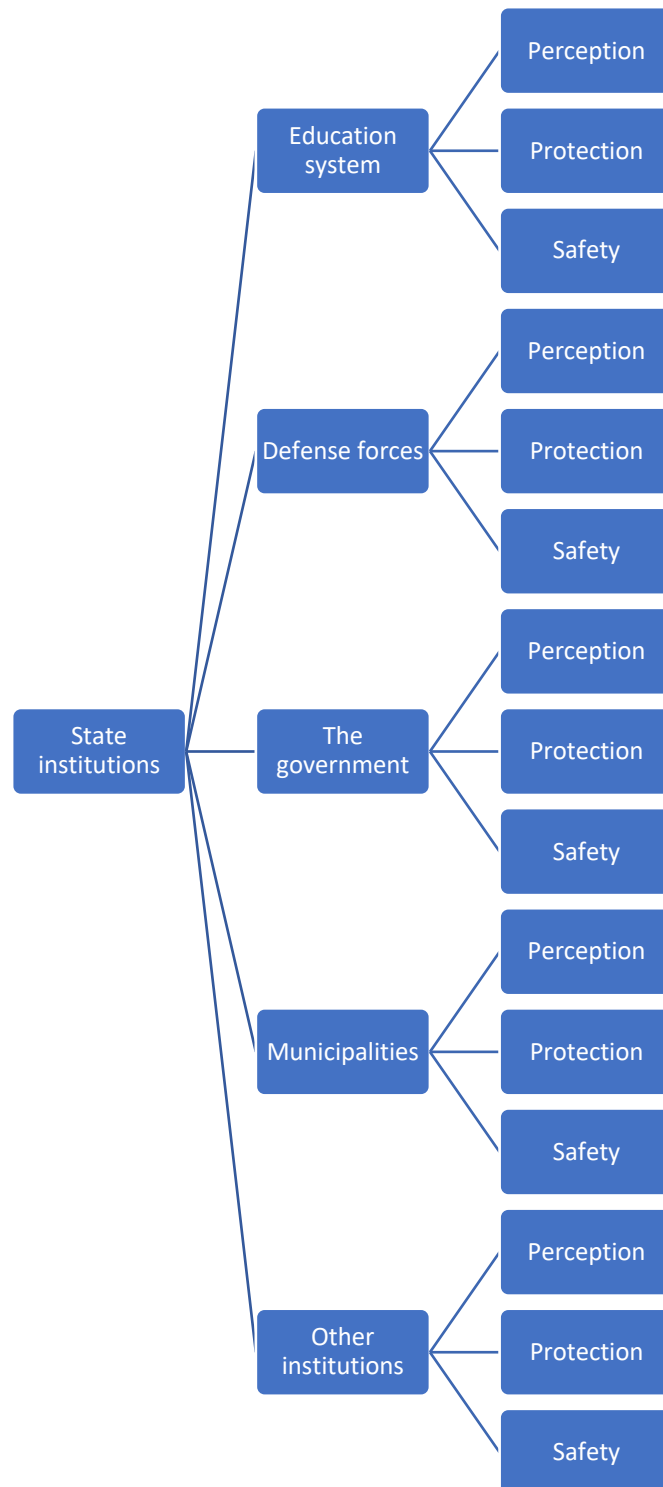
Appendix 1: Code Trees

I.   Institutional racism

II.   The State

Appendix 2: Interview Protocol

Introduction

- Personal introduction
- Introduction thesis topic and purpose of the interview
- Practicalities
  - Time available
  - Anonymity & Quoting
- Ethical considerations:
  - Retraction/ termination of the interview
  - Ask about sensitivities/ boundaries
  - Is there anything else I should keep into consideration or should know before starting the interview?
- Request permission to record the interview

Opening questions:

1. Ask interviewee to introduce themselves
   a. Specifically ask for ethnic background
   b. Where they grew up and where they currently live: Can you describe the environment in which you grew up?

2. Are you familiar with the concepts institutional racism?
   a. How would you define institutional racism?

Content questions:

3. Which institutions do you think of when I say 'Dutch government', 'Dutch authorities' of 'government instances'? It is up to you to decide how far you stretch your association with these terms.
   a. Can you write them down (in the chat or shared white board on Teams)? You have about a minute)
   b. How do you perceive each institution?
   c. How protected do you feel by each one of them?

4. How safe would you feel if you stepped into one of those institutions?
   a. Follow up questions: What makes that you *(do/ don't)* feel protected/safe by these institutions? Are there any institutions you feel more or less protected by?
   b. Not protected: How does that make you feel?

5. *Show list of headlines about institutional racism in NL*

BNNVARA

Duo jaagt bij fraude-aanpak vrijwel uitsluitend op studenten met migratieachtergrond - Joop

Studiefinancieringverstrekker Duo kijkt vrijwel uitsluitend naar studenten met een migratieachtergrond in hun jacht op vermeende fraudeurs.

⇨ Translation: When tackling fraud, Duo (student finance services) almost exclusively hunts students with a migration background

P Het Parool

'Historische uitspraak' van hof: Marechaussee mag huidskleur niet meewegen bij grenscontroles

Het hof maakte dinsdag korte metten met hoe de marechaussee de huidskleur van mensen laat meewegen bij de keuze wie wordt gecontroleerd.

15 feb 2023

⇨ Translation: 'Historical ruling' of court: Marechaussee (customs) may not take skin color into account during border controls

⟩ NRC

Opinie | De Toeslagenaffaire is ontstaan uit institutioneel racisme

Etnisch profileren: De etnische component van het Toeslagenschandaal is onderbelicht. Een parlementaire enquête naar etnisch profileren is...

30 mei 2021

⇨ Translation: The Childcare Benefit Scandal arose from institutional racism

◆ NPO Radio 1

Onderzoek wijst op institutioneel racisme bij Buitenlandse Zaken: 'mensen werden aangeduid als apen'

Racisme en discriminatie zijn een 'ernstige en zorgelijke' problemen bij het ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken. Dat is de conclusie van een...

⇨ Translation: Research points to institutional racism at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 'people were referred to as monkeys'

T Trouw

Politie en Belastingdienst erkennen institutioneel racisme. Hoe moet het nu verder?

Racisme binnen de Belastingdienst en de politie is 'institutioneel' en 'structureel', zeggen de organisaties zelf. Hoe zijn ze daartoe...

⇨ Translation: The police and tax authorities recognize institutional racism. How to proceed now?

■ BNNVARA

Politieagenten maken in half jaar tijd dertig meldingen van racisme en discriminatie door collega's - Joop

Het afgelopen half jaar hebben politieagenten dertig meldingen gedaan van racisme of discriminatie door collega's.

12 apr 2023

⇨ Translation : Police officers make thirty reports of racism and discrimination by colleagues in six months

    a. What do you think of these headlines?
        i. Which emotions or feelings does it evoke in you?

        ii.   What do you think this says about our society or political system?
    b. Which headline do you personally feel most concerned by?
        i.   Follow up question: What makes that you chose for this one?
        ii.   Does this impact you in your daily life?
    c. Which case of institutional racism do you think you most likely be subject to based on your ethnic background?

6. Have you ever experienced forms of discrimination or racism through any Dutch government instances?
7. Have you ever felt treated differently by or through any Dutch government instances?
    a. YES: dig deeper
    b. No: Have you ever suspected or felt unequal treatment through any Dutch government instances?

8. Do you ever think or worry about the chances of experiencing racism or other forms of discrimination through Dutch government instances? (again it is up to you to define how far you stretch this concept)
    a. How often?
    b. What is it that you worry about?
    c. Based on what grounds or attributes do you think you might be discriminated?

9. How do you think your experience of racism and discrimination may differ from other people of color?
    a. Is there a particular sector or space in society that you feel more chances of being racially discriminated?

Closing

Checking in:

- Those were all my questions→ thank interviewee for their time and insights
- Ask if interviewee has any more thoughts they would like to share.
- Any questions?
- Ask how the respondent is feeling atm?
  - How did the interview go?
    - If in the aftermath of this interview you are experiencing high levels of (di)stress, please consider getting in touch with professionals that can assist people emotionally through Slachtofferhulp.nl for example.
  - Do you have any tips/feedback for me for the upcoming interviews?
  - What are you going to do after?

Agreements :

- Ask if the interviewee would like to receive a copy of the transcript or quotes that will be used in the thesis
- Ask if the interviewee is available through email for any future questions

Appendix 3: Interview Extract

Sinem: So yeah, when I see scandals, I am getting scared and I'm thinking ahead as in I need to figure out how I can be more white in order not to get on those lists. So it's a survival system that kicks in. The survival system is actually always present. So yeah, it does kick in, it is also always present.

Interviewer: What is the survival system?

S: Ohh how I would describe it is actually be white, become white and make sure that you do everything so that people, the outside world can perceive you as white even though you got black curls and then they will give you the benefit of the doubt and that's how I survived in life.

I: How does that make you feel? To you know, you've created this whole survival plan? Stipulated it out and followed the rules that you needed for yourself.

S: it's twofold. In one way I'm happy because it got me to places and it got me stuff that I want to have, but then the other side is that you feel guilty cause I wish I could have explained my game to my parents back in the days, as in 'mom. Dad, if you do like this, and if you say this and if you dress like this, you know, then you will not be a target. And then you will maybe go even further in life and maybe achieve this and this and this and this if you want to.' But the painful thought about that is that you have to. Change who you are in order not to get diminished, but then. Yeah, living freely is different than planned living. So I'm planning everything. I'm thinking ahead, planning it, overthinking it, and then it goes well.

But it's different cause I've a white girlfriend. She is not planning anything at all. Financially her mom will cover, she's not gonna be like paying to her. She is living the life. She is a white, tall woman. She will maybe have, you know, issues on sexism or whatever. It doesn't mean that you will have no issues, but the point is the issues that you have will not be based

on your background. So I'm not saying you have a perfect life, but I say the life you're having is not based on the color or your background or your ethnic background. So she is really living. And I am more surviving living because I need to. I wake up and then I have a plan. I think it makes people like me tired.

I: Uhmm.

S: And that's the cost of living.

I: Your cost of living is being tired.

Appendix 4: Ethics and Privacy Checklist

ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM

CHECKLIST ETHICAL AND PRIVACY ASPECTS OF RESEARCH

INSTRUCTION

This checklist should be completed for every research study that is conducted at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology (DPAS). This checklist should be completed *before* commencing with data collection or approaching participants. Students can complete this checklist with help of their supervisor.

This checklist is a mandatory part of the empirical master's thesis and has to be uploaded along with the research proposal.

The guideline for ethical aspects of research of the Dutch Sociological Association (NSV) can be found on their website (http://www.nsv-sociologie.nl/?page_id=17). If you have doubts about ethical or privacy aspects of your research study, discuss and resolve the matter with your EUR supervisor. If needed and if advised to do so by your supervisor, you can also consult Dr. Bonnie French, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION

Project title: Knowledge controversies at the edge of chaos

Name, email of student:

    Houda Nabih

    627806hn@student.eur.nl   OR houda.nabih@hotmail.com

Name, email of supervisor:

Lore van Praag

vanpraag@essb.eur.nl

Start date and duration:

February 13th, 2023 until June 25th, 2023

Is the research study conducted within DPAS   **YES** - NO

If 'NO': at or for what institute or organization will the study be conducted?

(e.g. internship organization)

PART II: HUMAN SUBJECTS

1.   Does your research involve human participants.   **YES** - NO

If 'NO': skip to part V.

If 'YES': does the study involve medical or physical research?   YES - **NO**

Research that falls under the Medical Research Involving Human Subjects Act (WMO) must first be submitted to an accredited medical research ethics committee or the Central Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (CCMO).

2.   Does your research involve field observations without manipulations

that will not involve identification of participants.   YES - **NO**

If 'YES': skip to part IV.

3.   Research involving completely anonymous data files (secondary data that has been anonymized by someone else).   YES - **NO**

If 'YES': skip to part IV.

PART III: PARTICIPANTS

1.   Will information about the nature of the study and about what participants can expect during the study be withheld from them?   **YES** - NO

2.   Will any of the participants not be asked for verbal or written 'informed consent,' whereby they agree to participate in the study?   **YES**- NO

3.   Will information about the possibility to discontinue the participation at any time be withheld from participants?   **YES**- NO

4.   Will the study involve actively deceiving the participants?   YES - **NO**
   Note: almost all research studies involve some kind of deception of participants. Try to think about what types of deception are ethical or non-ethical (e.g. purpose of the study is not told, coercion is exerted on participants, giving participants the feeling that they harm other people by making certain decisions, etc.).

5.   Does the study involve the risk of causing psychological stress or negative emotions beyond those normally encountered by participants?   `   **YES** - NO

6.   Will information be collected about special categories of data, as defined by the GDPR (e.g. racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, genetic data, biometric data for the purpose of uniquely identifying a person, data concerning mental or physical health, data concerning a person's sex life or sexual orientation)?   **YES** - NO

7. Will the study involve the participation of minors (<18 years old) or other groups that cannot give consent? **YES - NO**

8. Is the health and/or safety of participants at risk during the study? **YES - NO**

9. Can participants be identified by the study results or can the confidentiality of the participants' identity not be ensured? **YES - NO**

10. Are there any other possible ethical issues with regard to this study? **YES - NO**

If you have answered 'YES' to any of the previous questions, please indicate below why this issue is unavoidable in this study.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

What safeguards are taken to relieve possible adverse consequences of these issues (e.g., informing participants about the study afterwards, extra safety regulations, etc.).

_In Kostovicova & Knott's (2020) article on unpredictability in conflict research, it is recommended to:

- Address and check the level of comfort that respondents have with answering questions about certain difficult topics. Together a so-called 'threshold' can be created to respect the boundaries and participation of the respondent, who must feel in control of their contribution to knowledge production about -in this case-institutional and structural racism. I would also add a question about what the respondent might expect or need from me in case of unpredicted negative emotions.
- Respondents may not feel empowered if in their moment of distress the interview is terminated or would not want to terminate the interview. Should negative emotions overtake the respondent, the possibility of taking a break will be suggested.

Furthermore, I will order 'light or empowering' and 'heavier' questions interchangeably, in order to prevent a extensive focus on potential negative emotions.

Finally, participants will at the end be informed about the possibility to consult an expert, in case they have (re-)experienced (high) levels of stress. Slachtofferhulp.nl assists people emotionally in case of experienced distress.

_____

_____

Are there any unintended circumstances in the study that can cause harm or have negative (emotional) consequences to the participants? Indicate what possible circumstances this could be.

_____

____The interviews, may trigger negative emotions among the participants, as they will be asked about their experience with racial discrimination within the Dutch state and government instances. Racism is a painful experience. It may be difficult to describe such experiences through words and might also evoke negative emotional consequences.

_____
_____
_____

_

Please attach your informed consent form in Appendix I, if applicable.

Continue to part IV.

PART IV: SAMPLE

Where will you collect or obtain your data?

__Social media and personal network

_____
_____

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

____10 to 12 respondents

_____
_____

What is the size of the population from which you will sample?

_Because the Netherlands does not keep track of ethnic or racial background, the only numbers I have found is the amount of people living in the Netherlands with an immigrant background (this includes first and second generation immigrants only). This is the closest approximation I have found for my study population: Black people and people of colour. On an official government website the total amount of people living in the Netherlands with an immigrant background is approximately 4,6 million (Vzinfo, 2023)

_____
_____
_

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

Continue to part V.

Part V: Data storage and backup

 Where and when will you store your data in the short term, after acquisition?

___I will store the collected date shortly after conducting the interviews on both my personal EUR drive account and the software used to record and transcribe the conducted interviews. The exact software is yet to be determined.

_____
_____

Note: indicate for separate data sources, for instance for paper-and pencil test data, and for digital data files.

Who is responsible for the immediate day-to-day management, storage and backup of the data arising from your research?

___I will be responsible of the latter.

_____
_____

How (frequently) will you back-up your research data for short-term data security?

___After every interview

_____

_____

In case of collecting personal data how will you anonymize the data?

_____

_____The names or identity of the respondents will not be used, even if they decide to share that information with me. During my research process I will categorize the respondents in terms of racial or ethnic background, gender and religious background. And if needed I will number the respondents if I want to quote anything they shared during the interviews.

_____

_____

_____

—

Note: It is advisable to keep directly identifying personal details separated from the rest of the data. Personal details are then replaced by a key/ code. Only the code is part of the database with data and the list of respondents/research subjects is kept separate.

PART VI: SIGNATURE

Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the ethical guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing information to participants about the study and ensuring confidentiality in storage and use of personal data. Treat participants respectfully, be on time at appointments, call participants when they have signed up for your study and fulfil promises made to participants.

Furthermore, it is your responsibility that data are authentic, of high quality and properly stored. The principle is always that the supervisor (or strictly speaking the Erasmus University Rotterdam) remains owner of the data, and that the student should therefore hand over all data to the supervisor.
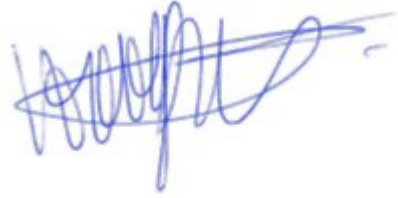

Hereby I declare that the study will be conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. I have answered the questions truthfully.

Name student: Houda Nabih   Name (EUR) supervisor: Lore Van Praag

Date: 26th of march 2023   Date: 27-03-2023