

## **Broadcasting for real reflection of society**

A case study to gain an understanding of how Omroep ZWART positions itself  
within the Dutch Public Service Broadcasting system

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## ABSTRACT

*In the September 2020, a new broadcaster emerged within the Dutch Public Service Broadcasting system (PBS), called Omroep ZWART (OZ). In a year with major events like Covid-19 and the rise of BLM protests in the Netherlands, the goal of this new broadcaster was to challenge the existing dominant narratives that we fostered within Dutch society to improve diversity and inclusivity. The broadcaster was founded by Akwasi Ansah and Gianni Lieuw-A-Soe. Their mission is clearly presented in their introduction video: ‘to give new heroes the power to build a home for all and to give the word “zwart” (in English: black) a positive connotation. When OZ got officially accepted into the Dutch PBS in 2022, the broadcaster faced both support and criticism. Critics argued that it was unnecessary to start a separate new broadcaster that focused on diversity and inclusivity, or that the broadcaster did not create enough counter-voice to the dominant narratives. Despite these criticisms, OZ maintained to commit to their mission to create a home for the whole Dutch society where everyone feels represented. This study aims to answer the following research question: how does Omroep ZWART position itself within the Dutch public service broadcasting system? To help answer this question, two sub questions are posed: 1) what are the motivations of the founders of OZ to create a new broadcaster? and 2) how is this view interpreted, implemented, and justified in OZ’s main policy and published communication on their website? Using a case-study approach that includes an archival analysis and a qualitative content analysis (QCA), the research addresses the motivations behind the establishment of the broadcaster and how these are reflected in their policy documents and the published communication in the form of articles that are published on the website of OZ. For the first sub question, archival analysis was conducted to get a better understanding of the motivations of the founders to start OZ. For the second sub question, QCA was conducted to analyze how the motivations were interpreted, implemented, and justified in their communication efforts. The key findings of this research have shown that OZ positions itself as a transformative broadcaster within the Dutch PBS. They have established this position by strongly committing to represent voices in the media that have been neglected, deeply engage with their audience, align with social movements like BLM, and the goal to educate Dutch society on urgent societal topics.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Omroep ZWART (OZ), institutional racism, Public Service Broadcasting system (PBS), counter-media, transformative.*

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# Abbreviations

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Definition</b>
BLM	Black Lives Matter
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NPO	Nederlandse Publieke Omroep
OZ	Omroep ZWART
PBS	Public service broadcasting system
PVV	Partij Voor de Vrijheid
US	United States
UK	United Kingdom
NSM	New social movement theory
QCA	Qualitative content analysis
CTA	Call to action

# 1. Introduction

‘What I miss at this moment, is a reflection of society in the media’ is a quote stated in the introduction video of the Dutch aspirant-broadcaster Omroep ZWART (OZ). This video was produced and aired in September 2020 when the new broadcaster was announced and can now be found as an old Facebook post (Omroep ZWART, 2020), or on Vimeo (Wefilm, n.d.). In the description of the video on Facebook, the broadcaster states that OZ wants to bring a new sound that makes people curious, and that OZ is about asking questions to connect with others. ‘Only when we look beyond colour, preference, origin, background, do we have a chance to get to know each other better, trust each other, and, who knows, become friends,’ is the line that ends the text description of the introduction video. The video was also shared on other social media sites with the aim that as many people would hear about this broadcaster and become a member. The video ends with ‘Word lid’ (in English: Become a member), which can be seen as a call to action (CTA) to the receiver of the video. Using a CTA is commonly used in public campaigns that want to change social norms and have an effect on a societal level (Freeman et al., 2015, p. 5). Looking at the purpose and aim of the broadcaster, a populational effect is wanted to be reached as the aim of the broadcaster is to reflect Dutch society as a whole and make the audience connect with each other. Another campaign video of OZ was published in 2023, with the aim to bring in even more members (ZWART, 2023). This video was posted on YouTube and other social media platforms under the name ‘Word ‘EERST-ZIEN-DAN-GELOVEN’ lid’ (in English: Become a ‘FIRST-SEE-THEN-BELIEVE’ member). With this new member-gathering campaign, the broadcaster gives people the chance to first become a member for free and start paying when they really believe in the message that OZ creates and spreads.

The initiators of this broadcaster, Akwasi Ansah and Gianni Lieuw-A-Soe, clearly state their mission on the broadcasters’ website (Omroep Zwart, n.d.-b): “to give new heroes the power to build a home for all and to give the word “zwart” (black) a positive connotation.” Akwasi is a Dutch rapper, presenter and producer, and describes himself as a true storyteller (Van den Steenhoven, n.d.). He grew up in multicultural neighbourhoods and started at the age of 12 with writing down the stories that he wanted to share with the world. When he participated in a competition for Dutch young creative talents, he won this competition with his recital about discrimination in the Netherlands. Gianni Lieuw-A-Soe is a former motion graphic designer and video editor for television and is just like Akwasi very engaged with societal topics and has a love for storytelling (Emerce, 2024). He is passionate about educating people about the slavery past of Amsterdam, with the aim to create more societal awareness about this neglected past of the Netherlands (Vellinga, 2024). Both initiators of OZ have a background in producing music, theatre, and television, which makes them experienced within the media landscape. Akwasi and Lieuw-A-Soe have the goal for OZ to not only broadcast the voice of the dominant group within the Dutch society but to represent and tell the story of ‘all of the colours’ within the Dutch society. This means that the voices of all kinds of ethnicities and groups within the

Dutch society will be represented and heard by OZ. As stated in the Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ) on their website, this mix of all the colours eventually creates the colour zwart (in English: black) that stands for the whole of Dutch society (Omroep ZWART, n.d.-a).

In the context of voicing suppressed or unheard stories, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 2020 an organized Black Lives Matter (BLM) protest took place on the Dam in Amsterdam (NOS, 2020a). Akwasi spoke during this protest. In his speech, he spoke out about Zwarte Piet (in English: Black Pete), a racist character of the Dutch holiday of Sinterklaas that is celebrated in the beginning of December (Lemmens, 2017, p. 127-131). Akwasi spoke in front of the supporters of the protest group 'Kick Out Zwarte Piet' (KOZP) and said that he was willing to kick Zwarte Piet in the face if he saw one in front of him (NOS, 2021). The debate around Zwarte Piet started since the 1960s, but only made impact since the 2010s due to activism on racism, from, among others KOZP (Hilhorst & Hermes, 2016, p. 218; Lemmens, 2017, p. 125).

The case of Zwarte Piet was not the only racism that was discussed during the BLM protests. The arrival of BLM in the Netherlands allowed for institutional racism more broadly to be suddenly discussed in the Dutch public space (Ghorashi, 2023, p. 18). This made for a perfect opportunity for many in Dutch society to take advantage of by applying critical self-reflection and address institutional racism as something that goes beyond just having 'good intentions' (Ghorashi, 2023, p. 19). These 'good intentions' refer to the *white innocence*, which is a term that was introduced by Gloria Wekker (2016, pp. 2-3). This term was shaped by the colonial archive of the Netherlands and has contributed to the normalized images of the non-racist Self and the differentiated Other (Ghorashi, 2023, pp. 17-18). The pressure of taking advantage of discussing racism in the public space on the Dutch government was such, that in 2022, prime minister Mark Rutte apologized on behalf of the Dutch state for the trans-Atlantic slave trade enabled by the Dutch government (NOS, 2022). This marked the year of 2022 with discussions about institutional racism, the slavery past, and other topics of diversity and inclusivity in Dutch society.

It is in this context that in 2022, OZ was officially accepted into the Dutch *public service broadcasting system* (PBS). As the PBS is an open system in the Netherlands (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2016), anyone can start a broadcasting association and apply for recognition and funding, as long as they recruit the required 50,000 paying members and add something new to the existing programming (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2022). This creates opportunities for social movements to start their own broadcaster. With the recognition of OZ's policy plan by the Minister of Education, Culture and Sciences, the new aspirant broadcaster was given the chance to contribute to changing the existing discourse around racism in the Dutch public space. This led to a lot of media attention where journalists were keen to write about this momentum of the founding of OZ, wanting to hear and voice the motivations of the initiators (NOS, 2020c). Attention has also been negative: the broadcaster and founders have been criticized over the past two years. Duin (2023) argues that there would not be enough counter-voice coming from the broadcaster and their productions would not be

engaging enough with the topic of racism, and representation and reflection of Dutch society in the media in his article for *Het Parool*. Even though the broadcaster was found in a time when there would be enough reason for OZ to address topics of institutional racism, the slavery past, or the consistent struggle of minority groups in Dutch society, Duin argues that OZ remained silent. Next to the critique of Duin, the writer, columnist and presenter Özcan Akyol outed the critique that the establishment of a broadcaster like OZ was unnecessary, as it would be more of a challenge to change the inclusivity and diversity of existing broadcasters from the inside-out (Akyol, 2020). His line of critique followed with the statement that a broadcaster like OZ would only support segregation within Dutch society, instead of working against this.

This concern with segregation is further highlighted by the experiences of Akwasi, who participated in a Dutch television gameshow ‘De slimste mens’ in the beginning of 2024 (Den Blanken, 2024). After his participation, he received a lot of ‘persistent, hateful, and downright racist expressions’ on the social media platform X, as cited in the article written by Den Blanken (2024). This caused the broadcaster KRO-NCRV which airs the show to stop using X as one of their social media outlets. This example of how racism is still a topic that deserves and needs attention in the Netherlands was marked by former winners of the gameshow when they wrote a statement against racism regarding this incident (NOS, 2024). In this letter, all the 23 former winners state that ‘De slimste mens’ is a programme that aims to be able to connect different kind of people, and so these racist expressions go directly against the spirit and aim of the programme. With this statement of the former winners of the show, the impression is created that Akwasi would be a perfect fit for this show as a contestant. Especially taken his personal aim into account as the founder of OZ to represent the voices of the unheard and represent the whole Dutch society.

This expansive issue of racism in the Netherlands was also highlighted in November 2023, when the Partij Voor de Vrijheid (PVV) was elected as the biggest political party (NOS, 2023). The leader of the PVV, Geert Wilders, is known for his extreme thoughts on migration policy for the Netherlands, and his discriminatory and racist ideas towards the Islamic community (Verheijen & De Ruiter, 2012, p. 13). A large part of the Netherlands was in shock and angry with the outcome of the elections, as they did not want to be led by a political party with racist ideas. This highlights the necessity of the existence of OZ, and their aim to voice minority groups that have been ignored or even oppressed in the current Dutch political landscape, and makes that this research project is of social relevance. The need for representing these marginalized groups of Dutch society has grown even bigger in June 2024, as the new Dutch minister of Asylum and Migration will be a PVV politician who has been very outspoken about her racist views on the Islam (NOS, 2024b; NOS, 2024c). Societal awareness around racism and education on anti-racism struggles must be heard and spread.

Bringing together- and representing different groups in broadcasting is something that has been a topic of attention for many years. The literature on counter-media paid attention to news



portals, user profiles, and grassroots initiatives that are active in the media (Manoharan, 2019; Noppari et al., 2019; Seikkula, 2022; Vukov & Sheller, 2013). The attention that is paid to the news portals and user profiles highlights how different media platforms can facilitate a stage for users to make their dissenting voices heard. In this sense, grassroots initiatives try to establish social change from the bottom up at a more community-level organization (Seikkula, 2022, p. 792). The examples of KOZP and BLM can both be categorized as grassroots initiatives as both initiatives are organized and run by groups of people who criticize the institutions that have the power regarding their struggle for social justice for the experienced racism. For this research project, OZ is considered as a big grassroots organization as well. As is shown in their introduction video, this new broadcaster wants to reflect and represent the whole Dutch society, aiming for societal change regarding their struggle to fight racism. Also, the broadcaster eventually had to achieve the number of 50,000 paying members to be accepted into the Dutch PBS. These members are people from the supporting community who believe in the message that OZ wants to carry out. Less attention is being paid in the existing literature about counter-media to how these grassroots initiatives can work together with established media institutions like a PBS to try and change the discourse around their struggles for social justice. This highlights the academic relevance of this research project.

With the establishment of OZ in mind and their must for voicing minority groups in the media to create social awareness around the topic of racism and educate the Dutch society on struggles that minority groups have dealt with and are still dealing with, it is interesting to explore how OZ has formed and carried out their policy aims within the Dutch PBS. The focus will be on the goal of OZ to fight racism, redefine blackness, and change the discourse around race in the Dutch public space with educating Dutch society. The PBS creates a platform for such initiatives to reach a wide public that hears their message. An attempt is made to answer the following research question:

*How does Omroep ZWART position itself within the Dutch public service broadcasting system?*

To answer this research question, two sub questions are posed:

1. What are the motivations of the founders of OZ to create a new broadcaster?
2. How is this view interpreted, implemented, and justified in OZ's main policy and published communication on their website?

For this research project a case study will be conducted, including archival analysis on the establishment of OZ, and qualitative content analysis (QCA) on policy documents of OZ and their corporate communication published on their website. The research is both socially and academically relevant, as it explores how OZ translates its aim of changing the discourse around racism in the Dutch public space into policy and corporate communication. Moreover, this study adds to the knowledge

and understanding of the possibilities for publicly subsidized media to establish the aim for societal change.

For the first sub question, an archival analysis will be conducted to gain knowledge about the historical development of OZ. Here, the reasons for establishing the broadcaster will be stated, the background of the founders will be discussed, and media coverage about the emergence of OZ as a new broadcaster will be analysed. Next to this, a diagnosis of the Dutch society at the time of establishing OZ will be stated, as this will support why the founders thought it was time to establish a new broadcaster. The second question will be answered using a qualitative content analysis (QCA) to discover how the vision of the founders of OZ is interpreted, implemented and justified in the general policy plan of OZ and in the articles that they have published on their website.

## 2. Theoretical framework

To provide a solid base for the analyses, this chapter will further explain and clarify important concepts. There will be a discussion of the concepts institutional racism, the Dutch public service broadcasting system, and OZ as a kind of counter-media. Important theoretical concepts like *race*, *racism*, *institutionalized ignorance*, *counter-media*, *the public sphere*, *public value*, *intersectionality*, and the *new social movement* theory will be defined and discussed based on relevant literature. Next to this, the PBS and Dutch pillarization model will be explained and discussed to clarify how the PBS was created, and how it works.

### 2.1 Institutional racism in the Netherlands

#### 2.1.1 Racism and ethnicity

*Racism* is a sensitive concept that is defined differently by various organizations (Andriessen, 2020, p. 12). Amnesty International (n.d.), an international NGO, defines racism as discrimination based on ethnicity, skin colour, or religion. An important component of the word racism is the term *race*. Race, as defined by Wekker (2016), is a socially constructed concept rather than inherently meaningful category, linked to relations of power and processes of struggle and can change its meaning over time (p. 23). Andriessen states that race is seen as something meaningful with an ordering principle in society (2002, p. 12). Robin DiAngelo, writer of the book *White Fragility* (DiAngelo, 2024), describes race as an evolving social idea that is created to protect white privilege and legitimize it (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 17). He argues that to understand the race relations of today, it is a must to push against the thought that white privilege does not exist and confront ourselves with how and why it matters that people are put in racial groups (p. 11). DiAngelo defines the practice of racism also as a system. This system begins with an ideology ‘which refers to the big ideas that are reinforced throughout society’ (p. 21), and it is built on *prejudice* (p.19). Prejudice is the pre-judgement about other people that is formed on basis of the social group that that person belongs to. It can include thoughts and feelings that can involve stereotypes, attitudes, and generalizations that are put on everyone that belongs to that specific group. All humans have prejudice, and nobody can avoid it. And on top of that, prejudice can put people into racial boxes, having an effect on how they are perceived.

In the Dutch context, race is a term that is not commonly used since the Second World War. Instead, the term *ethnicity* is more commonly used (Wekker, 2016, pp. 22-24). This indicates a social system that marks ethnic differences between people and is perceived as a softer term in comparison to race. Within the concept of ethnicity in the Dutch discourse, there are automatic references made to ‘they’ or ‘the other’. This has to do with the existing binary concepts that are linked to the idea of ethnicity. In the Netherlands, the two concepts *autochtoon* and *allochtoon* were used by official organizations up until 2016 and have been swapped for ‘a person with a Dutch background’, and ‘a person with a migration background’ (De Ree, 2016; NOS, 2016). The former terms were to be

stigmatizing and have got a negative connotation for some people. When an individual is seen as an 'autochtoon', they make a white appearance, even though they might have foreign ancestors. Autochtonen can make a successful claim to real Dutchness. When someone perceived being an 'allochtoon', their deviant skin colour, religion, or culture makes that they will not be able to successfully claim Dutchness. When 'they' or 'the other' is used, references are always made to allochtonen. This suggests that within this discourse, being white is seen as natural and installed as the norm, and not being white is seen as different. Therefore, Wekker states that the use of binary concepts as autochtoon and allochtoon start racializing processes within Dutch society. Also, the words 'black' and 'white' in the work of Wekker and others do not refer to the biological meaning of the words, but to the political and cultural meanings. Wekker refers to whiteness as a set of locations that are linked to a historical, social, political, and cultural relation of domination.

And next to this, it is important to keep the remark of Stuart Hall in mind that states that it is important to not take word 'black' out of historical, cultural, and political context, as this will value the meaning of the word and fix that the signifier outside of history, change, and political intervention. This is the exact opposite of what people want to achieve. The choice of OZ to use the word *zwart*, counters this normalized discourse. As the word has a negative connotation, the broadcaster aims to turn this around. As stated on their website, the broadcaster aims to change the negative connotation that a lot of people have with the word 'zwart' into a positive connotation. They state that 'zwart' is positive, powerful, and inviting.

### 2.1.2 Institutional racism

As mentioned in the introduction, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of June 2020, the first Black Lives Matters (BLM) protest took place on the Dam square in Amsterdam (Spijkers, 2020; NOS, 2020a). This protest was organized to demonstrate against racism and police brutality in the Netherlands and the United States. One of the most frequently heard motivations for people to contribute to the BLM protest was to stop *institutional racism* (Andriessen, 2020, p. 11). This concept, founded in the United States (US) in the 1960s and 1970s (Bot, 2022, p. 79; College voor de Rechten van de Mens, 2021, p. 7), calls for attention to the way that racism arises from how established and respected institutes operate in society. The term is based upon the situation in the time that the abolition of slavery took place in the US (College voor de Rechten van de Mens, 2021, pp. 7-10). Racism was characterized as a social system of customs, policies, and rules to oppress, and make and keep minority individuals- and groups subordinated. The Dutch connotation of this concept is mainly shaped in the public debate that exists around racism (Andriessen, 2020, p. 13), and is used to point out that racism is something that takes place systematically. The 'institutions' are described as both formal, like the court, labour market, education or the media, as well as informal, like social norms and values. The latter institutions apply informal regulations, which can also include one's attitude or beliefs within an organization. The

Netherlands Institute for Human Rights defines the word ‘institutional’ in relation to racism as a phenomenon with the following characteristics (College voor de Rechten van de Mens, 2021, p. 8):

- Collective and structural imbedded in organized forms of living within society;
- Includes rules, procedures, and policies, but also all kinds of non-formalised, socially ingrained behaviour;
- Has diverse manifestations;
- Often not immediately recognizable due to embedding.

It is important to highlight the indirect nature of the practices that is stated in the last characteristic. From first publications on this topic, it became clear that the main aspect of institutional racism is the indirectness, in comparison to earlier direct racism from the slavery era before. The indirect character of institutional racism can be caused by the existing unconscious prejudice and ignorance of people. Essed and Hoving (2014) describe how racism in the Netherlands comes with *institutionalized ignorance* (pp. 10-13). They argue that there is a close relation between ignorance and denial when it comes to Dutch racism. Being ignorant is a concept that can only be poorly translated into Dutch, but can be referred to as not knowing something, and not wanting to know. The Dutch have the tendency to ‘ignore’ race, which carries a certain sense of smugness with it. Racism is often seen as something outdated that is not relevant today anymore, but this is not true. Racism still lives in different shapes and forms within the Dutch society in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. DiAngelo states that the racial ideology that is circulating in the United States rationalizes the racial hierarchies as an outcome of natural order that results from genetics or from individual effort or talent (2018, p. 21) This statement can be related to the ignorant attitude towards racism that applies to Dutch society.

Institutional racism is only uncovered when the consequences of it are spotted within society (Andriessen, 2020, p. 15). As mentioned earlier, in November 2023, the Partij Voor de Vrijheid (PVV) was elected as the biggest political party in the Netherlands (NOS, 2023). This political party, with their leader Geert Wilders in particular, is known for its discriminatory and racist ideas (Verheijen & De Ruiter, 2012, p. 3). The outcome shocked a big part of the Dutch population, as they did not want to be politically led by ‘a racist’. Important in this situation, is that a political party as the PVV, which is in fact an institution with power, is supporting a collective racial prejudice about a group. This is the point where prejudice is turned into racism, when the collective prejudice is ‘backed by the power of legal and institutional control’ (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 20).

It is necessary to acknowledge that institutional racism is embedded in different levels and structures of society, and that there is an importance of educating others about this topic to make people realize what impact this has on society (Andriessen, 2020, p.19). As for the current political environment in the Netherlands, it is important to acknowledge that there is institutional racism to be able to counter this, meaning that the ignorance has to fade.

A concept that is used to explain and come to terms with the tradition of the exclusion of multiply marginalized groups is the concept of *intersectionality* (Nash, 2008, p. 3; Christian, 2020, p.

458). This concept refers to the notion that factors like race, gender, sexuality and class enforce the constitution of subjectivity, and has become one of the main tools for anti-racism scholars to fight exclusion and hegemony. The term emerged in the late 80's and early 90's to underscore the problems regarding 'colour-blindness', neutrality and objectivity. These problems can be put in line with the earlier explained concept of institutionalized ignorance by Essed and Hoving. Intersectionality is used to challenge and break with this institutionalized ignorance and puts the experience of the groups that have been marginalized as the centre of attention. This gives a voice to those who are not listened to. The aim of intersectional theorists is to shape a new vision of equality. This concept will be further discussed in section 2.2.2 about diversity in public broadcasting.

## 2.2 The Dutch public service broadcasting system (PBS)

The Dutch public service broadcaster *Nederlandse Publiek Omroep* (NPO) provides different programmes on the public television and radio channels. This broadcaster is a unique one for the fact that it does not consist of only one company, but it is "divided into a collection of individual, independent, and member-based organizations" (Daalmeijer, 2004, p. 34). This is different to an institution like the British broadcaster BBC, for example, as the BBC is one single company that depends on the funding of the British government. These individual organizations are grounded in the history of Dutch pillarization, which refers to the acceptance of various religious and social movements (Daalmeijer 2004, p. 34; Bardoel, 2013, 82; Engelbert & Awad, 2014, p. 263).

### 2.2.1 The Dutch pillarization model

Wekker (2016) describes the pillarization model as a tool to deal with ethnic minorities (pp. 57-58). It is a sociopolitical structure that was developed to manage and contain conflicts between religious and political groups in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and abolished in the early 1970s (Parlement.com, n.d.). Originally, the pillarization model contained four main pillars: the Catholic, the Orthodox-Protestant, the social-democratic, and the liberal pillar (Hoogenboom & Scholten, 2008, p. 108). The development of the pillarization was purposely pursued in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by the Catholic and Protestant-Christian societies in the Netherlands. Catholics in the Netherlands were a minority group within a more Protestant society. Therefore, they wanted to strengthen their position within Dutch society by opting for their own church-supporting organizations. With the development of the model, more opportunities were given to minority groups to let their voices be heard and to be represented within Dutch society. Minority groups with a unified worldview in the Netherlands could request the government to start their own churches, schools, organizations, and media, also named as the *organizational principle* (Hoogenboom & Scholten, 2008, p. 110). However, Wekker criticizes the model for the fact that 'the long-standing ideas about and practices with regard to race are always already assigning differential meanings to different people' (p. 58).

Ghorashi (2006) also discusses the pillarization model. The history of pillarization in the Netherlands has had a great influence on Islamic migrants in the Netherlands, she argues (p. 11). In the time that the upcoming welfare state in the Netherlands made the pillarization model unnecessary, a new pillar for the group of Islamic migrants was created. This was due to the growing attention to the social position of migrants at the beginning of the early 1980's (Hoogenboom & Scholten, 2008, p. 112). This growing attention led to the so-called 'minority-policy'. This policy was created to realize an open and multicultural Dutch society in which migrant minority groups got equal full development opportunities within the Netherlands. There were still enough manifestations of the pillarization model to stimulate the creation of a new Islamic pillar in society (Ghorashi, 2006, p.11). This created an unusual field of tension for the Islamic community in the Netherlands, as they were allowed to contain their own culture, while they were categorized as a minority group. Hoogenboom and Scholten (2008) argue that even though the pillarization model was dissipated, the legacy of the model was influential on the policymaking towards migrants (p. 112).

This pillar-way of thinking has had a broader effect beyond the Dutch Islamic community (Ghorashi, 2006, p. 12). The pillarization model has had an effect on how the Dutch think about cultural difference, and it has determined ethnical boundaries, according to Ghorashi. More specifically, Ghorashi argues that partly because of the pillarization, it is difficult for the non-migrant Dutch population to see an individual migrant separate from their cultural and/or ethnical background. Ghorashi notices that the way the Dutch have treated migrants has been diverse over the last decades, but what has been constant is how migrants are seen a deviant from the 'real' Dutch, caused by the categorical thinking descended from the pillarization model that has shaped and sustained it. This is in line with how Wekker evaluates and treats this model, mentioned earlier in this paragraph.

### 2.2.2 Diversity in public broadcasting

The social broadcasting in the Netherlands is not organized as a national broadcasting system like the BBC in the United Kingdom (UK) and is also not a commercially organized as in the US (Bardoel, 2013, p. 82). The Dutch broadcasting system is commonly characterized as a pillarized system, referring to the pillarization model. Within this system, the broadcasting is not fully left in the hands of the state or the market but is led by established social movements that are active in domains like politics, culture, and leisure already (Bardoel, 2013, p. 82). On this basis, the NPO arguably aims at creating programmes that are suitable and representative for all groups within the Dutch society (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2016). However, Engelbert and Awad (2014) argue that there are limitations to the NPO's attempt to support an inclusive broadcasting system. In their analysis of the securitization of cultural diversity in the NPO's broadcasting revealed practices of rejecting representative efforts to acknowledge or voice structural experiences of ethnic and racial differences in Dutch society (Engelbert & Awad, 2014, p. 268). This criticism supports Wekker's critique on the pillarization model in regard to the formulated diversity efforts of the NPO.

With the pillarization model in mind, Engelbert and Awad (2014) describe in their research how the NPO had defined eight different kinds of lifestyles, thus being eight different ways of being Dutch, that it assigned to their audience (pp. 267-268). This could be assigned as traces of the pillarization model. The impression is made that there are only eight ways someone could identify themselves with, referring to the categories that were represented in the pillarization model. These categories were presented as representing the whole Dutch population. However, they did not include racial or ethnic differences, treating race and ethnicity as invisible. This can be attributed to the institutionalized ignorance in relation to racism in Dutch society mentioned earlier. The formulated aim of the NPO to be a broadcaster where the whole audience could be able to recognize itself and in which they could participate was not met according to the analysis of Engelbert & Awad (2014, pp. 270-271). There was unequal treatment of cultural diversity, as not all the differences in society were supported equally. Making that the set lifestyles that must have represented the whole of Dutch society are not including all the marginalized groups in the Dutch society.

#### *2.2.2.1 Intersectionality in public broadcasting*

Diverse representation on television has been graded as too risky according to TV development executives, and producers of television shows have often presumed that the interested audiences for these particular productions would be too small (Christian, 2020, p. 458), especially when *intersectionality* would be embraced in these series or productions. Intersectionality in the case of production of tv programmes, series et cetera, refers to characters that are multiply marginalized. This may include, for example queer black people, religious minorities, or disabled women. Research in the United States by Christian (2020) has shown that there have been drastic changes in the US landscape of creating more diverse programmes that embrace intersectionality. Since 2010, productions that contain the stories of intersectional characters have gained more funding from investors to further develop this kind of productions (pp. 458-459). Also, representation of intersectional groups has grown as a response to the rising competition in the development of these kind of productions. However, as there are more diverse shows produced, the channels that develop and distribute these diverse shows have not grown more representative in the sense of corporate policy than they were before. They do get so-called brand value from the expanded intersectionality, but they do not substantially invest in the artists and communities that they are representing. The intersectional stories that are being told still remain as outliers on corporate platforms (Christian, 2020, p. 460).

As this is an example from the situation of intersectionality in the US broadcasting sector, this ongoing problem of superficial intersectionality in the production of shows is something that also needs to be addressed in NL.



## 2.3 Counter-media

One of the ways to raise awareness for the existing problems of institutional racism, is to produce some kind of *counter-media*. Counter-media “breaks the obfuscation and helps the population stay focused on the injustice” (Manoharan, 2019, p. 388), meaning that it wants to alert society of the normalisation of injustice by educating on the topic. It counters the voice and the discourse that is handled and reproduced by the mainstream and established media, by shedding light on the inequalities that occur due to, for example, institutionalized racism. Fraser (1992) describes the concept of *subaltern counter-publics* (p. 67), where members of minority groups create and use their own voice to create and circulate a counter-discourse that serves to criticize exclusionary norms. She mentions a subaltern counter-public like the late-twentieth century U.S. feminist counter-public, which allowed for the developments of new concepts for the description of social reality (Fraser, 1992, p. 67).

### 2.3.1 The public sphere and public value

The effort of OZ to create programming where they acknowledge the struggle of unheard marginalized groups and inform Dutch society about it makes that this is a form of counter-media. This idea of discussing matters of public concern or common interest is linked to how Habermas described the public sphere (Fraser, 1992, pp. 58-59). Fraser argues that societies where there is room for controversy and conflict between competing publics will function better than societies with one overarching public (p. 66). Multicultural societies are not able to function under a single, comprehensive public sphere, as that would mean that there would only be one lens to view the world through that filters all the other lenses away (p. 68). For a multicultural society to succeed, there is a need for diversity in opinions and controversy to keep a healthy debate going.

In her research on the broadcasting in the public sphere in the UK, Kovacs (2003) differentiates between the online- and offline public sphere (p. 211). The online public sphere is linked to television and radio content that includes the public debate and which are accessible to a wide audience. This kind of public sphere facilitates for the audience to participate in the public debate and gather a sense of awareness regarding the topics that are spoken about in this public sphere. The offline public sphere regards to the policy that broadcasters make and implement in their programming and the decision-making that goes with that. These two spheres influence each other, as the policy has an influence on what kind of programmes are produced, and the participation of the audience has an influence on the kind of policy that is made, and so on. This fits in with the lens of Habermas regarding the public sphere, as there is a need for an audience with diverse views on societal topics to keep a healthy public debate for a well-functioning public sphere.

In the context of creating a healthy public sphere where broadcasters operate in both the online- and offline dimension, the public value of broadcasters must be considered as well. Public value is described by Meynhardt (2009) as ‘anything people put value to with regard to the public’ (pp.

205-206). This means that in the sense of broadcasting, public value is something that is created within the mindset of wanting to have an impact on the values of the audience that receives the programmes of the broadcaster. This impact can be both positive- and negative, as public value is related to the way that the public interacts with the value that is presented, and that public value is not tied to a specific kind of value system. In regard to the public sphere, different opinions generated by the presented public value fuel the public debate. Meynhardt thus described the public value as a relationship between the audience or individuals and a social system that has an influence on the attainment or change of the basic needs of the audience. To link this back to a social system like the PBS, public value is the relationship between the audience of the broadcaster, and the broadcaster itself who provides- or changes the needs of the audience.

Chivers and Allan (2022) have researched what exactly the public value of public service broadcasting in the UK is. In their research, they have discovered two relevant subtypes of values which can be put under the concept of public value. The first is that a system like the PBS also adds on to the *social value*, as PBS facilitates free access to the information that is provided in their programming, which can fuel national conversations that people can consume (pp. 9-11). However, it is unclear whether this can really lead to more social cohesion in society. The second subtype is *cultural value* (p. 11), which refers to the fact that creators within the PBS aim for ‘cultural excellence’ as a standard. This means that British PBS creators want to create programming that is relevant to their audience, which may contribute, among other things, to more diversity and cultural education. These two sub-categories of public value can be put in line with the concept of Meynhardt, as the social- and cultural value is bound to the interaction and relationship of the audience to the broadcaster. The broadcaster wants to create diverse and programming that meets the needs of the audience. This means that the audience must actively participate in the creation of the programming. Bardoel (2008) argues that all attempts that have been made, in the decades before 2008, to get citizens to participate more actively have failed (p. 83). This has not only been due to professional and organizational resistance, but also because citizens seemed to be less motivated to participate in public organizations like public broadcasters.

As most of the discussed literature is all research from outside of the Netherlands, it is interesting to research whether these concepts of public value and the public sphere can also be applied to a broadcaster like OZ in the Dutch PBS. Also, in regard to the statement of Bardoel, it is of value to investigate what the efforts of OZ are in trying to actively engage their audience with the creation of their programming.

### 2.3.2 Activism through broadcasting

Since the 1970s, the *new social movement theory* (NSM) has been mobilized in Europe (Hourigan, 2001, p. 78). Hourigan describes Manuel Castell’s definition of NSM as deliberate collective actions that have the intent to defeat or transform values and institutions in society. As the

power of broadcasting media has grown over the past decades, the broadcaster landscape has found itself within an environment that is critical of broadcasters (Hourigan, 2001, pp. 77-78). In regard to this, Howley (2004) also acknowledges the great influence of media (p. 221) and underlines that mass media play a crucial role in social movements (p. 236). Howley quotes the objective of Chad Raphael (p. 236): 'social movements must use the mass media, and not simply to communicate their goals.' OZ can be seen as a social movement, as it wants to establish societal change and is born out of alignment with the BLM movement.

Former research on activism in broadcasting has mainly talked about how activism within the British broadcasting system (the BBC) has held the broadcaster accountable for their lack of representation and diversity in their programming (Kovacs, 2001; Kovacs, 2003). The 2003 study showed that activist pressure groups that held the BBC accountable for their lack of representation and diversity did have an impact (Kovacs, 2003, pp. 231-232). The activist groups raised public awareness, which fuelled the public debate around representation and diversity on the BBC. With this result, there is something to say for the fact that Akwasi Ansah and Gianni Lieuw-A-Soe have initiated OZ as a new broadcaster that holds existing broadcasters accountable for the lack of representation and diversity within the Dutch PBS. As OZ was created from the perspective to tell new stories about the societal struggles of minority groups in the Netherlands, and bring more diversity into the Dutch PBS, there may be stated that OZ has risen from an activist standpoint.

One way to look at this, is to treat OZ as a *public communication campaign*. A public communication campaign, as defined by Rice and Atkin (2009), is a campaign that wants to establish behavioural changes that benefit a large audience with organized communication activities that involve mass media (p. 1). The changes that are aimed for are often linked to social support coming from the audience that receives or consumes the campaign. In relation to OZ, the broadcaster wants to change the way that people think of racism and wants to educate their audience with the information that they provide for them. Eventually, OZ can only flourish if there is enough social support, meaning that they must have enough members that support them.

Moreover, OZ has implemented the call to action (CTA) 'Word lid' (in English: become a member) to recruit new members for their broadcaster several times. This CTA was not only used in 2020 when OZ applied for recognition and had to obtain the required 50,000 members, but also in 2023 when they wanted to recruit even more members. As stated in the work of Freeman et al. (2015), online campaigns work best if there is a clear and attainable CTA included (p. 5). As the OZ campaign to recruit new members was put on their online social media platforms, this can be applicable. Also, campaigns that aim to have an effect on a societal level operate best in the mainstream media (Freeman et al., 2015, p. 5). It is a must for campaigns that the audience feels represented by the campaign to create public-, social-, and cultural value. In this way, the audience can identify with the campaign which creates interaction between the audience and the creators of the campaign. The implementation of a CTA within the communication of a campaign creates more engagement with the

audience (Freeman et al., 2015, p. 5). As OZ stands for representation of the Dutch society and wanting to connect the Dutch society with voicing the unheard, there definitely is the aim for the audience of OZ to really feel connected to their programming and the topics that OZ addresses. To achieve this goal, it is important to really engage with the audience in order for the audience to feel connected.

This theoretical framework has presented a comprehensive discussion of institutional racism, the Dutch public service broadcasting system (PBS), and the role of counter-media in addressing social injustice topics. The discussion on race, ethnicity, and the legacy of the Dutch pillarization model highlights the embedded institutional racism that still exists in the Netherlands. The research on diversity within public broadcasting systems has revealed multiple challenges in achieving better representation, diversity and inclusivity and highlights the current limitations within the Dutch PBS. Counter-media research has shown how dominant narratives can be challenged, and how this can be a tool for social movements to use. This chapter lays the groundwork for the coming chapters, as it has highlighted the importance of further research on how institutional racism can be fought in the context of public broadcasting in the Netherlands.

### 3. Method

To gain an understanding of how OZ positions itself within the Dutch public broadcasting system, a case study is suitable. This method is used most widely for researchers who conduct qualitative research (Rashid et al., 2019, pp. 1-2). This type of study includes intensive research into a phenomenon through a particular example that makes use of multiple research methods to uncover details and complexity of the phenomenon (Broughton Micova, 2019 pp. 71-73). And within this study, 'the case' is approached in its own context in the real world, what fits in with naturalistic research. Naturalistic research investigates complex social phenomena in combination with the examination of contemporary events in nonintrusive ways. As OZ aims for diverse and inclusive broadcasting to address racism in the Netherlands and wants to represent all groups in society to educate people about the topic of racism, this case deserves to be studied in a way that investigates how the phenomenon of OZ operates within the context of the real world. An attempt will be made to find answers to questions from close research of specific occurrences. This focus falls perfectly in line with the process- and aim of a case study.

Answers derived from this kind of close examination of details in a specific occurrence can be found at a micro-, meso-, and macro-level (Broughton Micova, 2019, p. 73). Studies on a micro-level mainly focus on individuals or small groups of humans, mainly conducted within the field of psychology or medicine. Meso-level studies put a focus on groups within organizations or a community, falling between the micro- and macro-level. When a macro-level study is conducted, there is a focus on a whole social system such as a nation-state or a city. Media policy related research mostly investigates on a meso- and macro-level. With the examination of OZ as a phenomenon within the Dutch PBS, answers derived from close examination of details will also be found at a meso- and macro-level, as the implementation, justification, and interpretation of the policy of OZ will be examined within the Dutch media system.

When applying a case study as the research design, mixed methods are used (Broughton Micova, 2019, pp. 74-75). Some might say that using mixed methods can be confusing or messy as there is a greater possible amount of data available to use (Broughton Micova, 2019, p. 74), but researchers who use mixed methods can benefit from the already-existing theory to gather the appropriate data that supports the researcher in reducing the confusion and messiness when applying mixed-methods. Case-studies are perfect for developing theory and provide us with important knowledge about media systems and their institutions (Broughton Micova, 2019, p. 74).

To be able to answer the research question, two sub questions are posed. The first sub question is: what are the motivations of the founders of Omroep ZWART to create a new broadcaster? For this question, there will be a focus on the personal stories and motivations of the founders to establish OZ, and a diagnosis of Dutch society at the time of establishment OZ will be made. The diagnosis of Dutch society is important as this will outline the context of why and how the broadcaster was created, which

is crucial when conducting a case study. The second sub question reads as follows: how is this vision implemented, justified, and interpreted in OZ's main policy and corporate communication? For this question, the focus will lay on their policy plan, and the articles that they have published on their website will be analysed. As explained below, each sub question was answered by focusing on different kind of data and method of analysis.

### **3.1 The motivations behind Omroep ZWART**

#### **3.1.1 Data collection and sampling**

For the archival analysis, news articles on the founding of OZ, news articles on the profile of the founders of OZ, and information about the founders that is found on their own website were used to create a clear image of the motivation of the founders of OZ to start this broadcaster, and how the media reacted to the establishment. Articles that are written about OZ were retrieved from Nex Uni, using the search term 'Omroep ZWART'. These were selected by considering whether they evaluate the position of OZ, discuss what they add to the current PBS, and the societal relevance of OZ. A timeline running from the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 2020, until the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 2021 was used. This timeline was set, as the founders announced the establishment of OZ in September 2020 and got accepted into the PBS from the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2022. Thus, the timeline allowed for articles to come up that were published regarding OZ in a time when they were not yet an official member of the PBS. To set the diagnosis of the Dutch society around the time of the establishment of OZ, information was used from articles that were written in the context of the establishment of OZ. These articles refer to perceived discrimination around the time and major events that took place around the time of establishing the broadcaster. These articles were retrieved from Nexis Uni and using Google as a search tool. A clear overview of the used data for the archival analysis is given in Table 1.

#### **3.1.2 Analysis**

For the first sub question, archival analysis was conducted. Archival analysis is used to explore the historical development of cases (Gilliland et al., 2016, p. 80). The goal of archival analysis is to gain knowledge about the life history of the creators of the researched phenomenon (Gilliland et al., 2016, p. 86). Therefore, there will be a focus on the motivations and drive of the founders of OZ to start this broadcaster. The life history of the founders of the broadcasters was discussed within this analysis, including their upbringing and careers. This helped to understand what the motivations were for establishing this broadcaster. In addition to information about the founders, a diagnosis of Dutch society during the time of the establishment of OZ was constructed, using news articles about major events that happened around the time of establishing OZ. This helped to put the motivation of the founders in context, keeping in mind that OZ is a broadcaster with a societal goal. Eventually, the reaction of journalists and columnists, in the form of articles that are written about the establishment of OZ, was analysed. This clarified the thoughts and opinions of the audience about this broadcaster within the context of the Dutch society at that time. Archival analysis is an inductive approach to

research, as it identifies the key tensions, proposals and debates at the time of the establishment of OZ. This means that it is data driven, willing to seek theory and develop further questions coming from the data that is used. It analyses the momentum for the creation of the broadcaster, with a focus on the social forces that shaped the establishment.

For this archival analysis, the discussed literature on racism, counter-media and the Dutch public broadcasting system formed a good basis. There is made use of an inductive approach, where questions were raised about the motivation of the founding, the development of their policy, and the interpretation, implementation and justification of their policy through own-published articles of the broadcaster. These questions were answered conducting a qualitative content analysis (QCA).

## **3.2 Omroep Zwart's corporate communication**

### **3.2.1 Data collection and sampling**

The QCA was conducted for two kinds of data: for the documents regarding the policy of OZ, and for all the articles that OZ that has published on their website.

The 42-page-long policy plan document of OZ was retrieved from their own website. In this document, the policy plan for 2022 until 2026 is stated. OZ describes what their ambitions are for this five-year period, why OZ is a distinctive addition to the Dutch public broadcasting system, and how OZ will contribute to the Concession Policy Plan 2022-2026 that is formulated by the NPO. This document describes how the NPO will fulfil its mission to be valuable for all Dutch citizens. Also, both advice recognition letters of the NPO and from the 'Commissariaat voor de Media' (CvdM) were analysed. In these documents, the NPO and CvdM give an advice for the approval of OZ, and evaluate the different aspects that OZ has to meet to be approved for admission to the concession period of 2022-2026. In total, three policy documents regarding the policy of OZ were analysed.

Next to these documents, relevant parts of the annual reports of 2022 and 2023 of OZ were taken into the analysis as well. The parts of the reports that were relevant to look at, were the headings 'Verslag directie', 'Media', 'Governance', and 'Bedrijfsvoering'. These parts are relevant, as they evaluate how the policy of OZ was carried out for the reported year. Also, there are Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) stated on the website of OZ. The FAQs under the heading 'Omroep ZWART' were also adopted into this part of the QCA as well, as they answer both questions that relate to the policy of OZ, and questions regarding the founding of OZ.

To be able to answer the research question of this project, it was important to analyse how OZ translates its policy plans into their public and corporate communication. Who do they give a voice in their published communication? How do they spread their message? And how do they remind their audience of their public value that they bring to the table? These questions can be answered by analysing the articles that OZ publishes on their own website. As the policy plan of OZ is written for the period between 2022 and 2026, the timeline for the analysed articles for this research project was set for the timeline running from the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2022, until the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2024. This provided

an analysis of the articles of the first two years of the existence of OZ. In total, 56 articles published on the website within the given timeframe of the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2022 until the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2024 were analysed. From the total of 56 articles, 31 articles were written about their television, podcast, and radio programmes. The articles are to be found in chapter 7 in the dataset (see pp. 199-202 in dataset). This project will not dive into how the broadcaster spreads its message through these productions, but the articles written on these productions helped to understand how OZ positions itself within the Dutch PBS system. New articles published on the website of OZ after the first of January 2024, were not included in the data sample. A clear overview of the used data for QCA is given in Table 1.

### 3.2.2 Analysis

To investigate the second sub question, qualitative content analysis (QCA) was applied. This method treats texts as a ‘window into human experience’, and states that it is important to interpret documents within their communicative context (Puppis, 2019, pp. 368-371). It is a method where the researcher must not read and superficially evaluate texts but aim at interpretative profound reading to investigate what information can be derived from the data (Puppis, 2019, p. 379).

As QCA is a coding-based method: data was analysed systematically where both implicit and explicit meanings can be identified (Puppis, 2019, p. 369; Schreier, 2013). This was done by analysing the data according to a codebook. The QCA method allows for both an inductive- and deductive development of the codebook (Puppis, 2019, p. 370). For this research, a deductive approach was applied, as it was based on questions and dilemmas that derived from the archival analysis that was conducted before. With deductive code development, all the main categories and sub-categories were distracted from theory and prior research (Puppis, 2019, p. 376). The codebook for this analysis is to be found in Appendix A.1. Eventually, coded text segments were extracted from the data and put together in a table to create a clear overview (see numbers 3 – 9 in the dataset). After the coding, the data was interpreted. This can also be called *theoretical generalization* (Puppis, 2019, p. 380). This means that all the categories from the data are put in relation to each other into a theoretical context. There is explained what the results from the coding mean, and it answers the questions derived from the archival analysis. The results of the analysis are presented around the themes that were derived from the literature and archival analysis.

The QCA method was used to analyse policy documents of OZ and the articles that are written by OZ which are published on their website. For the policy documents, there was a focus on finding answers regarding the second aspect mentioned above; how does OZ states its policy? Also, relevant sections of the annual reports of OZ and relevant FAQs were analysed. These documents can answer and clarify questions about how the policy of OZ was designed, and how it is stated in these documents. Analysing the written articles by OZ that are published on their website puts a focus on the interpretation, implementation, and justification of the policy of OZ. Analysing these articles gives us answers to the questions of how OZ carries out its policy. As the articles are grouped in different themes, an overview of the articles is presented in Appendix B.1 with the referral code that was



assigned to each individual article. The referral codes, for example ‘P1’, consist of the first letters of the theme (‘P’ for Podcast), and the number of the article (1 for the first article in this theme). This overview (see Appendix B.1) clarifies to which article is being referred to in the results.

**Table 1**

*Overview of data used with matching method of analysis*

	<b>Data type</b>	<b>Analysis</b>	<b>Ch. in dataset</b>
<b>Motivations</b>	Articles written about (the founders of) Omroep ZWART, and diagnosis of Dutch society retrieved from Nexis Uni and Google	Archival analysis	1
<b>Policy documents</b>	Omroep ZWART Policy Plan 2022-2026	QCA	2
	Omroep ZWART annual report 2022	QCA	3
	Omroep ZWART annual report 2023	QCA	4
	Advisory letter CvdM	QCA	5
	Advisory letter NPO	QCA	6
	FAQs of Omroep ZWART	QCA	7
<b>Published communication</b>	Articles published on the website of Omroep ZWART, retrieved from OZ’s website	QCA	8

*Note.* The last column represents in which chapter the data can be found in the dataset that was uploaded in TMS.

### 3.3 Ethical considerations and possible limitations

In case study research, it is important that the researcher cares about the fate of the media institution that is being researched and that the researcher is transparent about his or her position in regard to the phenomenon that is being researched (Broughton Micova, 2019, p. 75). As a woman of colour, coming from a mixed Asian and Dutch background, I have experienced racism myself. Growing up, I always felt ‘real Dutch’, until other children in my class told me otherwise. From pointing out my Asian hair, colour of my eyes, to stating that I have a different kind of surname, children in my class made clear that I certainly was not Dutch, even though I felt that I was. When birthdays were celebrated and the song ‘Hanky panky Shanghai’ was sung – a Dutch birthday song, that supposedly had the same meaning as ‘happy birthday to you’ in Chinese, made up by the Dutch – and children in my class pointed at me, I did not understand why I was the centre of attention at that moment. Confusion and a sense of embarrassment came over me. I felt that I did not belong to the dominant group and could not lay my finger on why I got this feeling. I used to place myself within

the Dutch standard that was represented in television programmes and identified with that standard. However, my favourite movies growing up were Disney's *Mulan* and the Dutch *Het paard van Sinterklaas*, both involving Asian culture. I felt a strong connection with the main characters in these movies and could identify myself with the struggles that they faced. Years later, I realized that there was a great lack of representation of different cultural background in Dutch media. And if there is any representation, it is mostly presented in a strong stereotypical way, almost making it clownish.

When I was researching topics for this research project, I wanted to combine my personal experience and interests with a case or phenomenon that was contemporary, and something that was socially relevant. My personal interest in the combination identity politics and media, made me stumble upon Omroep ZWART. And after doing some research on this new broadcaster, I reckoned that I agreed with a lot of statements that they made, and that I was interested in the message that they wanted to convey to their audience. I thus became a member of Omroep ZWART and chose this particular broadcaster as the research object of this thesis.

Because I feel personally concerned and connected to the problems that OZ wants to address, it might be that I will be sensitive about information regarding racism that will be researched for this project. This means that I might categorize certain data as racist or discriminatory, even though it might not be as explicit. However, I aim to remain open to all findings that the analysis of the data might present. As racism is a very sensitive topic, I will aim to be careful with the used vocabulary in this project. Using the wrong words can harm a large population and create a wrong understanding of the concept. Therefore, it is necessary to carefully pay attention to what vocabulary will be used during this project and consider what words are harmful, and which are not.

Since this case study is done on a relatively new case, interesting insights can be gained from analysing the data, but there are also limitations. As I will not analyse the audiovisual products that OZ produces, there will be no insights on how the broadcaster formulates its message through these productions. Also, because this is a case study, there is only limited generalizability (Broughton Micova, 2019, p. 74), as this research projects only dives into just one case of addressing racism in the public sphere. The outcome of this project therefore cannot be generalized for the view on how racism is addressed in the public space but will offer valuable insights into real life action and possibilities in the Netherlands today. Even though it provides very detailed and specific information, claims can only be made regarding the researched phenomenon. General claims can only be made when more similar cases in any given country are analysed. However, a case study provides a solid ground for new theory-building and can provide researchers and other scholars with insights that are useful when looking at different or the same kind of topics and questions.

For the archival analysis, I made use of online sources to be found about the founders, diagnosis of Dutch society, and the founding of OZ. The researcher is dependent on the accessibility of the sources (Gilliland, 2016, p. 28). When the needed information is not accessible through Erasmus University subscription links, the sources must be publicly available without a paywall to be used for

this research. Next to the accessibility, this analysis is dependent on the availability of information needed for the analysis to be complete.

The QCA method also has some limitations. One of the first limitations is that the method might be too descriptive, as the coding facilitates examples of text to be placed within a category, without interpretation of the researcher (Puppis, 2019, pp. 370-371). This possibility of the method being too descriptive could argue for the method not to be suitable for theory-building. Therefore, it is important, as stated earlier, for the researcher to aim at interpretive and profound reading of the data and try to find out what can be inferred from the data. It is important to keep the limitations of the used methods for this research project in mind, as the researcher must be careful avoiding risks. Therefore, the aim of the researcher is to be open to any kind of data, be as interpretative with the data as possible, and be sensitive with the used vocabulary within this research project.

## 4. Results

This chapter discusses the results and interpretation of the analyses conducted on the articles about the founders and the establishment of OZ, the policy documents, and the published articles from the website of OZ. The first part of the chapter focuses on the archival analysis that was conducted to answer the first sub question: *what are the motivations of the founders of OZ to create a new broadcaster?* From this analysis, new questions were deductively created to guide answering the second sub question: *How is this view interpreted, implemented, and justified in OZ's main policy and published communication on their website?* The policy documents and the communication of OZ that was published on their website was analysed

### 4.1 The motivations for the establishment Omroep ZWART

In 2020, the Dutch society experienced multiple events that had major influences on society and highlighted both progressive values and underlying social tensions. To begin, the Covid-19 pandemic arrived in the Netherlands, causing the Dutch society to be put in a so-called intelligent lockdown from March on (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2024). This pandemic caused that civic participation in the form of protests or other collective societal actions could not take place in a physical form in the months of April and May. And then, in June 2020, a BLM organized a protest on the Dam square in Amsterdam (NOS, 2020a). Thousands of people came together to protest against police violence, racism, and institutional racism. The protests were triggered by the death of the black American George Floyd in May 2020, and organized by the initiative of Kick Out Zwarte Piet (KOZP) in collaboration with Black Queer & Trans Resistance the Netherlands. This protest sparked the conversation about the colonial past of the Netherlands and the legacy of that period that are here today. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the social restrictions that came with the pandemic, many politicians and healthcare professionals outed their concerns about the balance between civil liberties and public safety (NOS, 2020a). But despite these concerns and challenges the protest was held, which highlights the importance of the issues regarding racism in the Netherlands.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September 2020, it was announced that a new broadcaster was being established: Omroep ZWART (OZ). The broadcaster was founded by Akwasi Ansah, now the Creative Director of OZ, and Gianni Lieuw-A-Soe, now the Director of OZ. Most of the Dutch population worried about the Covid-19 control measures to fight the pandemic and Dutch public figures shared the hashtag '#ikdoenietmeer' (in English: #iwontparticipateanymore), which was a CTA to their audience to disobey the Covid-19 control measures. Akwasi and many other famous Dutch public figures communicated a different CTA to their followers on social media: to become a member of OZ (De Telegraaf, 2020). A clear message was stated on their website: 'a hit of a new broadcaster, where everyone is heard, and everyone is seen'. The statement on the website of OZ in combination with the CTA to become a member of the broadcaster can be linked to the online public sphere as described by

Kovacs (2003, p. 211). The CTA implies that the audience can actively play a role in the recognition of OZ.

#### 4.1.1 Akwasi Ansah

Akwasi Ansah identifies himself as a true storyteller (Van den Steenhoven, n.d.). On his own website, his career path is lined out. The red wire through his career is that ‘he wants to inspire, fascinate and stimulate people’ (Van den Steenhoven, n.d.). Especially with words.

Akwasi was born on the 6<sup>th</sup> of March 1988. He grew up in the multicultural neighbourhoods The Bijlmer and Amsterdam-Osdorp. At the age of twelve, he started writing down stories, making cartoons, and started writing lyrics. The real storyteller Akwasi was discovered when he participated in Kunstbende, a competition for young and creative talent in the Netherlands. Discrimination was already the main topic he wanted to address. He performed a spoken word about discrimination that was called ‘Negerzoenen, Blanke vla en Jodenkoeken’ (in English: Negro kisses, White custard and Jew cakes’). The title of this recital referred to discriminatory names that were given to Dutch food that have names that can be construed as discriminatory.

Akwasi studied at the Toneelacademie (theatre academy) in Maastricht from 2008 until 2012. During his studies in Maastricht, Awaksi formed the hip-hop group Zwart Licht with producer Hayzee and rapper Leeroy. This group created multiple successful albums and was popular in the hip-hop music scene from 2008 until 2012. In 2018 the group made a come-back, but the group described themselves as ‘a committed group’ and insisted that this was certainly not a come-back and highlighted that despite they have not come out with new music, the group had always stayed busy (Van Voss, 2018). Zwart Licht stands for substance and fighting for injustice, as Akwasi mentions in the interview with Van Voss. The songs of the new album were more engaged with societal topics than the songs on their previous albums. For example, the song ‘Schoon Schip’ referred to the life of the people that used to live on the VOC-ships in the Dutch Golden age, ‘Gunshot’ spoke about when the cousin of Leeroy was shot by the police in Amsterdam, and Akwasi was inspired for the song ‘Zwarte Hollanders’ (in English: Black Dutchies) after he heard this term while presenting the NTR-programme *De slavernij* (Van Voss, 2018). The group describes that if one wants to understand society, it is important to understand how society was formed and created. The importance of education on societal topics like discrimination and racism is highlighted. Even though this was not said in the context of the motivations to create OZ, the fact that educating his audience with his music makes that Akwasi wanted to create cultural value. This value, as described by Chivers and Allan (2022, p. 11), has the aim to contribute to better diversity and cultural education for their audience.

The year 2020 was a turning point for the career of Akwasi. As mentioned earlier, he held a speech on the Dam Square during the BLM protest in Amsterdam that set the stage for conversations about people of every colour, origin, religion, gender, and sexual preference, belief or disability (Van den Steenhoven, n.d.). This speech was one of the starting points for Omroep ZWART. With the

speech setting the stage for more diverse and inclusive conversations, Akwasi tried to fight institutional racism (Andriessen, 2020 p.11). As this was one of the main motivations for the BLM protest, Akwasi showed his motivation for countering the dominant voice in Dutch society regarding racism.

#### 4.1.2 Gianni Liew-A-Soe

The second founder of OZ is Gianni Liew-A-Soe. Even though there is less to find about him on the internet in comparison to Akwasi, it is clear that he is engaged with cultural and societal topics.

He grew up in the Spaardammerbuurt in Amsterdam. Eventually, he moved to Bos en Lommer, also in Amsterdam. In an article, he describes that the Bitterzoet, a famous discotheque in Amsterdam, feels like his home (Vellinga, 2024). He describes that 'Bitterzoet is a place where hip-hop and many other cultures come together', which makes him feel like he is really at home. In this same article, Liew-A-Soe states that the most important piece of history of Amsterdam is the slavery past, as the city has been the biggest contributor to this phenomenon for four centuries. However, he also sees that the dark side of this past is often not spoken about. His focus is on the education about these kinds of topics, which will lead to more awareness for everyone regarding these known, but neglected sides. Just like the educational goal of Akwasi, this is in line with the concept of cultural value (Chivers & Allan, 2022, p. 11). His focus on education about neglected topics shows that, in regard to creating public value, creating cultural value is one of the main goals and motivations for Liew-A-Soe.

Similar to Akwasi, Liew-A-Soe has a love for storytelling. He studied Creative writing and Drama in London (Emerce, 2024). Eventually, Liew-A-Soe participated in the Dutch version of *So You Think You Can Dance*, after which he founded his own theatre company. As a choreographer, he made a performance about the psychological consequences that the slavery past has made nowadays. Eventually in 2014, he won an award for his first short movie, which then led to the founding of his own production company. When he founded OZ together with Akwasi in 2020, he started an MBA-study at the Nyenrode Business University to really invest in his knowledge of how to lead a company, in this case a broadcaster.

In 2021, Gianni changed his name from 'Grot' to 'Liew-A-Soe'. In an interview with Brandpunt, Liew-A-Soe was asked whether this was because of the fact that he was more aware of his family history with slavery (Delleman, 2023). Liew-A-Soe stated that this was not the case. He changed his last name as a tribute to his grandmother who raised him. As Grot was a German last name, he did not really identify with this last name, and wanted to change his last name to a name that he in fact could identify with.

#### 4.1.3 Omroep ZWART in the media

When Akwasi announced they would establish a new broadcaster, different news outlets in the Netherlands wrote about this new broadcaster and its potential. From talking about the requirements that OZ would have to meet to the announcement that OZ had reached the required 50,000 members, the founding of OZ was a hot topic (Het Parool, 2020; Takken & Zwolsman, 2020). Not only the formal criteria that OZ had to meet to join the PBS were discussed, but also what the broadcaster wanted to contribute to the Dutch PBS was spoken about. In the article of the *Noordhollands Dagblad* (ANP Producties, 2024), OZ's aim to reflect the Dutch society as a whole is mentioned. Moreover, there is mentioned that the broadcaster itself exists of all kinds of colours, preferences, and backgrounds in regard to their employees. Most of the media reports were positive, and the founders of OZ were given the stage to tell their story. Eventually, by the end of November 2020, OZ reached the acquired number of members to apply for admission into the NPO.

##### 4.1.3.1 Critique on Omroep Zwart

However, there was also critique outed on the potential new broadcaster by journalists. In his column in *De Stentor*, Özcan Akyol wrote that he laughed a little when he saw Akwasi's announcement of OZ (Akyol, 2020). Akyol - also known as Eus - is a writer, columnist and presenter of different tv- and talk shows (Akyol, 2024). His line of critique started with mentioning that after the announcement of the BLM protests in Amsterdam, he felt that 'the NPO almost became a clubhouse for progressive activists, and that the well-known talk show *M* that was aired by the NPO 'turned into a propagandist media programme that seemed insatiable in its conversion drive'. Akyol mentioned that existing broadcasters like NTR already had a diversity department, and that even though this department not always met the desire of the progressive activists, the public must not think that the department was not doing the best they could.

Another criticism of the columnist was that with this kind of activism, the long-gone pillarization would make its return into the PBS. With starting a broadcaster like OZ that mainly focused on its own constituency, segregation would only be supported instead of worked against. Due to Akyol, it would be more of a challenge to change the inclusivity and diversity of existing broadcasters from the inside-out. Because why would broadcasters make an effort to pay more attention to these kinds of topics if there is a new broadcaster that is already addressing them? This criticism is in line with the criticism of Ghorashi (2006) on the pillarization model where she argues that this model has had an effect on the way how the Dutch think about cultural differences (p. 12). Ghorashi argues that the migrants have been treating migrants as deviant from the 'real' Dutch, influenced by the pillarization model. The legacy of the pillarization model has been a phenomenon that has been researched by different scholars (Ghorashi, 2006, p. 11; Hoogenboom & Scholten, 2008, p. 112), supporting the concern of Akyol with the possible re-appearance of the pillarization model within the Dutch PBS.

Also, Akyol mentions that he found Akwasi to be the figurehead of polarization. In the end of his column, Akyol ends with the note about the attempts for creating and establishing a Muslim broadcaster has failed because there is not ‘one kind of Muslim’, which might also be the case for ‘the coloured Dutch population’. Akyol wrote that it was disturbing that the founders of OZ could not make these assessments themselves, and that in this way everyone is put back in their own pillar again to ‘comfortably live alongside each other’ (Akyol, 2020). It can be stated that the columnist did not think that the establishing of OZ would establish any kind of progress.

And just like Akyol, Loretta Schrijver – presenter of the famous Dutch talk show *Koffietijd* – expressed her opinion on the new broadcaster in the popular talk show *Jinek* (De Telegraaf, 2020). Schrijver stated that having a new broadcaster that was especially founded for more diversity was not needed. ‘It is a confirmation in the search for differentiation. That’s exactly what we don’t want. We want to be one, we don’t want to differentiate. Then you should not create Omroep ZWART,’ she mentioned during the talk show (De Telegraaf, 2020). It is in the same line with the critique of Akyol’s argument that it might be better to change broadcasters from the inside out, instead of creating a new platform.

Another criticism that OZ received was the concern about the tone and approach of OZ as Akwasi was sued over his speech during the BLM protest on June 1<sup>st</sup> of 2020 (ANP/Het Parool, 2020). The founder of the broadcaster said the following words: ‘The moment I see a zwarte piet in November, I will kick him in the face most personally.’ This statement led to charges and threats against Awaksi. Eventually in September 2020, Akwasi wrote a statement apologizing for the statement he made in his speech during the BLM protest (Houthuijs, 2020). This caused that he was not prosecuted for this statement (NOS, 2020b). On the social media platform X, then Twitter, many people were astonished about this decision of court and outed their critique under the assumption that people who spoke out in the anti-racism debate could just say anything, as long as they take it back (Houthuijs, 2020).

#### *4.1.3.2 OZ’s reaction to the criticism*

As mentioned in the introduction, OZ started a new member-recruiting campaign under the name ‘EERST-ZIEN-DAN-GELOVEN’ (ZWART, 2023). In the promotion video of the new campaign on YouTube, Akwasi, Lieuw-A-Soe and other employees of the broadcaster start to explain their experience of the first year that they have been running OZ. Akwasi starts off the video with: ‘Honestly? We caught ourselves off guard. Founding a broadcaster is very different from running a broadcaster.’ Lieuw-A-Soe follows him up with stating that they ‘had to learn along the way, to build a brand.’ The critique of Duin (2023) about the lack of OZ’s counter-voice in their productions regarding the topic of racism and representation and reflection of Dutch society is being addressed. Akwasi asked the question ‘but what had we actually made, do you know?’ After this question, he evaluates that they remained silent in times that they should have opened their mouths.



Later in the video, one of the other employees mentions that she had underestimated running the broadcaster, because of the fact that she thought it would be little bit easier. She explains that she thinks this is because the television landscape has been the same for so long, and OZ produced a new sound within this landscape that was very different of what people were used to. This statement implies that OZ is indeed a different broadcaster to the already-existing broadcasters within the Dutch PBS. This Lieuw-A-Soe adds on to this notion that they needed two years to really figure out how the broadcasting system worked, and that these two years have worked in their favour. He uses these two years as a metaphor: ‘What do you get when you are two years old? You develop teeth. You learn to walk and to stand on your own legs, that is exactly what we are doing now.’ Akwasi follows up with the quote: ‘We exist, but we’re not there yet.’ The promise is made at the end of the video that OZ is coming with documentaries and programmes about neglected themes with the attention that these themes deserve.

These statements made in the video by the founders and employees of the broadcaster reflect on the critique that they have received from journalists and columnists. They acknowledge the fact that they did not produce enough counter-voice when it was needed. Above that, the promise to produce more programmes that will voice societal topics that deserve more attention adds on to this acknowledgement. These proclamations underscore OZ’s commitment to addressing their shortcomings of their first two years of existence by promising to produce more content regarding to the topic of racism and representation and reflection of the whole Dutch society. Also, the member-recruiting campaign emphasizes that

#### 4.1.4 Conclusion and following questions

In this archival analysis, the aim was to gain more insights on what the motivations were to create the new broadcaster Omroep ZWART. As we have learned, 2020 was a turbulent year where not only the Covid-19 pandemic started, but it was also the year that George Floyd passed away, causing world-wide Black Lives Matter demonstrations, including the BLM protest on the Dam in Amsterdam on the 1<sup>st</sup> of June 2020. There is to say that there was an increase in social activism in 2020. Omroep ZWART, founded by Akwasi Ansah and Gianni Lieuw-A-Soe, has emerged against a backdrop of national events that highlighted the issue of racism and societal injustice. The personal backgrounds of the founders show a strong commitment to raise and address societal and cultural issues, trying to give voice to different groups, and addressing historical and contemporary injustices through their platforms. As discussed, this in line with the creation of cultural value (Chivers & Allan, 2022, p.11) to educate the audience about cultural topics that have been under addressed in the media. This creates a counter voice regarding the dominant discourse that has been circulating in Dutch society regarding the topic of racism.

The creation of OZ as a new broadcaster was overall well-received. The motivation of the broadcaster was granted positive news articles, and many Dutch public figures supported OZ on their social media channels. However, there also was a lot of criticism towards the newcoming broadcaster.

Especially regarding the necessity of creating a new platform to address diversity and inclusivity, potentially fostering segregation rather than inclusivity. According to some critics, it would have been better to improve and change the existing broadcasters from the inside-out, as creating a new broadcaster would maintain and endorse the legacy of the pillarization model. But despite the critics and controversies, the fundamental goal of OZ remains to improve and broaden the narrative that is held within the Dutch media to ensure representation of the whole Dutch society. The ongoing debate in the Netherlands about what it means to have a real inclusive society is highlighted by the broadcaster, balancing between the establishment of a new platform that aims to tell the stories of underrepresented voices and reforming the existing structures within the Dutch PBS for more diversity.

The aim and motivations of OZ are clear, but for further research, it is interesting to dive deeper into how OZ formulates its' policy, and how they interpret, implement and justify that policy into their communication. This will give more insights in how the broadcaster tries to accommodate for their mission to be accomplished. From this archival analysis, multiple questions have emerged that deserve attention:

1. How does OZ aim to engage with its audience through diverse and inclusive programming within the Dutch PBS?
2. In what ways does OZ want to educate its audience about historical and contemporary issues of racism and discrimination through its programming and communication efforts?
3. How does OZ justify the creation of a separate broadcaster as opposed to enhancing the diversity and inclusivity of an already-existing broadcaster?
4. In what ways does OZ incorporate diverse voices and perspectives in its content and communication to reflect the whole of Dutch society?

These four questions could be categorized in four different categories: audience engagement, educational impact, OZ as a distinct broadcaster, and media representation and diversity. The answer to these questions will be given in the section below, where the interpretation, implementation and justification of OZ's policy plan and published communication will be analyzed.

## **4.2 The interpretation, implementation and justification of OZ's policy**

In this section, an analysis of several policy documents of OZ, and on the published communication in the form of articles on the website of OZ is made. The analysis was carried out using a codebook (see Appendix A.1) that was created with the themes and categories from the questions of the archival analysis.

The policy plan is divided in five different chapters. With these five chapters, OZ has made the outline for the strategic vision and the operational goals of the broadcaster within the Dutch PBS landscape for the period of 2022 to 2026. The policy plan is structured into key sections, describing

key aspects of OZ's mission, their objectives, and approaches to bringing more inclusivity and diversity in the PBS landscape. The main categories that were found in the policy documents are: media representation and diversity, engagement with the audience, and internal and external inclusion and diversity.

#### 4.2.1 Audience engagement

This contributes to answering the question: *how does OZ aim to engage with its audience through diverse and inclusive programming within the Dutch PBS?* In this analysis, the policy documents and published articles on the website of OZ were used.

##### 4.2.1.1 Policy documents

In regard to the archival analysis, the derived theme of audience engagement is something that is clearly stated in the policy documents of OZ. The broadcaster formulates its opinion about what they think could be enhanced when it comes to diversity of the represented society in the PBS. As read on page 8 of the policy document of OZ (see p. 31 in dataset), there is stated that there are a lot of people in Dutch society who do not recognize themselves in the current media that the PBS offers them. This causes a lack of representation, and the disengagement between audience and the media. As stated by Kovacs (2003, p. 211), the on- and offline public sphere are interconnected with each other. The online public sphere describes the participation of the audience, where the offline public sphere describes the policy- and decision-making. The participation and engagement of the audience with media products influences the policy- and decision-making of media producers, and vice versa. OZ has evaluated that the lack of representation in the media has caused disengagement with the audience, which is not desired. The solution for this disengagement is presented in the form of really listening to the audience and ensuring that the programming of OZ echoes with the wide spectrum of audience that the broadcaster has. OZ wants their audience to be able to actively participate in the creation of their programming and wants to achieve this to stay in dialogue with the community that they represent (see page 34 in dataset). As it is a must for multicultural societies to have diversity in opinions and controversy to function well (Fraser, 1992, p. 68), this active engagement of OZ with their audience is desired. The aim to address more diverse topics and to represent the whole Dutch society can be achieved when there is room for the audience to voice their opinions about what topics are important, and in a sense give feedback to OZ. The input and the perspectives of their audience matter, and there is stated that the programs that OZ makes is there for the audience, not the other way around (see p. 35 in dataset). This means that the programs that are created are made in the sense that the audience thinks that these kinds of programs are relevant and interesting and align with their needs.

To establish a strong engagement with their audience, a strong call-to-action (CTA) is stated by OZ, aimed at their members and audience. As read in the FAQs on their website (see pp. 199-202 in dataset), multiple answers contain the CTA for the audience to contact the broadcaster if they have ideas about what should be created, or which stories deserve attention. As argued by Freeman et al.

(2015), the implementation of a CTA within the communication of OZ creates engagement with the audience (p. 5). This CTA to contact the broadcaster when the audience feels that particular topics should be discussed in the content creation brings the audience in contact with OZ.

Another strategy that OZ uses to engage with its members, is to organize events for their community, where more ideas, perspective and voices are to be heard. However, these kinds of events are only for their members (see pp. 199-202 in dataset). This means that if people want to participate, they must become a member first. This might be less inclusive as the broadcaster aims to be, as people might not have the financial resources to become a member. Yet these people could still send an email to the production team of OZ to share their ideas and thoughts. The events that members can participate in can be seen as personal benefits that can increase substantial engagement (Freeman et al., 2015, p. 5). However, it is important to notice that these personal benefits are only rewarded to the audience that already is a member of OZ.

#### *4.2.1.2 Published articles*

Overall, the engagement with the audience is shown in the articles by mentioning the fact that the addressed topics have been chosen because of the interaction that OZ has with their audience. As shown in the article about their new programme ‘Idris Elba’s Fight School’ (T2, p. 206 in dataset), there is to be read that the audience wanted a series that showed young people who carried multiple problems, and eventually flourished. This implies that there has been interaction and engagement with the audience, and that their opinions have been heard to satisfy their needs to be educated on a new topic.

Another example is the article where Gianni Lieuw-A-Soe is quoted:

Gianni Lieuw-A-Soe, general manager of Broadcaster BLACK, stressed that KULT brings a breath of fresh air to the talk show landscape by focusing on the interests and needs of young people, who are increasingly found online. (T2, p. 206 in dataset)

This shows that the programmes that are created, are created in the context of what the needs of the audience really is. The notion of listening to the needs of the audience also applies for the articles that are written about the new talk show *KULT* (see N1, p. 247 in dataset; see N6, pp. 251-252 in dataset). In these articles, it is emphasized that this new talk show was based on ‘the interests and needs of young people’. To further engage with the audience, there is a CTA stated at the end of one of the articles (N6): ‘*Support us, become a member and help us to make this happen.*’ Again, this CTA created engagement with the audience by asking them to be part of OZ.

To answer the question for this section, OZ commits to engage actively with their audience to gain new perspectives, hear new stories to ensure diversity in their programming. This is not only done by imagining their audience as diverse, but also through activating their audience by implementing

CTAs in their communication to invite the audience to engage with the broadcaster and make their own voices heard in the productions of OZ.

#### 4.2.2 Educational impact

This contributes to answering the question: *in what ways does OZ want to educate its audience about historical and contemporary issues of racism and discrimination through its programming and communications efforts?*

##### 4.2.2.1 Policy documents

In the beginning of chapter 3 of the policy plan of OZ, the first principle for creating an overarching programme policy is clearly stated (see p. 35 in dataset): ‘what we make is urgent. Our way of working should make it possible to pick up topical issues and create content that has something to hang on to.’ Furthermore, there is described that OZ wants to contribute to five main genres, one of them being *knowledge and education* (see p. 37 in dataset). For this genre, the first focus of the broadcaster is on creating history related programmes with which they want to show the history of everyone who lives in the Netherlands at this moment (see p. 39 in dataset). A second focus is to help and broaden the knowledge of Dutch society in regard to important societal topics. OZ wants to address topics that people engage with on an everyday basis, but do not know everything about. Providing their audience with information that might be useful for them is something that creates both social- and cultural value (Chivers & Allan, 2022, p. 11). It creates social value, as the information that is provided in their programming can be accessed for free, making it accessible information for the whole audience. The cultural value is created because OZ wants to make programmes that contribute to more cultural education, supported by the first focus on creating history related programmes.

##### 4.2.3.2 Published articles

In the article where OZ makes a statement against racism (see OZ1, p. 203 in dataset), OZ clarifies that they inform their audience about diverse topics on an everyday basis. This can be noticed looking at the wide variety of societal topics that are being described in their articles. In many articles, the educational purpose of why these topics are addressed is mentioned multiple times. For example, in the article about the Iranian Revolution (OP1, pp. 220-222 in dataset), the reason why this topic is addressed is stated by the author:

It is forgotten that this is above all a revolution appropriate to these times, and especially appropriate to the youth of these times. Hardly any thought is given to the fact that the world anno 2022 has changed radically both culturally and technologically. (OP1, pp. 220-222 in dataset)

This way of addressing is used multiple times, even though the authors are different, which marks a typical way for OZ to address the way how they handle and address the educational purpose of their topics. OZ wants to make clear why the topics are important and what can be learned from talking about societal issues or phenomena that are not highlighted or spoken enough about. This is always underscored by explicitly stating it when a topic is neglected, or when there is a misconception about certain topics. This action taken to create awareness of these topics is what Manoharan (2019) calls a form of counter-media (p. 388). Counter-media counters the established discourse that is handled and reproduces in the mainstream and established media and sheds light on the inequalities that might occur from these discourses. Thus, OZ educates their audience by countering the dominant discourse on topics that has been addressed and reproduced by established media to make the audience aware of the possible normalization and injustice that this dominant discourse can establish.

Under the header ‘Opinie’ (in English: Opinion), an article is written about the use of the ‘n-word’ that people in the Dutch media keep on using (see OP5, pp. 225-226). The use of this term is not okay, as stated by the article, even when people use the term by accident or ‘not mean it in that way’. The notion of ‘not meaning it in that way’ corresponds to the notion of ‘having good intentions’ mentioned by Ghorashi (2023, p. 19), and is linked to the concept of white innocence, as explained by Wekker (2016, pp. 2-3). The historical charge is explained in the article, why black people *can* use the word is explained, and maybe as most important, there is explained why it is important to fight the use of this word amongst people who are not black. With the explanation of why it is important not to use the n-word, OZ is fighting institutionalized ignorance of racism in the Netherlands (Essed & Hoving, 2014, pp. 10-13). When someone says that they have ‘good intentions’ when using the n-word, this is actually an ignorant attitude towards racism that still takes place.

Andriessen (2020) argues that it is important to acknowledge that institutional racism is still embedded in multiple structures and levels in society (p. 19). Moreover, Andriessen argues that it is important to educate people about this institutional racism to make people realize what the impact of this is on society. This is one of the principles that OZ keeps in mind when producing content. This is in line with the values of social movements that want to make a societal impact (Hourigan, 2001, pp. 77-78).

To answer the question for this section, OZ wants to make an educational impact on their audience by actively produce programming that is rich of addressing historical and contemporary perspectives and issues that are important for the audience to be aware of. They make their audience aware of possible misconceptions and new perspective on topics that have been treated in the light of a normalized dominant discourse within Dutch society.

### 4.2.3 OZ as a distinct broadcaster

This contributes to answering the question: *how does OZ justify the creation of a separate broadcaster opposed to enhancing the diversity and inclusivity of an already-existing broadcaster?*

#### 4.2.3.1 Policy documents

In order for OZ to achieve their goals, it is necessary to be critical with yourself. This is why OZ has set goals and guidelines for themselves that have to contribute and facilitate inclusive and diverse content production. In chapter 4 of their policy plan (see pp. 41-46 in dataset), OZ as an organization is discussed. The title says: ‘An inclusive organization creates diverse stories.’ The chapter opens, stating that when an organization is inclusive at all levels, the stories that are being told and the storytellers that get the stage will automatically be inclusive and diverse as well. This means that they want to facilitate an organization ‘focused on ownership, with progressive human resources policies, with a safe working culture where as many people can have a voice’ (see p. 41 in dataset), which is in line with what OZ wants to facilitate for their audience as well. OZ wants to be as inclusive for its employees, as they are for its community (see p. 43 in dataset), as these creators come from a diverse community.

The advisory letter of the NPO (see pp. 178-197 in dataset), there is stated that the add value of OZ to the Dutch PBS, is that the broadcaster focusses on a young and diverse audience in the 15–35-year age group (see p. 193 in dataset). This is an age group that does not feel connected to the already existing broadcasters, and that is looking for more representation of a young and diverse generation (see p. 191 in dataset). This add value to the Dutch PBS is also underscored in the advisory letter of the CvdM (see pp. 172-177). The opinion of the CvdM is that OZ represents an audience that is not yet represented within the Dutch PBS.

In the annual report of 2022 (see pp. 67-120 in dataset), the directors of OZ mention that their first year of operating as a broadcaster in the Dutch PBS felt like a pilot year where they had to learn a lot and compete with other broadcasters on a high level (see p. 69 in dataset). Despite this, they felt that they have contributed to the Dutch PBS in 2022 (see p. 70 in dataset). ‘We firmly believe that our presence is already doing a lot with public broadcasters among themselves, perhaps even the world,’ is stated. Next to this statement, the goal for the next year of producing various original programmes that only fit OZ is mentioned (see p. 70 in dataset).

In the annual report of 2023 (see pp. 123-170 in dataset), the developments of the broadcaster compared to 2022 are indicated by Akwasi and Lieuw-A-Soe (see pp. 124-125 in dataset). They firstly state that in this year, OZ has firmly positioned itself within the Dutch PBS landscape with playing an active role in fostering a just, honest and inclusive society.

#### 4.2.3.2 Published articles

How OZ distinguishes itself from other broadcasters is mainly addressed in their articles that speak about their programming. For example:

With Podium ZWART, we have really started building a home for everyone, on television. (see T1, pp. 204-205 in dataset)

With this statement, it becomes clear that they are working on their aim to be as inclusive and diverse as possible, but it also implies that with this programme, they do something different from what other broadcasters have been doing with their programming. It implies that other broadcasters have not been building a home for everyone. With the representation of unheard voices in their programmes and written content on their website, OZ wants to ensure that these stories get a stage. The header 'Interview' is a great example of this diversity in topics that OZ adds to the Dutch PBS. In the article of *Pritty* (see IN1, pp. 251-253 in dataset), the producing of an animation that represents black queerness is discussed. As previous research has argued, diverse representation and the representation of diverse groups has been graded as too risky, according to producers of bog television shows (Christian, 2020, p. 458). The audiences would be too small, which would ensure that such shows would not be profitable enough. OZ will not settle for this attitude.

As research of Christian (2020) has shown that most producers of tv shows in the US only invest in intersectional shows on a superficial level, it is surprising that OZ is focussed on investing deeply in intersectionality. This is not only stated in different policy documents but is also to be noticed in their published articles. This is an aspect that they are convinced of makes them distinct from already-existing broadcasters and implies that this new platform allows for an approach that represents and empowers all voices within Dutch society, which is something they find already-existing broadcasters in the Dutch PBS lack.

To answer the question for this section, OZ justifies their existence as a new broadcaster by making sure that the topics that they address are nowhere else to be found. Their stance is to always work from a diverse context, instead of making their programmes more diverse. This contrasts with other broadcasters, who have special diversity departments to improve diversity within their organization. OZ sees its organization as already richly diverse.

#### 4.2.4 Media representation and diversity

This contributes to answering the question: *in what ways does OZ incorporate diverse voices and perspectives in its content to reflect the whole of Dutch society?*

##### 4.2.4.1 Policy documents

It is clear what OZ imagines their audience and community to be:

Omroep ZWART is associated with a new generation. A socially-oriented generation that seems tireless in its drive for interpretation, background and news. From climate



to mental health and racism to veganism. A generation that is clearly not only diverse in origins. People distinguish themselves in terms of gender, religion, sexual orientation, or disability, among others, and derive part of their identity from that. (see p. 33 in dataset)

The description of this audience and the characteristics that OZ gives to its audience is not only diverse in the sense of ethnicity, gender etcetera, but also matches the concept of intersectionality. As explained in chapter 2, intersectionality in (broadcasting-) productions are characters who are multiply marginalized (Christian, 2020, p. 458). This intersectionality is something that has not been discussed or addressed in the Netherlands enough. This becomes clear in the policy plan of OZ, where is stated that they want to represent ‘smaller subgroups that can find each other in different areas’ (see p. 33 in dataset).

In addition to the focus on an audience that is very broad and diverse, another goal of OZ is to give unknown and new storytellers a stage. ‘What makes Omroep ZWART relevant and urgent is that not only young, diverse audiences seem to be actively seeking different new stories and perspectives, but also that new creators want to tell stories’ is said on page 8 of the policy plan. The aim is to give the audience new voices and offering them new perspectives that may not be in line with their own line of reasoning (see p. 31 in dataset). This also involves challenging harmful stereotypes that exist in the media and providing a more accurate and complex portrayal communities within the Dutch society (see p. 27 in dataset). Eventually, this will foster the sense that there is not only one perspective to use. In the description of one of their major themes, *opinion* and *human interest*, OZ states that the programmes they want to create are ‘socially engaged and provide interpretation and offer background and multiple perspectives on a broad spectrum of topics’ (see p. 37 in dataset). There is an emphasis put on showing conflicting views and showing the facts behind different opinions. Showing these conflicting views is necessary for a multicultural society to function well, as this facilitates competing publics where there is room for controversy (Fraser, 1992, p. 66). When a society lives under one comprehensive sphere, there is only one lens to view the world through (p. 68). This establishes one dominant view where there is no room for conversation (p. 66).

In the advisory letter of CvdM, the commission endorsed that OZ wants to tell stories with new perspectives, and that this facilitates a new diverse offer of programming that differs from the already existing programs made available by other broadcasters (see pp. 173-174 in dataset). In both annual reports of OZ, there is to read how the broadcaster continues to aim for a representative media landscape, year after year (see p. 69 in dataset; see p. 124 in dataset).

On the Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ) page on their website, questions about why they are founded are stated and answered. One of those questions is: ‘Why the name ZWART?’ The answer to this question is the following:

BLACK is colour transcending. BLACK connects and BLACK inspires. In our language, the word black is often associated with something negative. But that is finished now. We are going to show that BLACK is positive, powerful and inviting. And it really won't be that hard to show how much energy is released when you embrace differences. Not afraid, but curious. If you mix all the colours of pigment on your palette well enough evenly, you will automatically get BLACK. (see p. 199 in dataset)

With this answer, the statement that the broadcaster wants to make is clear. The name 'ZWART' was chosen to represent all groups in society and wants to 'throw everybody into the mix'. With this formula, they want to ensure that every group in society is represented in the media, and that people can also meet groups that they are not familiar with.

#### *4.2.4.2 Published articles*

Important is to notice, that in the sense of media representation and diversity, the intersectional topics and themes are explicitly stated. This refers to the remarks that are stated in the general policy document of the broadcaster, that OZ will fight for representing all groups within the Dutch society. What is clear, is that the aim of OZ to be as diverse and inclusive with the representation of various topics is really lived up to. The themes of the articles that are shown show a great variety. From the story of someone who has been incarcerated for a long time, to a woman who tells how it is to be sent to a different level of education because of your migration background, there are no 'taboo' topics. And from coaches to authors or music producers, all different kind of creators get a stage. Addressing such topics takes away the 'taboo' stigma that hangs around them.

The articles that are written under the header 'Ongezien' (in English: Unseen) (see pp. 227-232 in dataset) talk about the platform that OZ has created where new creators are put in the spotlight and where they can share their story. The articles that talk about these new creators are there to put an extra spotlight on the creators and underline the importance of their message. The emphasis is laid on the why the creators are telling their stories, and to what marginalized groups the creators belong to or place themselves with. Also, there are remarks made about impact that their stories have made on other people. Here, OZ makes use of subaltern counter-publics (Fraser, 1992, p.67), as representatives of minority groups create and use their own voice to create and circulate a counter-voice that criticizes exclusionary norms in society. Showing these diverse and inclusive voices and stories into their content, aims for an inclusive representation of the Dutch society. This is something that the NPO has stated to aim for in the early 2010s but could not establish despite of their efforts (Engelbert & Awad, 2014, pp. 270-271). There was an unequal treatment of cultural diversity where not all differences of the Dutch society were represented equally, even though this was the formulated aim for the NPO in

their policy. OZ fights this with being open to all kind of topics that deserve a stage, trying to represent the whole Dutch society in their programming.

To answer the question for this section, OZ aims to incorporate a wide variety of topics into their programming and communications. They do not only do this with addressing intersectional topics and add on to represent minority groups, but they have already incorporated this within their name as 'ZWART' represents all people in society. This creates a diverse and inclusive platform that aims to reflect the whole of Dutch society.

## 5. Conclusion

This research project has researched how Omroep ZWART positions itself within the Dutch Public Service Broadcasting system, conducting a case study to answer the following research questions: *how does Omroep ZWART position itself within the Dutch public service broadcasting system?* To help and answer this question, two sub questions were posed: 1) *what are the motivations of the founders of OZ to create a new broadcaster*, and 2) *how is this view interpreted, implemented, and justified in OZ's main policy and published communication on their website?* There has been made use of a mixed-method approach, consisting of an archival analysis and a qualitative content analysis. This chapter will discuss the key findings of these analyses, answer the research question, and discuss the theoretical implications of the results. Finally, the limitations of the research will be discussed, as well as the suggestions for further research.

### 5.1 Key findings

This study has contributed to the knowledge about how initiatives like OZ can create a platform within the Dutch PBS to create more social awareness and educate people on neglected societal topics that matter to the audience. The founding of OZ was quite influenced by the social and political landscape in the Netherlands, especially by the Black Lives Matter protest on the Dam Square in 2020. Even though the Covid-19 social restrictions meant that no societal collective actions could take place, thousands of people came together to protest institutional racism in the Netherlands. The motivation of Akwasi Ansah and Gianni Lieuw-A-Soe to create a broadcaster that reflects the whole of the diverse Dutch society was grounded in their personal backgrounds. Their personal experiences and careers were rooted in addressing societal injustices and storytelling of unheard voices, fuelling the commitment to establish the new broadcaster OZ.

Even though there was a lot of enthusiasm around the establishment of OZ, critics like Akyol (2020) and Schrijver (De Telegraaf, 2020) argued that establishing a new broadcaster that mainly focuses on diversity would reinforce societal segregation. It might have been better to change the diversity of already-existing broadcaster from the inside out, instead of creating a new broadcaster that might enforce the legacy of the pillarization model. Another critique OZ received was not creating enough counter-voice in their content creation in their first year of existing (Duin, 2023). In response to this criticism, OZ acknowledged their challenges and imperfections. However, they stayed committed to strengthen their programming and address societal topics and issues more effectively. This resulted into the promise of creating more programming that focus on underrepresented topics, showing dedication to their mission to broadcast diversity and inclusivity.

It has shown that the establishment of OZ has marked a significant development in the Dutch PBS, which is characterized by its commitment to diversity, inclusivity, and representation. The establishment of this broadcaster has sparked discussion and critique within Dutch society but was

overall received with great enthusiasm. OZ challenges the dominant narratives and discourses around societal topics like racism, which makes for a more authentic reflection of Dutch societal diversity. As the influence of broadcasting media has grown over the years (Hourigan, 2001, pp.77-78; Howley, 2004, p. 221), it is important that broadcasters challenge these dominant narratives and discourses. This challenging makes an impact on the public discourse. By voicing minorities and unheard stories the public discourse will be enriched with more dialogue, which is essential for a multicultural society like the Dutch society to function well (Fraser, 1992, p. 66).

This dialogue was created and enforced by deep engagement with their audience. As the former lack of representation within the Dutch PBS had established disengagement between audiences and media (Kovacs, 2003, p. 211), OZ deeply invests in listening to the audience to ensure that their programming reflects their needs and diversity. One of the strategies of OZ for audience engagement is the implementation of CTAs that invite their audience to share their ideas and give suggestions for topics that need to be addressed. Moreover, community events are organized for their members to gather more perspectives. Even though these events are only for members of the broadcasters, non-members are still invited and motivated to share their perspectives with OZ via email.

The perspectives of their audience are important for OZ to produce diverse content that represents the diversity of Dutch society. OZ imagines its audience to be socially oriented and diverse in gender, religion, sexual orientation, and disabilities. This embraces the concept of intersectionality, where attention is given to representing multiply marginalized subgroups in the media (Christian, 2020, p. 458). Giving new storytellers a stage with their diverse perspectives that challenge existing stereotypes is in line with this concept and is one of the principles of OZ which highlights their goal to create a more representative Dutch PBS.

Representing diverse perspectives adds to the educational aim of OZ to educate its audience on historical and contemporary racism and discrimination through its programming and communication efforts. As stated in the policy documents, OZ is committed to addressing urgent societal issues and topics which has led to choosing *knowledge and education* as one of their main genres, with focus on creating history-related programming. This aligns with creating social and cultural value (Chivers & Allan, 2022, p. 11), as accessible information for the audience is provided that establishes cultural education through different (historical-) narratives. Also, teaching their audience about urgent societal issues and topics tackles the institutionalized ignorance that has been present in Dutch society (Essed & Hoving, 2014, pp. 10-13). The tendency of the Dutch to ignore issues with race and racism within society makes that OZ strives to make the audience aware of institutional racism that is embedded in different levels and structures of society. This education is important to make the audience realize what impact this racism has on society (Andriessen, 2020, p. 19).

In conclusion, Omroep ZWART positions itself as a transformative broadcaster within the Dutch public service broadcasting system. They establish this by strongly committing to representing

diverse perspectives that they gather from engagement with their audience and voice new makers who deserve a stage to tell their stories. They align with activism in the sense of social justice movements like Black Lives Matter as they address and acknowledge the struggles of marginalized groups within Dutch society. This project assessed the first two years of the existence of OZ and shows that these first two years have been a learning journey for the broadcaster so far. OZ's journey reveals valuable lessons and highlights the critical role of media in establishing an inclusive society where there is room for diverse perspectives and opinions that foster a healthy public sphere.

## **5.2 Theoretical implications**

Looking back at the previous research on possibilities for activism within the public broadcasting system in the UK (Kovacs, 2001; Kovacs 2003), this study has shown that there are possibilities for activist initiatives to create a platform within the Dutch PBS. As the power of public broadcasting media has grown over the years (Hourigan, 2001, pp. 77-78; Howley, 2004, p. 221), it has become a must for social movements to make use of mass media (Howley, 2004, p. 236). The case of OZ presents evidence for this. The lack of representation that OZ addresses was caused by the ignorance of other broadcasters, making that the founders of OZ thought it was necessary to establish a new broadcaster that *would* address these urgent representations within the Dutch mass media. This shows that OZ is a form of digital activism, which suggests that their platform can significantly enhance the impact and reach of their social movement commitments. These results demonstrate how public service broadcasters can expand their role beyond the traditional media functions that public broadcasters have. It shows that public broadcasters can become agents of change rather than just passively providing their audience with information about societal topics.

The research of Christian (2020) on showing intersectionality in US broadcasting media has grown over the past years (pp. 458-459). However, as more intersectional shows were produced, the investments in these types of shows were only superficial and mostly impermanent. This research has shown that the investment in producing intersectional programmes by OZ within the Dutch PBS is way more than just superficial. From their policy documents, it has become clear that OZ already describes its target audience as intersectional and diverse, aiming to represent this audience in their programming. This makes for the fact that OZ is constantly making deep investments in producing intersectional programming. These findings contribute to the theory and implications of representation of intersectionality within the Dutch PBS. OZ provides a model for how public broadcasters can make deep investments in producing intersectional programming.

## **5.3 Limitations and future research**

This research has not focussed on the media productions of OZ. However, analyzing the programming of the broadcaster is important to gain a deeper understanding of how they implement their policy into their productions. A detailed analysis of the productions of OZ will reveal a deliberate

focus on representation and diversity, with the aim to meet the needs of the audience in terms of voicing minority groups within the Dutch PBS.

Another suggestion for further research is to conduct a comparative analysis with other broadcasters. By comparing OZ to other broadcasters that claim to represent a diverse audience, valuable insights can be gained from this. Within the NPO, broadcasters like the NTR also aim to promote diverse programming. It is interesting to gain more insights into what really distinguishes OZ from other broadcasters like NTR in terms of how they carry out their diversity-related policy. This will highlight the unique position that OZ has within the Dutch PBS and underscores the effectiveness of the broadcaster. This research can be conducted in the light of a comparative case study, allowing for the use of various methods.

The last suggestion for further research is to research the cultural and societal impact that OZ has made within Dutch society in terms of influencing the discourse around racism and promoting social cohesion. As they provide a platform that voices minority groups within Dutch society, OZ plays an important role in shaping and feeding narratives around the topics of representation, diversity, inclusion, and multiculturalism. Measuring a larger impact on a societal level might be difficult to conduct, as there are numerous factors that influence societies and the audience of OZ in a broader sense. But to get a glimpse of the effect of OZ on the societal impact that they have made, it will be of value to approach the audience to see if they feel better represented and ask whether they think OZ can be of real difference within the Dutch PBS. This could be done by conducting in-depth interviews. Also, applying mixed methods would make sense. Here, a survey with questions about the perceived impact of OZ on the audience would be valuable to gain a general broad understanding of OZ's impact on the audience. After this survey, in-depth interviews can be conducted to gain a deeper understanding of how the audience really perceives the impact that OZ has within Dutch society.

All things considered, I hope that this research has contributed to the knowledge and understanding of how OZ positions itself within the current Dutch public service broadcasting system by aiming for a real reflection of society and voicing the unheard stories that deserve to be told. I hope that future research will dive deeper into the way that initiatives like OZ.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A.1: Deductive codebook for QCA

Main category	Subcategory	Definition	Example	Rules
Media representation and Diversity	Representation	How does OZ address their need for diverse and inclusive representation?	‘Zou er wel behoefte zijn aan een Omroep die zich richt op diversiteit en de vertegenwoordiging van alle Nederlanders?’	Text segments that are addressing the need for diverse and inclusive representation of the whole Dutch population
	Voicing	What minority groups are being voiced? Or what groups could be voiced more?	‘Er zijn op dit moment veel mensen die zich niet herkennen in het huidige media-aanbod.’	Texts segments that address that the voiced group had been underrepresented in the media
	Targeted societal issues	What are the main societal topics that need attention? And who are the people involved?	‘We willen de geschiedenis en ‘heritage’ tonen van de mensen die nu in Nederland wonen.’	Text segments that describe how and why it is needed to address specific topics
	Story telling	What kind of stories are being told?	‘Wat Omroep ZWART relevant en urgent maakt is niet alleen dat het jonge, diverse publiek actief lijkt te zoeken naar andere nieuwe verhalen en perspectieven, maar ook dat nieuwe makers nieuwe verhalen willen vertellen.’	Tekst segments that address the variety in the stories that are being told, and the diversity in people that are telling the stories.
Educational impact	Public awareness	How does OZ contribute to public awareness about important societal topics?	‘Onze programma’s binnen deze twee genres trekken mensen uit hun hokjes en verbreden hun referentiekader, met als doel om nieuwe verbindingen te maken.’	Text segments that address how OZ wants to contribute to the knowledge of their audience about important societal topics
	Specific topics addressed	What kind of societal topics does OZ address?	‘Ten tweede gaan we met onze programma’s onderzoeken hoe de maatschappij werkt	Text segments that address societal topics that deserve and

			en proberen we systemen inzichtelijk te maken, bijvoorbeeld door in toegankelijke vorm te laten zien hoe de financiële wereld of de arbeidsmarkt functioneert en wat dat voor een individu betekent.’	need more attention
OZ as a distinct broadcaster	Inclusivity practices	How does OZ want to unify the Dutch population?	‘Vanuit die inclusiviteit wil Omroep ZWART juist verbinding leggen met en tussen mensen en groepen’	Text segments where OZ addresses that unity is better than standing alone
	Distinctiveness from already existing broadcasters	What makes OZ different from the already existing broadcasters?		Text segments that address how OZ is an addition to the Dutch PBS and what makes OZ different from the existing broadcasters
Audience engagement	Strategies for engaging diverse demographic groups	What does OZ do to engage with a wide audience?	‘De programma’s van onze omroep zijn urgent, vernieuwend, gaan uit van interesse in de ander, brengen een gesprek op gang en zetten mensen aan het denken.’	Text segments that address how OZ wants to engage with a diverse audience
	Primary audience characteristics	What audience does OZ have in mind?	‘Wij zijn verbonden aan die jonge, diverse generatie. Onze volgers en onze leden horen in grote mate tot die groep die op zoek is naar nieuwe perspectieven.’	Text segments that identify the characteristics of the OZ audience
	Role of- and engagement with the members of OZ	What is the role of the members of OZ, and what is the engagement of OZ with her members?	‘Dat houdt in dat de organisatie actief in contact blijft met de leden, om op deze wijze informatie in te winnen en op de hoogte te blijven van wat er bij de leden speelt’	Text segments that show how OZ specifies the role of her members, and specifies the engagement with her members

## Appendix B.1: Overview of articles published by OZ with referral code to dataset

Referral code	Article
OZ1	Statement tegen racisme
T1	Podium ZWART: het eerste tv-programma van Omroep ZWART
T2	Idris Elba's Fight School bij Omroep ZWART
T3	Omroep ZWART brengt eerste documentaire uit genaamd Een Gat In Mijn Hart
T4	ZWART duikt de geschiedenis in met Once Upon A Timeline
T5	Niet eerder vertoonde shows van Podium ZWART
RA1	Khalil Chait: 'Een kooi blijft een kooi, of hij nou van goud is of niet'
RA2	Roos Blufpand: 'Toen ik 15 jaar geleden vegetariër werd toen vond iedereen me irritant, dat is niet meer zo'
RA3	John Samson: 'De eilanden horen langer bij Nederland dan Limburg'
RA4	Marieke Koekkoek: 'Wij hebben de stempel jongerenpartij gekregen, maar ik denk dat de stempel idealistische partij beter zou passen'
RA5	Raymi Sambo: 'Als het gaat over ons slavernijverleden is sorry zeggen pas het begin.'
RA6	Heksen Jorien ten Varge en Sanne Hassink: 'Op sommige plekken voel je aan alles dat je daar weg moet'
RA7	Sjors Veenendaal: 'Er ging een wereld voor ons open met mogelijkheden als man-man koppel'
RA8	Schrijfster Lenneke Vente over neurosarcoïdose 'Ik weet niet wat er gebeurt, maar dit wil ik niet'
RA9	Ruchama Bwefar: 'De Provinciale Staten hebben echt invloed op je dagelijks leven'
RA10	Lennart van de Meulen: 'Lesgeven zorgt ervoor dat leerlingen begrijpen wat een grapje is en wat niet.'
RA11	ADHD-coach Anna Sarbo: 'Er zit ook een structuur in het hebben van geen structuur'
RA12	Nikwi Hoogland en Simone Houying: 'Chinees ben ik en ik heb een kut, dus was is je punt?'
RA13	Elly André: 'Ze hebben mij naar een lager niveau gestuurd, terwijl mijn cijfers goed waren'



RA14	Véras Fawaz: 'Ik moest breken met mijn familie om het album te maken'
RA15	Sholeh Rezazadeh: 'Mensen zitten echt vast aan hun planning en soms wil ik gewoon iets spontaans doen'
RA16	Jeanette Chedda: 'Als je in deze samenleving mee wil draaien heb je daar wel energie voor nodig'
RA17	Diversity officer Aya Ezawa: 'Diversiteit en inclusie zou moeten aanvoelen als een feestje voor iedereen'
RA18	Partij voor de Dieren-Statelid Ines Kostić; 'We zijn allemaal Team Planet'
RA19	The Flexican maakte een Wat Anders uurmix van de grootste classics tussen 2000 en 2006
OP1	De Iraanse opstand is een nieuwe vorm van een revolutie geworden
OP2	Hoop in de toekomst van afrofuturisme
OP3	De Bijlmer is geen seksfantasie
OP4	De onderbelichte gezichten van 4 oktober
OP5	Het N-woord: 'Waarom blijft het terugkomen op tv?'
ON1	Ongezien: Joy Brandsma toont 'Dancing in Captivity'
ON2	Ongezien: Zino Bakker toont 'Hartenprins'
ON3	Ongezien: Ahmad Mallah toont 'Stateless'
ON4	Ongezien: Pomme Willemse toont 'De Kleurrijken'
ON5	Ongezien: Kadir Küçük toont 'Sababa'
ON6	Ongezien: Laura Iwuchukwu & Merel Hooglander tonen 'Golden'
K1	Nieuwe tentoonstelling Tropenmuseum zet relatiestatus met plastic op 'het is ingewikkeld'
P1	Rouwrituelen in Nederland: 'Nederlanders zijn bang voor de dood'
P2	Rouwrituelen in Suriname: 'Het was heel apart om te dansen achter de kist'
P3	Rouwrituelen in Iran 'Toen we aankwamen in Iran bleek mijn oeder al een week overleden te zijn'

P4	Rouwrituelen in China: ‘We hebben een blikje bier voor mijn vader geofferd’
P5	Rouwrituelen in Nigeria: ‘Mijn oudste zoon is mijn oom en mijn dochter is mijn oudste zus’
P6	Rouwrituelen in Turkije: ‘Na het overlijden van mijn moeder heb ik jaren niet kunnen dansen’
P7	Omroep ZWART lanceert podcastserie ‘Sporen’
RE1	Find your Eyes: De schoonheid in een momentopname
RE2	Vier zwarte trots: Vijf tips voor deze Black Achievement Month
N1	KULT: Duik in de Jongerencultuur met Défano Holwijn en Bekende Gasten op NPO3!
N2	ZWART documentairereeks ‘De Afhaalchinees’, door meer dan 620,000 kijkers bekeken.
N3	ZWART introduceert eerste politieke programma genaamd Stemningsmakers
N4	Nederlandse versie van Jimmy Fallons hitshow ‘That’s My Jam’ start binnenkort op NPO3
N5	Nieuwe ZWART documentaire Nelson Mandela: Hoop of Hype 3 december op NPO2
N6	KULT meer dan 1 miljoen online cultuurliefhebbers bereikt
IN1	Pritty: zwart & queer representatie in animatie
IN2	Omroep ZWART geeft non-binaire maker Nanoah een veilig thuis voor eerste documentairepodcast
V1	Palestina en Israël: 75+ jaar van menselijk leed en politieke spanning
V2	Horrorfilms en de weg naar diversiteit en representatie