‘It’s the way the world is set up, to believe Africans are less’: The significance of Afrophobia in the way second generation Afro-citizens navigate their Western citizenship - A Comparative Analysis between the Netherlands and Greece.

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The photo on the cover is an abstract captured by Olu Famule, a photographer based in Nigeria. The topless man in the photo conveys vulnerability and the chain-like necklace he wears represents the subjugation still very present in the African experience.

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Introduction

‘Stateless in Europe: I was never given the chance to feel European here in Greece’¹, ‘You may have a Dutch passport, but when are you really Dutch?’², ‘Giannis Antetokounmpo Is the Pride of a Greece That Shunned Him’³, ‘First- and second-generation Dutch wonder whether they'll ever be considered locals’⁴.

These are but a few of the headlines that were generated through a brief Google search on ‘Dutch/Greek citizenship’ and ‘second generation Dutch/Greeks. The conversation surrounding second-generation migrant citizens vis a vis the navigation of their citizenship has been a topic that has amassed contributions in both political and cultural spaces, particularly in the European context (Williams, 2013; de Wenden, 2014; Beaman, 2015; Beaman, 2016)⁵.

In both the Netherlands and Greece, this conversation has centered largely on post-colonial migrants and Middle East and North African (MENA) region migrants in the Netherlands (Hondius, 1999; Komen; 2006; Puar, 2007; van Amersfoort, 2009; Mepschen, Duyvendak, Tonkens, 2010) and historical migrants such as the Albanian, Turkish and Soviet Greeks in Greece (Tsitselikis, 2004; Anagnostou, 2007; Choudhury, 2015). Contributions have often detailed how these second generation minority groups experience some denial of legitimate citizenship and undergo experiences of legal and social ‘othering’ (Boomkens, 2010; Beaman, 2015; Beaman, 2016; Papageorgiou, 2012; Pratsinakis, 2008). Due to this specification, relatively less attention has been paid to more contemporary migrant minority groups and their navigations with citizenship, such as the sub-Saharan African minority.
There’s still a very big sense of invisibility, of not being recognized as existing⁶

African migration towards Greece started as early as in the 1980s⁷ (Papadopoulos, 2015). A significant majority of these early migrants hailed from both Western and Eastern Africa, particularly from countries like Nigeria, Kenya, Eritrea and Ethiopia (Papadopoulos, 2015; Papadopoulos & Fratsea, 2014). From the 2000s, there was an even greater influx of migrants from all African regions, mostly from Somalia, Eritrea, Congo, Sudan, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Cameroon and Sierra Leone, an influx that has prompted a rise in second-generation Afro-Greek citizens⁸ (Papadopoulos & Fratsea, 2014). Despite their prolonged existence in Greece, the Afro-Greek experience has remained largely neglected in Greek migration and integration research (ibid). This proves particular considering that Greeks of African descent remain a community largely “confined to the margins of Greek life” (Goodman, 2019). Much of this marginalization is rooted in the construction of citizenship in Greece.

In Greece, the acquisition of citizenship is based primarily on the policy of ‘jus sanguinis’ - citizenship acquired by blood⁹ (Pratsinakis, 2008; Generation 2.0, 2013; Mavrommatis, 2017). This conceptualization is largely grounded in the desire for Greeks and the Greek state to remain as homogenous as possible, a homogeneity that threatens to be tainted by the rise of non-native citizens and migrants (Anagnostou, 2007). Despite being born in Greece, second generation minorities have had little to no success in acquiring Greek citizenship or a Greek passport¹⁰ and therefore regularly have their Greekness called into question (Odubitan, 2012; Goodman, 2019). This conceptualization of citizenship has severely hindered the access this group has had to full citizenship rights, including voting, holding political office and access to national healthcare (Goodman, 2019). Beyond legal marginalization, the group experiences socio-cultural marginalization as they continue to be referred to as migrants, remain

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⁶ A quote by Jackie Abhulimen, Advocacy Officer at Generation 2.0, an organization catered to second generation Greek citizens. The quote was extracted from a New York Times article by Peter Goodman (2019) on the experiences of Afro-Greek citizens.
⁷ Some conflicting sources, however, indicate that this migration only commenced between the late 1990s and early 2000s (Cheliotis, 2013; Triandafyllidou & Kouki, 2014)
⁸ This is conceptualized as a person born and raised in Greece with a sub-Saharan African background, often times a second-generation or third generation citizen
⁹ See Appendix A for a detailed summary of the different regulations/laws in place pertaining to Greek citizenship acquisition
¹⁰ Refer to Appendix A for regulations and laws
invisible in socio-cultural spaces and often fall victim to racist incidents (Odubitan, 2012; Papageorgiou, 2012; Goodman, 2019).

**What has this country ever done for us?**

Like in Greece, a large inflow of African migrants settled in the Netherlands in the 1980s, hailing from countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Cape Verde, Somalia and Ethiopia (Chelpi-den Hamer, 2009; Confurius et al, 2018). As of 2016, there were nearly 200,000 sub-Saharan Africans living in the Netherlands, with a notable portion being second generation citizens (Confurius et al, 2018). In the Netherlands, as opposed to Greece, citizenship is ‘relatively’ much easier to acquire; even being granted to nationals of Dutch protectorates. However, an emphasis on an unspoken phenotypic similarity, cultural compatibility, language proficiency (read accent), Christo-humanistic values, secularism and historical knowledge appears to shape an ideal of Dutchness that simply accommodates those that are like-minded/appearing (Glastra & Schelder, 2010). The fixation on both ethnic and socio-cultural compatibilities sees the establishment of an *autochtoon-allochtoon* binary, a binary that sees a higher value applied to the indigenous *autochtoonery* due to their genealogical approximation to Dutchness (Schuster, 1999; Winant, 2001; Essed & Trienekens, 2008; Weiner, 2014). Alternatively, the *allochtoonery* is afforded with less legitimacy and are relegated to a tier of citizenship well below that of their fellow *autochtonen* (Umar, 2005). According to Jones (2016), this dichotomy affords the lower ranked *allochtonen* fewer social privileges, opportunities, rights and accessibilities than the more esteemed *autochtoon* citizenry (p. 610).

Despite the marginalizing effect the respective constructions of citizenship in Greece and the Netherlands may have on a non-native citizenry, this research separates the sub-Saharan African

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11 A quote from a 2018 Trouw.nl interview with Jerry Afriyie, a Dutch-Ghanaian activist. He recounts how second generation children in the Amsterdam Zuidoost area responded to his questions on their sense of Dutchness (Julen, 2018)
12 Nationals of protectorates, such as the Dutch Antilles, hold Dutch passports and are legally considered Dutch citizens
13 Essed & Trienekens (2008) discuss how there is an unspoken correlation between Dutchness and whiteness, and how anything that steps outside of the confines of that requirement remains un-Dutch
14 Autochtoon means ‘from the soil’ - a category reserved to the Dutch ethnic citizenry. Alternatively, allochtoon means ‘emerging from another soil’- reserved for Dutch citizens with a non-Western migrant background
experience and asserts that the Afro-citizen experience proves particular when discussing citizenship navigation in relation to a minority ‘other’. This thesis adopts five central concepts: Afrophobia, passing, name, language/accent and generational bond as tools to demonstrate the singularity of the Afro-citizen experience. These concepts are largely rooted in the physiognomic, socio-cultural and historical depiction of the African ‘other’ as visibly and culturally polar to the standards anticipated within white European citizenry spaces (Dyer, 1997; Mills, 1997; Perry, 2001; Essed & Trienekens, 2008; Pratsinakis, 2008; Papastergiou & Takou, 2014; Weiner, 2014; Wekker, 2014; Jones, 2016; Kirtsoglou, 2016).

Consequences of these understandings, this thesis argues, prompt the more particular isolation of the Afro-other, in comparison to other non-native minorities, an isolation best encapsulated by Essed’s (2002) theory of cultural cloning (elaboration forthcoming). The social relevance of this thesis, therefore, is not only in its focus on a largely under-researched group in both the Netherlands and Greece, but similarly in its insistence on the deconstruction of an essentialized Black narrative, a narrative often assumed in both Dutch political and academic spaces (Blakely, 1993; Mok, 1999; Essed & Trienekens, 2008; Hondius, 2014; Weiner, 2014; Wekker, 2014; Zonneveld et al, 2017). Additionally, the use of Essed’s theory reintroduces a novel and relevant understanding to the concept of exclusion and proves fitting in demonstrating how this form of exclusion is experienced differently within the confines of the Afro-citizenry experience.

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15 It is imperative to indicate that this thesis does not aim to discuss the conceptualizations of citizenship in both the Netherlands and Greece as institutionally directed to deliberately disadvantage Afro-citizens, rather it seeks to understand, through the lens of Afrophobia, how these respective conceptualizations can be particularly exclusionary of this group.

16 Essed & Goldberg’s (2002) theory of cultural cloning understands exclusion very much as keeping the wanted in as opposed to the conventional narrative of keeping the unwanted out. The authors discuss how the preference for sameness in predominantly white spaces sees the preference for white, European and male characteristics and a consequent duplication of these standards in various aspects of societal life; including the labor market and at universities. This sees white men acquire high ranking roles, access to research universities while minorities, particularly racialized minorities, remain largely underrepresented

17 See Appendix B for a more elaborate discussion surrounding the historical relevance of this research

18 There has been a tendency to overlap the Afro-Surinamese/Afro-Antillean experience with the African experience through their shared ‘Black’ commonality, however, this thesis insists on their independent particularities, a particularity that sees African minorities excluded differently
Beyond simply understanding how these conceptualizations may be exclusionary of this minority group, this research seeks to understand how this group may experience this exclusion within socio-cultural and socio-institutional confines and how this exclusion may reduce their life chances (definition forthcoming). This thesis therefore poses three guiding sub-research questions:

a. In what ways can the conceptualization of citizenship in the Netherlands and Greece be exclusionary of sub-Saharan Afro Dutch/Greeks?  
b. How does this group experience exclusion (possibly inclusion) as a result of this conceptualization of citizenship?  
c. How does this exclusion (possibly inclusion) affect or benefit their life chances?

Citizenship, in the above context, assumes more forms than simply legal, assuming political, social and civil facets (Marshall, 1950; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Carens, 2000). This thesis conceptualizes citizenship beyond the confines of legality and insists on establishing a difference between legal and socio-cultural citizenship - between de jure and de facto. Tucker (2014) establishes an elaborate distinction between de jure citizenship vis a vis statelessness and de facto citizenship vis a vis statelessness. De jure citizenship pertains to the legal recognition of one’s citizenship and the legal bond one is legally acknowledged as having; this form of citizenship endows beneficiaries with a passport, “entitles the individual to the protection of the state and provides a legal basis for the exercise of many civil and political rights” (UNHCR, 1997; Tucker, 2014). Alternatively, de facto citizenship considers citizenship outside of the legal frame and places citizenship in the context of social reality; a citizenship by fact (Tucker, 2014). Put differently, de facto citizenship pertains to one’s actual recognition and accessibility to both social and legal rights, outside what is inscribed in legal text. One therefore lacks de
facto citizenship when they, irrespective of their equal legal bond to the nation, do not gain access to the same “right receiving or obtaining” tier of citizenry as “other more valued citizens” (Tucker, 2014).

For the purpose of clarity, this thesis will be divided into four distinct chapters. The first chapter will present a thoroughly researched theoretical framework/literature review that discusses all central themes, including Afrophobia, passing, name, language/accent and generational bond in great detail. In addition to these five themes, the concepts of exclusion and life chances will be discussed and their relevance to the Afro-experience emphasized. This section will explore an array of texts that delve deeper into the fabric of the separate concepts and demonstrate the different positions assumed by different authors while respecting the evolution of conversation on the respective topic. The second chapter will discuss the methodology adopted and will justify the use of interviews as the appropriate tool used for data collection. Beyond this, the section will introduce the apparatus used to code the interviews - hypothesis coding - and elaborate on the inner workings of this method. The second section in this chapter will analyze the collected data, allocate the various interview quotes under different themes and thereafter discuss the results against the three sub-research questions. Conclusions will already be made in this section regarding visible patterns that corroborate the different hypotheses of this thesis and the new discoveries that introduce unexpected trajectories. The third and final chapter will consist of the general conclusion, whereby the three sub-research questions will be answered and brief recommendations for further research will thereafter be given.

Reasons for this can be attributed to the internalized belief in the inferiority and undesirability of this group, an inferiority based on an array of gendered, racialized, economic factors that push this group to a second-class tier of citizenry (Mills, 1997; Tucker, 2014; Jones, 2016)
The experience of both Afro-Dutch and Afro-Greek citizens is an amalgamation of various circumstances, circumstances particular to the sub-Saharan African reality. Such circumstances, hereafter concepts, include Afrophobia, physical passing, name, accent, language, and generational bond and background (Piper, 1992; Jones, 2016; Dube; 2018; Nwabara, 2018; Harris, 2018; Agarwal, 2018). It is imperative to indicate that these concepts are not mutually exclusive and that Afrophobia largely influences the four other concepts. The four other concepts are, therefore, a manifestation of Afrophobia and work to illustrate how the power dynamic actualizes to particularize Afro-citizen experience. Other cultural factors most definitely assume relevance in the sub-Saharan African experience; however a limitation of space and time will see this paper discussing solely the aforementioned. Due to the weight and depth of each of these concepts, however, it is paramount to separate and thoroughly discuss each independently, and eventually assess how these concepts marry and set the Afro-citizens experience apart from other ethnic minorities. Much of the scholarship discussing the citizenship experience of racialized minorities in both the Netherlands and Greece has not catered to the sub-Saharan African narrative, with Dutch scholarship centralizing the post-colonial migrant\textsuperscript{20} and MENA\textsuperscript{21} minority experience, and Greek literature concentrating more readily on the Albanian, Turkish or Pontic experience. Within that literature, there has been a fixation on various power dynamics, such as anti-black racism and Islamophobia in the Netherlands and racism in general in Greece (Papageorgiou, 2012; Hondius, 2014; Sharpe, 2014; Wekker, 2016). This thesis, however, asserts that these power dynamics fail to encompass the sub-Saharan Afro-European experience and therefore proposes the concept of Afrophobia in distinguishing how Afro-citizens experience their citizenship and how their exclusion manifests differently. Citizenship remains an indispensable part of this research and is a concept that has been explored differently and variedly by an array of scholars (Marshall, 1950; Pocock, 1995; Joppke, 2010). Although indispensable, citizenship

\textsuperscript{20} Includes the Surinamese, Antillean, Indo/Moluccan experience

\textsuperscript{21} Middle Eastern and North African
remains a peripheral concept throughout this framework, as more attention is sought to be given to the more particular, and specific concepts relating to the Afro-citizen experience. At the end of this section, this thesis hopes to have expounded not only on the ways in which the conceptualization of citizenship in both the Netherlands and Greece can be exclusionary of Afro-citizens, but similarly the manner in which this group experiences this exclusion and how this exclusion consequently reduces their life chances (definition forthcoming)\textsuperscript{22}.

**Afrophobia: You're not even a n*****. You're an African\textsuperscript{23}**

Afrophobia is defined as the hatred/fear towards people of African descent and works to highlight the distinctiveness of the African experience over other minority, particularly Black, experiences. (Dube, 2018; Nwabara, 2018). Afrophobia has been mistakenly understood as anti-black racism, with definitions being applied to all black minority citizens (Red Network, 2010). This thesis, however, disagrees and approaches Afrophobia as an experience specific to those with a recent connection to the continent and to its cultures. For this, it is imperative to create a distinction between racism, anti-black racism and Afrophobia. Racism is rooted in a power dynamic that sees the domination and superiority of a white majority, and the systemic subordination of a non-white minority (Mills, 1997). Racism is not particular to a specific non-white group, but rather encapsulates the non-white experience into one; placing all whites into a group at the top, and non-whites into a group at the bottom (Mills, 1997; Olson, 2004; Alcoff, 2005). Race remains a taboo in both the Netherlands and Greece, a situation that limits the extent to which conversations can be had and actions taken to understand and potentially improve the racial experience of non-native citizens (Essed, 2002; Lawrence, 2005; Papageorgiou, 2012; Essed & Hoving, 2014; Wekker, 2016).

However, different non-white groups experience racism differently. Hondius (2009) elaborates on how “colour is one of the most persistent, unchanging and obvious differences” between majority citizens

\textsuperscript{22} The three research questions proposed by this thesis

\textsuperscript{23} This is a famous line from the movie 'Hotel Rwanda'. Colonel Oliver hurls the sentence at Paul after a disagreement
and minority citizens (p. 221). Therefore, the more explicit and apparent one’s physical attributes are the more polar and different they are likely to be perceived by the majority in group. Blackness, arguably the most apparent skin color, is problematized as polar to whiteness and may place the Black citizenry further down the scale of otherness. Anti-black racism compensates for this gap in discussion by particularizing this understanding of racism to only the Black minority experience (Essed, 1991; Mills, 1997; Gramberg, 1998; Wekker, 2014; Wekker, 2016, Jones, 2016). This conceptualization considers histories such as slavery and imperialism and prioritizes the historical subjugation of Black bodies by White bodies and structures (Wun, 2014; Adjei, 2015; Mustaffa, 2016). Despite the specificity of anti-black racism, this understanding still falls short in distinguishing between the very varied black experiences. This thesis argues that one’s African heritage can merge with other factors, such as skin color, to distinguish the way they experience their reality in a predominantly White society.

Carbado & Gulati (2001) brilliantly introduce the theory of intra-intersectionality to understand the intersection of factors that separate different Black experiences. In their work, “The Intersectional Fifth Black Woman”, the authors utilize an account of a fictional ‘fifth’ black woman named Tyisha, one of five Black women who partake in an interview for a role at a reputable law firm. Out of the five black women, Tyisha is the only one that is not hired. The authors discuss how certain factors, particularly “name, accent, hair, political identity, social identity, marital status, residence, and religious affiliation played a role in Tyisha not being hired and being a victim of discrimination, while the other four black women were not” (p. 717). Intra-intersectionality considers the different factors that can lead to one’s discrimination, even if they fall into the spectrum of the greater black community. Carbado & Gulati (2001) discuss how Tyisha’s personal attributes amalgamated to give her a more apparent “Black racial signification”, a signification less palatable than that exuded by the other black women (p. 718). Other intersectionality theories (Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1991) have erroneously constructed blackness as a monolith and have mistakenly conjoined all black experiences into one. This thesis utilizes intra-intersectionality, an idea of a deeper “Black racial signification”, to create a foundation of understanding as to why the African experience differs from simply the black experience. Morrison (1993) speaks of the
Africanist persona which refers to ‘the denotative and connotative blackness that African peoples have come to signify’ (p. 17). Africaness is not only positioned as polar to other forms of blackness, but similarly carries with it a heavy symbolism when compared to other minorities, a symbolism rooted in color, cultural traits and continent specific stereotypes.

As opposed to anti-black racism, Afrophobia is rooted in more than simply histories of colonialism and slavery but rather in more afro-centric stereotypes such as poverty, backwardness, hunger and illness (Blakely, 1993; Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2009; Adekoya, 2013; Pietsch, 2013; Muižnieks, 2017). Whereby anti-blackness is fixated and rooted more deeply in historical power dynamics and the perpetual White subjugation over Black bodies, Afrophobia permeates a deeper level and merges this historical positioning of the Black other as subordinate with more continent specific realities, such as backwardness, poverty and disease. This merger then works to differentiate and particularize the African experience. In a study carried out on the different perceptions of Africans and African-Americans, Mwakikagile (2007) explores how Africa’s continued label as the “Dark Continent” riddled with disease and war, symbolizes a peculiar level of savagery and backwardness in Africa and within Africans, a barbarism long discarded by Western-based black minority groups (p. 82). Mills (1997) echoes Mwakikagile in asserting that Africa’s label as the ‘Dark Continent’ is due to the assumed “paucity of European contact” with the area, a paucity that affirms the uncivilized and unrefined nature of the continent (p. 13). The distance from such ailments and the perceived ‘civilization’ thrust upon African Americans and African Europeans by a generational existence in the Western world, separates the supposed civilized blacks from the supposed uncivilized ones. This understanding thereby has an effect not only on the perception of Africans, but similarly on the manner in which they are received as people, as citizens.

In the European context, citizens of African descent remain the most targeted and most susceptible group to racism and racial violence (Michael, 2015; ENAR, 2017). Michael (2015) explores how due to the overtness of skin color and the perceptions attached to Africans, Afro-Europeans regularly fall victim to “political hate speech, racist crimes, racist violence, intimidation, racist bullying and illegal
practices” (p. 5). These direct acts of racism are often coupled with institutional acts such as “discriminatory treatment in housing, education and service provision, poor policing practices, poor responses to racist crimes, lack of access to healthcare and employment” (p. 5). These circumstances work to disenfranchise Afro-citizens from their full rights to navigate these spaces with the same privilege appointed to the non-racialized citizenry.

**Afrophobia in Greece:** “Go back to your country**24**!”

Greece’s history with an African ‘Other’ has been comparatively limited due to the absence of a contemporary colonial past and a restricted confrontation with an African subject/colony/slave/neighbor. However, according to ancient Greek script, ancient Grecians did in actuality confront an African other, the Ethiopian, in antiquity; regularly regarding them as uncivilized, filthy (as a result of skin color), untidy and primitive (Tsri, 2016). Tsri (2016) expands on how ancient Greek texts depicted the Afro-Ethiopian ‘other’ as “crafty southerners, lustful, darkly mysterious and sexually fascinating, and as backward barbarians addicted to horrid practices” (p. 18). Africans were distinguished by their dark skin and physical attributes, a distinction that applied the Greek term ‘melas’, meaning black, to Africans. Melas connotes more than skin color, including symbolisms such as evil, sorrow and death (Snowden, 1971; Hannaford, 1996; Byron, 2002). These connotations facilitated the association “between dark skin and evil”, exacerbated the hatred for a dark ‘other’ and fermented the inferiority of ‘melas’-skinned ‘Others’ within Greek civilization (p. 15). These conceptions have persisted into modernity, with stereotypes of inferiority, laziness, criminality, filth, backwardness, disease and poverty being closely aligned to Africans - or to those with an African background - in Greece (Papageorgiou, 2012; Awad, 2013; Karamanidou; 2016). These understandings work to relegate Afro-Greek nationals to a tier of ‘citizenship’ well below that available to native Greek citizens, a relegation justified on the grounds of presumed African inferiority and subordination.

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24 A common phrase hurled at non-native (more often black, African or Asian minorities). Information discovered through interview process
Right-wing parties such as the Golden Dawn have labored to perpetuate and magnify these stereotypes, and knowingly maintain the inferior position of citizenship held by minorities, through the use of diction that encourages the purification of Greece of its contaminating ‘others’ (Papageorgiou, 2012). Such rhetoric includes statements such as “we have to keep Greece clean” and repeated accusations of migrant saturation in the job market, saturation intended to destroy Greece’s homogeneity (ibid). Despite the applicability of Golden Dawn’s rhetoric to every non-native minority group, the experiences of Africans differ noticeably from those of other migrants. In contrast with the Albanian or Turkish minorities, ‘blackness’ is a far more explicit attribute and impossible to conceal (Hondius, 2014). In the Greek context, as opposed to the Dutch context, blackness automatically equates Africanness, a generalization brought on by a contemporary encounter with a black ‘other’ through the migration of black refugee and asylum seekers during the ‘Refugee Crisis’ (Papadopoulos, 2015). The equation of blackness with Africanness and Africanness with refugee and asylum seeking clusters categories of African Greeks to a standard of refugeedom, a standard that disregards the generational Greekness this group has assumed.

Africaness, therefore, provokes a stigma rooted in the belief that Africa remains diseased, unstable, illiterate and poverty-stricken and that Africans in Greece are simply vessels carrying the same dysfunctionalities in search of a new disposal point (Pietsch, 2013). Their presence in Greece is understood as their fleeing from conflict, placing them at the mercy of Greek generosity, a position that furthers their subordination to Greek gatekeepers, a subordination that affirms their inferiority and their lack of agency (Papadopoulos, 2015). This understanding sees second generation Afro-Greeks still readily being referred to as migrants and their generational existence in the country disregarded (Papadopoulos, 2015; Vangi & Odubitan, 2016). This relatively ‘contemporary’ encounter with the ‘African’ sparks a level of unfamiliarity and hostility that facilitates the heightened resentment for Africans, perhaps a resentment more embedded and conspicuous than that experienced by the more familiar Albanian or

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25 There was an influx of African migrants in the 1980s mostly from Ghana, Nigeria, Ethiopia and Congo, these are the parents of most second generation Afro-Greek citizens. The second influx (2008-2011) consists of Somali, Senegalese and Guinean nationals (Papadopoulos, 2015).
Turkish ‘other’ (Generation 2.0, 2013; Papageorgiou, 2012). Despite the ‘other’ label applied to both Albanian and Afro-Greek citizens (Adamczyk, 2016), Albanian Greeks have experienced a historical relationship with the Greek nation, with some ethnicities having belonged to the Greek state in the past or belonged to a marginalized group within the Greek state\textsuperscript{26}. Alternatively, Afro-Greeks have had no ethnic or cultural affiliation with the state, facilitating their rejection as being too diametric and consequently their identity being insufficiently Greek (Anagnostou, 2007; Mavrommatis, 2017). This experience privileges Albanian-Greeks with the ability to blend into Greekness as a result of cultural compatibilities and phenotype (forthcoming), a privilege far removed from the Afro-Greek experience, whose “Black racial signification” is far too difficult to conceal or deflect.

Afrophobia in the Netherlands: “Suppose she brings a Negro home\textsuperscript{27}…”

In comparison to Greece, the Netherlands has had a much closer and historically embedded confrontation with Africaness. The history of slavery in the Netherlands introduced both the nation and its people to an African population they referred to as “cannibals”, “uncivilized” and “unclean” (Essed & Trienekens, 2008; Weiner, 2014). The Dutch assumed the position of superior/teacher/civilized while the intractable Africans assumed the role of inferior/student/uncivilized (Bijl, 2012; Jones, 2012; Hondius, 2014; Weiner, 2014; Sharpe, 2014; Jones, 2016; Wekker, 2016). Essed & Trienekens (2008) explore how Dutch understandings of sub-Saharan Africans have evolved “from black African cannibals at the height of colonialism to current media representations dominated by famine, corruption and warlords”, understandings that continue to prevail today and determine the way sub-Saharan Afro-Dutch citizens maneuver within Dutch society (p. 63).

By virtue of the difference between Afrophobia and anti-black racism, it is imperative to distinguish between the Afro-Surinamese/Afro-Antillean\textsuperscript{28} experience and the sub-Saharan African

\textsuperscript{26} Soviet Greeks were often more welcomed than Albanian or Turkish Greeks. However, a Muslim minority in the region of Thrace brought the Muslim other much closer to Greece than the African ‘Other’ (Pratsinakis, 2008).

\textsuperscript{27} As explored in both Wekker (2014) and Wekker (2016), a Dutch talk show host said this on air when talking about his teenage daughters beginning to date. The comment was received with little reaction from the audience.
experience, with the Afro-Surinamese and Antillean migrant similarly falling under the category of blackness. Chelpi-den Hamer (2009) highlights how, as opposed to Afro-Surinamese and Afro-Antillean Dutch citizens, Afro-Dutch citizens have been the beneficiaries of very few policy considerations. Both Amersfoort (2009) and Weiner (2014) respectively expand on how the Afro-Surinamese integration journey has often been considered the “model of integration”, a title rooted in the relatively easy way Afro-Surinamese descendants have managed to integrate and assimilate into Dutch culture. Cooper (2018) insists that the “black experience is not a monolith” and that varied experiences not only determine varied cultures, but similarly determine the way one is received and perceived. The influences of a Dutch colonial presence in the nation privileged\textsuperscript{29} the nationals with knowledge of history, norms, language and name when navigating their citizenship within Dutch spaces. These factors amalgamate to grant Afro-Surinamese Dutch citizens the privilege of ‘passing’, the ability for one to conform and adopt a different racial background due to their physical appearance, name, linguistics and background (Balshaw, 1999; Khanna & Johnson, 2010; Petchauer, 2015; Harris, 2018).

**Passing: White, Whiter, Whitest**

Afro-Surinamese Dutchmen and Albanian, Turkish and Pontic Greeks benefit from a level of passing, a privilege that places these groups closer to the conceptualization of Greekness and Dutchness and endows them with an experience of citizenship closer to that experienced by a native citizenry (Mills, 1997; Harris, 2018). Passing is a term often applied to biracial individuals, primarily those with a mixed European-minority background connoting the ability to “pass” for White or the ability to be perceived as White, based mostly on a “skin color and physical appearance” that closely resembles a “White European descent phenotype” (Harris, 2018, p. 2073). Certain privileges are acquired through one’s ability to “pass”, including the privilege to circumvent racialized structural barriers, bypass racism to a certain extent, an exposure to more socio-economic opportunities, the possibility to be recognized as ‘white’ and consequently a legitimate member of the in-group, a non-minority (Piper, 1992; Harris, 2018). Mills

\textsuperscript{29} Post-colonial migrants to the Netherlands

\textsuperscript{29} This is not to condone colonialism or suggest that any form of privileges is received by the subjugated. Colonialism is simply a system that rewards oppressor and deprives oppressed.
(1997) speaks knowledgeably on a ‘Racial Contract’ that establishes whiteness as the “somatic norm” whereby “beautiful and fair races” have continuously been “pitted against ugly and dark races” (p. 61). He delves deeper into phenotype semblances and reveals how “some nonwhites were close enough to Caucasians in appearance that they were sometimes seen as beautiful, attractive in an exotic way” (p. 61). However, those more phenotypically distant from “the Caucasoid somatotype”, essentially “Africans and Australian Aborigines”, were stigmatized as “aesthetically repulsive and deviant” (p. 61).

In the Greek context, Albanian, Former Soviet and Turkish Greeks have a privilege in their approximation to the “Caucasoid somatotype”, rather an approximation to physical Greekness that not only creates the possibility for this group to be perceived as Greek, but similarly destigmatizes them. Adamczyk (2016) explores how despite the initial hostilities towards Albanians following their influx arrival in the 1990s, this hostility transformed into tolerance once Africans began to arrive. The Albanian minority group was heralded for their ability to “blend in with Greek society” and their “less threatening appearance” (p. 57). Relatively lower expectations are set for this group to acquire Greekness when compared to Afro-Greek citizens. The Albanian other’s conversion to “Greek Orthodoxy”, their “learning of the Greek language” and their adoption of “Greek names” proves sufficient for them to be deemed “safe” and “well assimilated”, when the same standards are regarded as insufficient when fulfilled by Afro-Greeks (Adamczyk, 2016). The threatening imagery of an African ‘other’ coupled with the explicitness of his/her/their race work to demote this part of the citizenry to a threatening, lazy and unworthy member of Greek society.

Although North African Dutch citizens experience their share of prejudice and continued exclusion (Essed & Goldberg, 2002; Wekker, 2009; Ghorashi, 2014; Siebers & Dennissen, 2014), the relative discreteness of their racial markup when compared to Afro-Dutch citizens, may endow this group, particularly those that ‘pass’ for Southern Europeans, with certain privileges. This is not to assert that all North African and Middle Eastern Dutch minority citizens have a seat at the table of Dutch, white privilege; rather it implies that in day to day navigations and confrontations, the fairer skinned, blue-eyed Turkish Dutchman has the benefit of his/her/their closeness to a European phenotype than the African.
This may allow this minority group to bypass various acts of racism and rejection, a benefit not readily available to the African with a “Black racial signification” (Carbado & Gulati, 2001, p. 718). This notion, and the privileges it endows, re-emphasizes a social “skin tone stratification” between the overtly black African and the lighter skinned and more ‘passing’ Turkish or Moroccan, a stratification that places Afro-citizens at the bottom and singularizes how they experience their exclusion, an exclusion different from other minorities (Hondius, 1999).

**Name: I'm sorry, I can't pronounce that**

It is important to note that the concept of ‘passing’ transcends physicality. The name one has can be a tool that enables them to pass for Dutch or Greek, particularly when seen in writing or heard telephonically. Much of the literature surrounding name discrimination and name favoritism is centered within the recruitment context (Bursell, 2007; Andriessen et al, 2012; Licheva, 2018). This scholarship finds that when applicant’s bear a ‘native’ sounding name they are more likely to have their CVs viewed/opened and to be summoned for an interview (McGinnity & Lunn, 2011). Alternatively, when applicants have a foreign sounding name, the chances of their CVs being viewed are far slimmer than the former (Licheva, 2018). Because of the slave trade, it is not uncommon for Afro-Surinamese minorities to bear Dutch passing surnames, including Snip, Vrede, Schouten, Breeveld, Buyne, Wekker, amongst others, which bestows this minority citizen group with the possibility to ‘pass’ as Dutch when seen in writing or over the phone.

Name endows Afro-Surinamese minority citizens with a privilege of discreteness, a privilege inaccessible to sub-Saharan citizens, with names such as Abeyang, Onodugo, Sarpong, and Mohammed being indicative of a lineage far from Dutchness and vulnerable to discrimination (Ahmed, 2010; Rubenstein & Brenner, 2014; Duguet, L’Horty, Petit, 2014). Osueke (2011) explores how African names often spark ridicule due to the attachments they have to a continent deemed backward and diseased; a ridicule prompted by the “unorthodox” nature of the names and their supposed inability to be pronounced. The further away these names stand from the norm, the less they embody presumed Dutchness. Afrophobic stereotypes such as backwardness combine with this belief in African polarity to Dutch
culture to complicate the way Afro-Dutch citizens navigate their citizenship, as opposed to Afro-Surinamese-Dutch citizens (Essed, 2002; Jones, 2016). These complications are heavily rooted in not only the perceived polarity of Africans from the standard of Dutchness, but similarly how citizenship, rather Dutchness, simply encompasses that which is familiar, European, or perceived white.

Both Licheva (2018) and Andriessen et al’s (2012) pieces unveil the closeted bias manifest in the Dutch labor market, a market that disproportionately favors those that are native Dutch, or at least those they believe are, through name. This system benefits the more Dutch sounding Surinamese applicant over the sub-Saharan Afro-citizen, often positioned as unintelligent, unorthodox and foreign. Afrophobia conceives the African as unintelligent and consequently too inept for the workforce (Pietsch, 2013; Wekker, 2014). With name being a central indicator of ethnic background (Osueke, 2011), stereotypes centered on African laziness work to exacerbate their undesirability to the employer, landlord or bank. These exclusions separate Afro-citizens from the privileges readily available to a top-tier citizenry, a citizenry that conforms to orthodox naming standards that reflect ‘true Dutchness’. This idea not only relegates Afro-Dutchmen to a second-class citizenry, but similarly reveals the impenetrability of Dutchness and Dutch citizenship, a sphere not easily accessible to the unconventional.

In the Greek context, Adamczyk (2016) discusses how Albanian Greeks have migrated from resented ‘other’ to a more tolerated part of society. He offers reasons behind this transition and attributes Albanian adoption of Greek names as a fundamental factor propagating their changed reception. One’s ability to pass brings them closer to certain privileges sometimes only accessible to the top-tier citizenry, including easier access to the labor market, education and other socio-economic opportunities (Harris, 2018). In combination with their phenotypic approximation to the Greek phenotype, the adoption of Greek names further facilitates the Albanian minority’s ability to ‘pass’ and be received and perceived as Greek. The Afro-Greek reality on the other hand, is experienced differently due to the explicitness of their race and the assumed polarity of their names (Osueke, 2011). A racialized Greek understanding of citizenship that places Greekness at the top and Otherness at the bottom (Lawrence, 2005) continuously victimizes the most apparent other, the black African.
Beyond simply name, both language and accent are apparatuses that can be utilized to “pass”. In the Netherlands, understandings pertaining to good citizenship are often grounded on one’s language proficiency, which subliminally alludes to the accent they have (Glastra & Schelder, 2010). Glastra & Schelder (2010) coin the term “citizenship-as-language-proficiency policy”, whereby one’s proficiency in the Dutch language equates their level of integration and affirms their sense of Dutchness. Similar expectations are exerted in Greece, whereby the exceptional knowledge of Greek is an essential prerequisite for the acquisition of legal citizenship (Pratsinakis, 2008). According to Khanna & Johnson (2010) “verbal identification/disidentification”, the manner in which one is able to shed off or put on a particular accent, is a common method adopted in order to pass (p. 381). Eddo-Lodge (2017) discusses how second-generation citizens have had to change everything from name to “accents in order to fit the status-quo” (p. 208).

For minority citizens, the influences of background, slang, mother tongue and intonation work to compromise the closeness to Dutchness this group has acquired, and discredits their legitimacy as ‘true’ Dutchmen, simply because they speak Dutch with a different or unconventional accent (Jones, 2016; Agarwal, 2018). Agarwal (2018) categorizes this response as ‘accenticism’, the conviction that accent indicates the background/group/class one is from, which consequently excludes those with divergent accents, irrespective of their fluency in Dutch.

In the scenario where an Afro-Dutch citizen’s speech is riddled with slang and a differing intonation, ‘passing’ is not possible and therefore afrophobic stereotypes that place Africans at the lowest scale of intelligence may attribute the citizen’s poor Dutch to their perceived lack of dexterity and therefore disregard him/her/they in the labor market, bank or in social spaces (Pietsch, 2013). In a scenario whereby an Afro-Dutch citizen does indeed speak with the expected diction, their ability to ‘pass’ for Dutch can and will be confined to telephone calls or remote interactions, however, their explicit physicality and preconceived Afrophobic sentiments may combine to delegitimize their suitability once they present themselves at the office, bank or at the landlord’s. Afrophobic understandings of African
intelligence, combined with a societal familiarity with the Afro-Surinamese or Afro-Antillean diction – which is largely influenced by Dutch diction, with Afro-Surinamese and post-colonial Caribbean migrants “having been trained in Dutch language schools whether in Suriname or the Netherlands” (Essed, 1991, p. 2003) – combine to particularize the Afro-citizens’ experience with accent in relation to their navigation with Dutch citizenship.

Kirtsoglou (2016) elaborates on how beyond physical attributes, Greek language skills are decisive in determining the ‘other’ in the midst of the natives. Pratsinakis (2008) develops this idea and highlights how language skills, amongst other prerequisites, are essential in accessing legal citizenship. Thus, the failure to converse in ‘proper’ Greek inevitably obstructs one’s accessibility to citizenship and demerits their legitimacy as citizens. Adamczyk (2016) uncovers how Albanian minority citizens were able to be accepted into Greek society due to “them learning the Greek language” (p. 56). A combination of racial and cultural explicitiveness, Afrophobia and dissimilarity in accent coalesce to delegitimize the Afro-Greek’s approximation and right to Greekness.

**Generational bond and background: But...where are you really from?**

Generational bond and background mainly focuses on how one’s parental or generational lineage can work to restrain, or perhaps amplify, their inclusion. In comparison to the other modes of ‘passing’ previously elaborated on, this concept may appear more abstract. For clarity, an example is necessitated. The experiences of Grace Ndjako\(^{30}\) prove fitting. In a December 2018 talk at the ISS campus in Den Haag, Grace elaborated on how she had always had an affinity for philosophy and was amongst one of the smartest in her middle school. However, when her advies\(^{31}\) were published, Grace was marked poorly and was required to attend a high school at a lower level. However, her parents believed in her abilities and brilliance and thus sought to dispute the results and the level of schooling their daughter had been condemned to. Having migrated from Congo, however, their command of the Dutch language was insufficient and therefore their complaints were readily disregarded. Ndjako’s parents’ inability to

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\(^{30}\) a Dutch-Congolese Teaching Assistant in Non-Western Philosophy at the University of Amsterdam

\(^{31}\) The results of a standardized exam taken by Dutch middle schoolers to determine the level of high school they will attend
converse in Dutch delegitimized their grievances and automatically placed them in an outsider category. This works to affirm the vitality of generational belonging in the experience of a second-generation citizen. When queried, Grace unveiled that white, middle class Dutch parents are regularly more successful regarding objecting undesirable advies, owing to their native proficiency in Dutch, their socio-economic standing, and the advantage of perceived white intelligence (Sanders, 1997; Acker, 2006). It is paramount to indicate that although there are notable overlaps between generational bond and the language/accent concept, significant differences do exist. Where the language/accent concept predominantly discusses how an emphasis on accent and language in both the Dutch and Greek conceptualizations of citizenship works to exclude those deemed to sound unconventional, generational bond considers language but prioritizes how a generational presence and closeness with Dutchness and Greekness approximates some minorities over others, such as the Afro-Surinamese over the African.

Afro-Surinamese parents’ elevated level of Dutch proficiency would enable them, evidently not as readily or as frequently as white, Dutch parents, to negotiate their child’s placement. Surinamese minority citizens outperform other minorities in terms of higher education representation (Crul, 2007; Vasta, 2007; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2010). Equally, their generational proficiency in the Dutch language may work to verify their child’s proximity to Dutchness, discarding their approximation to labels such as ‘foreigner’ or ‘newcomer’ (Janssens, 2015). Afrophobia, however, situates Africans at the base of the hierarchy of intelligence (Pietsch, 2013), which may work to verify the child’s inadequate advies, but may similarly connect their parents’ ‘poor Dutch’ to an innate stupidity.

A prerequisite established to obtain Greek citizenship is the ability to prove one’s “genuine bond” to the Greek nation (Mavrommatis, 2007, p. 491). Figgou (2015) elaborates on how the 2010 decision to provide citizenship to second-generation Greeks was declared unconstitutional two years later on the grounds that no emphasis was put on the significance of proving a bond to the Greek nation. This prerequisite often works to marginalize and deny rights to a portion of the populace without a historical or generational connection to the Hellenic Republic (Triandafyllidou, 2014). In comparison to Afro-Greeks, Albanian, Turkish and Former Soviet Greek minorities have undergone a historical and generational
process of Hellenization, by way of their earlier contacts with the Greek state, their ethno-cultural similarities to the nation and occasionally their Greek ethnic origins (Pratsinakis, 2008). Afro-Greeks do not share the same history with Greece as do the former minority groups, a polarity that is emphasized and is proof of their generational “unwillingness to assimilate” (Papastergiou & Takou, 2014, p. 41).

**Exclusion and Life chances: Keeping the wanted in**

The above factors not only coalesce to highlight the particularity of the African experience against that of other minorities, but similarly underline the Afro citizen’s exclusion and its uniqueness in both Greek and Dutch spaces. Exclusion, this thesis asserts, is not a matter of directly blocking and obstructing the access of brown/black/African minority citizens, but rather a system that intends to maintain white, Dutch and Greek homogeneity in societal, labor, educational and housing spaces. In other words, exclusion is operationalized as a tool that includes, reproduces and upholds white Dutchness or Greekness, or any identity (groups able to pass for Greek/Dutch in physicality, name, accent/language, and generational bond) that approximates close enough to those standards. Africanness, as explored above, has been positioned as straying furthest from these standards and is therefore eliminated from this realm of sameness. Essed & Goldberg’s (2002) theory of cultural cloning proves necessary in understanding the inner-working of this type of exclusion and how it permeates both Dutch and Greek society. The scholars define cultural cloning as the act of replication, a tool used to problematize the continuous and systematic reproduction of whiteness, masculinity, Europeanness in various social domains, including the labor market and educational institutions.

The act of cloning affirms a preference of sameness, a sameness that needs to be reproduced, protected and duplicated within various spheres. This sameness is positioned as standing in stark contrast to the polarity embodied by Afro-Dutch/Greek citizens, a polarity that places this group further out of the realm of physical and cultural compatibility than other minority groups. This preference sees an overrepresentation of white, male employees in higher-ranking roles and a saturation of white professors across most Dutch universities while a simultaneous underrepresentation of Afro-citizens persists. Papadopoulos (2015) elaborates on how Afro-Greeks remain saturated in low level service jobs such as
waitressing and call center roles, a saturation determined by their inaccessibility to higher, homogenous and native-Greek reserved roles. The sharing of styles, norms, values, dress, accent, language, phenotype and background creates a space of comfort, a comfort that can and will be disrupted by the entrance of a perceived polar, fraternal member, such as the African other. As can be seen, cultural cloning is not established on the exclusion of otherness, but rather on the inclusion of sameness. Non-native minority citizens are perceived as not being able to fulfil every criterion demanded and are therefore unable to access the opportunities available to white, male nationals. Afro-citizens are perceived as too diametric and their hiring or higher institution placement as misplaced and threatening to the status quo (Chorianopoulos, 2009; Papadopoulos, 2015; Kirtsoglou, 2016). Ethnic minorities are often assumed to come with problems that the hiring company or institution may have to deal with (Essed, 2002). Relaying this to Afrophobia, reservations based on stereotypes that position Africans as culturally furthest from this idea of sameness may justify the non-hiring or the rejection of application of said minority.

By virtue of said circumstances, ethnic minority groups may experience a limitation in their life chances. Weber defines ‘life chances’, or ‘Lebenschancen’, as the opportunities one has to change the course of their life, in other words, the extent of access an individual has in improving their quality of life. The inability to access certain spaces or certain ranks in a long and marginalizing hierarchy, limit the possibilities available to Afro-citizens to circumvent the cycle of subordination and inevitably bypass structural exclusion. Combining Essed’s conceptualization, Weber’s consequences, and the tools of Afrophobia, that places Africans as both physically, mentally and culturally polar to this idea of sameness, the Afro-Dutch/Greek experience emerges as distinct and particular.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the various factors that amalgamate to separate the African experience from that of other minorities when their citizenship is being negotiated. As opposed to racism and anti-black racism, Afrophobia considers continent specific and historical stereotypes that particularize the African experience. These stereotypes and understandings determine the manner in which this group is received and perceived, both as individuals and as members of the citizenry. The varied
conceptualizations of citizenship in both the Netherlands and Greece, that prioritize both a phenotypic and cultural homogeneity, works to exclude, or delegitimize, the extent of Dutchness or Greekness afforded to Afro-citizens. Due to the polarity of color, accent, background, name and the intertwining effects of Afrophobic sentiments - sentiments that associate Africans with stupidity, dirt, backwardness, ineptness and overall inferiority - Afro-citizens assume perhaps the lowest rank of citizenship and are constructed as the physical ‘other’ and at times, even as the cultural opposite. Their exclusion is grounded in their inability to conform to a standard of ‘sameness’ presented within both Dutch and Greek socio-institutional spaces, a sameness that seeks to perpetuate homogenous Dutchness and Greekness, a space that can be available to minorities that are indeed able to ‘pass’. The inability to pass and penetrate realms of sameness limits the Afro-citizens accessibility to certain schools, jobs, homes and loans. This restriction consequently hinders the life chances of the Afro citizen in restricting their ability to better their quality of life. The following section will explore the personal experiences of said migrants and offer a window, albeit minimal and atypical, into the experiences of exclusion as an Afro-Dutch and Afro-Greek citizen.
Methodology: Methods and Results and Discussion

Research design & Variables

The research adopted a qualitative approach in its desire to best understand the reasons behind certain phenomena. This analysis and discussion made use of Johnny Saldana’s (2009) piece *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* in order to select an appropriate method to analyze the data gathered. Within this piece, hypothesis coding was selected as the necessary approach\(^\text{32}\) to analyzing the interviews. Saldana (2009) defines hypothesis coding as the “application of a researcher-generated, predetermined list of codes onto qualitative data specifically to assess a researcher-generated hypothesis"\(^\text{33}\) (p. 123). Codes pertaining to this research included Afrophobia, passing, name, language/accents, exclusion and life chances whereby interview texts were divided into these separate codes. A *diary*\(^\text{34}\) was maintained in order to document other themes that arose throughout the analysis that were not entirely premeditated.

Methods

Interviews were chosen as the most appropriate mode of data collection due to the in-depth level of responses, enabling the heightened understanding behind certain trends (Tseng et al., 2009). Due to the limitation of space, eleven interviews were carried out, five in the Netherlands and six in Greece. The interviews were all carried out in English. It is important to indicate that the interviews were not intended to fulfil representative purposes, rather to give nuance to the previously discussed concepts and to potentially uncover new ones. Within this method, semi-structured interviews were used, which gave respondents an enhanced ability to speak freely and extensively without a rigid interview scheme (Fox, 2009). The Hague and Athens, respectively, were chosen as the focal points for the research. I chose the Hague as a suitable location not only because I live there, making interviews much easier to organize, but

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\(^{32}\) See Appendix D to understand why the Hypothesis Coding method was the most appropriate for this research

\(^{33}\) In other words, codes are pre-established themes derived from a hypothesis that are thereafter utilized to understand and aggregate the responses given by respondents.

\(^{34}\) A memo to note down new concepts/codes that arise throughout both the interview process and when transcriptions are taking place
similarly because The Hague is known to be the most segregated city in the Netherlands (Sleutjes, de Valk, Ooijevaar, 2018). I chose Athens due to its capital city status and its saturation with second generation Greek nationals (Papageorgiou, 2012).

**Procedure & Sample**

Respondents were chosen on the basis of age (18 years or older), a sub-Saharan African background, birth and an upbringing in the respective countries of analysis. They included eight female participants and three male participants. It would have been beneficial to have a balance between both genders; however, the distinction did not prove vital within this respective research. Reasons for this can be attributed to the priorities of the research; a prioritization of cultural background over gender and an interest in a cultural and racialized experience over a gendered one. All of the participants were second generation citizens and had parents that lived in the respective countries for an average of 25 to 30 years. All the participants volunteered to be interviewed and were made aware of the purpose of the research prior to starting and provided their consent to being recorded in accordance with ethical standards. Dutch respondents were sourced using a combination of snowball sampling and criterion sampling. The former mode of sampling was beneficial for this research as Afro-Greeks, and at times Afro-Dutch citizens, were difficult to locate independently within predominantly white spaces/countries.

In the Netherlands, the initial respondents were sourced from an African Association group on Facebook, and thereafter were other respondents referred to me. The same methods were used when sourcing Greek respondents whereby the Facebook Group ‘Generation 2.0’ (a group that caters to second generation Greek citizens) was used to find respondents. I similarly made use of the ‘ANASA’ group on Facebook, a group dedicated to African culture in Greece, to source respondents. More than half of the Greek respondents were referred to the researcher. Due to distance, the Greek respondents were interviewed via Skype, and the Dutch face-to-face (one Dutch interview was carried out via Skype due to the availability of the respondent). Skype or online modes of interviewing are often heralded as being better than traditional modes of face-to-face interviews because of the benefit of flexibility available to

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35 See methodology appendix
both researcher and participant, cost and time efficiency and accessibility to socially marginalized groups (Sullivan, 2012; Deakin & Wakefield, 2013; Janghorban et al, 2014).

**Results and Discussion**

The following section consists of analyzed quotes from the eleven interviews executed. The respondents spoke about an array of experiences, touching upon systemic Afrophobia, the manner in which Africanness is constructed against both Dutchness and Greekness, tiers of citizenship between white majority and African minority, exclusion, racism and the negative social perception of the African. This section saw it best fit to summarize these experiences and quotes into different overarching themes and thereafter place them under the three different research questions. The first three themes, *Citizenship and Rights*, *Afrophobia, passing and the hierarchies of blackness* and *Language* fell under the first research question: ‘In what ways can the conceptualization of citizenship in the Netherlands and Greece be exclusionary of sub-Saharan Afro Dutch/Greeks? The next three themes, *School, Housing and Jobs* fell under the second research question: ‘How does this group experience exclusion (possibly inclusion) as a result of this conceptualization of citizenship?’ The final theme, *Life Chances*, fell under the final research question: ‘How does this exclusion (possibly inclusion) affect or benefit their life chances?’

In accordance with the confidentiality agreement reached between the researcher and the respondents, Greek respondents were labeled GR (Greek respondent) and Dutch respondents were labeled DR (Dutch respondent) throughout the analysis. Numbers ranging from 1 to 6 were thereafter applied to distinguish between the separate respondents, for example GR1 or GR4 or DR1 or DR 5.

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36 It should be considered that Skype interviews, or remote interviews, do bear their share of limitations, including interrupted connections, a slight loss in familiarity between researcher and respondent and perhaps a heightened likelihood of misunderstandings.
Citizenship and rights

*I have the same rights...on paper*[^37]

A recurring assertion by all Dutch respondents was that citizenship for them was something they were granted in writing and constitution, but not in everyday navigations and recognitions. Jones (2016) discusses the politics of citizenship in the Netherlands and how these understandings “distribute status, rights, opportunities, securities and wealth” depending on one’s ethno-cultural background (p. 609). DR1 insists "on paper I am a Dutch citizen, I have all the same rights on paper [...] but do I use my rights? No. Why? Because I am still afraid, I can't speak my mind without repercussion"[^38]. DR1’s sentiments are echoed by DR2 who asserts that "on paper I have the same rights definitely, but in reality no". DR4 creates an ‘us-we’ distinction in asserting that "even though they say it, we don't have the same rights". Jones (2016) insists that “the racialized, gendered and classed processes” innate to the Dutch conceptualization of citizenship does not simply create a grouping of “privileged, elevated unconditional citizens”, a grouping largely afforded with both legal and social rights, but similarly a grouping of “non-citizens/second class citizens/conditional citizens”, those afforded with less rights in actuality (Jones, 2016, p. 610). DR4 bases this understanding on racial, physical and cultural incompatibilities combined with an impenetrable ideal of Dutchness, saying "we don't fit in the perfect picture of Dutchness [...] I don't fit into their idea, no, not at all". Beaman (2016) presents the idea of cultural citizenship which assesses how citizenship “operates for marginalized groups” who hold legal citizenship but remain culturally excluded and inadvertently removed from the citizenry (p. 850). This concept considers citizenship beyond its legality, and examines the “norms, values, practices, and behaviors that are seen as normative” as indicators of one’s legitimacy, or illegitimacy, within the citizenry (p. 850). The respondents attribute this dichotomy to their inability to conform to what Dutchness entails, an ideal

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[^37]: This is a quotation from one of the interviews. The following mini-headlines will similarly be quotations from the interviews.
[^38]: DR1 made this statement in the context of racial inequalities. She expresses how her minority, African status has barred her from being able to criticize the Netherlands on various institutions without fear of repercussion e.g. her university.
constructed polar to the ideals embodied by non-Dutch natives (Jones, 2016; Schrover & Schinkel, 2012). By virtue, the denial of cultural citizenship on the part of society and the state alike alienates the minority citizen, an alienation founded on cultural grounds. The consequence still remains particular for the Afro-citizen, whose cultural associations with backwardness, inferiority and illiteracy may work to further alienate them from assuming true Dutchness (Pietsch, 2013).

*Obviously I don’t have the same rights*

A diversity of answers was given by the Greek respondents when probed on whether they believed they shared the same citizen rights as native Greek nationals. When queried, GR5 responded "of course not, obviously not". GR1 insists, "we believe, we believe, but we don't have [...] it's just how it is, you know". GR1 emphasizes that "if the upper echelons don't want you to get in, you're not going to get in, or if you get in, you get in after a long time". Unlike the Dutch respondents, Greek respondents denied their accessibility to citizenship rights with a lot more fervor; speaking of rights as somewhat a fantasy, a fantasy out of reach for non-natives. This can be attributed to the rigid application of the ‘jus sanguinis’ condition in Greek citizenship. Pratsinakis (2008) notes how the jus sanguinis condition is intended to “sustain control of the gateway to the Greek national community and to preserve its cherished homogeneity” and therefore dismiss that which runs polar to it (p. 63). Socio-culturally, there exists a strong sentiment within Greek society that migrants or non-native citizens are “a threat to the cultural homogeneity of Greek society” (Lawrence, 2005, p. 317). The “upper echelons” police the caliber of citizens they permit to enter this space of Greekness, but an amalgamation of Afrophobia and an insistence on cultural and phenotypic homogeneity see the exclusion of Afro-citizens, such as GR1. GR1’s sentiments are supported by GR2 who insists that “we do not have access to the same rights as the white, European ones”. Both GR1 and GR2’s sentiments differ from GR3’s, who claims "I believe I have

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39 GR1’s response when probed on whether he believes he has the same rights as native citizens
40 This is in regard to citizenship rights
41 Citizenship by blood
the same rights as other Greek citizens". GR3 possesses a Greek passport and has a Greek mother and a Nigerian father. According to Hage (2002), the extent to which a minority citizen is able to approximate to a given nationality, or construction of citizenship, largely depends on their ethnic, ‘racial’ and religious positioning. GR3’s Greek mother, one may conclude, augments the level of approximation GR3 has to Greekness, particularizing his experience from those of fully sub-Saharan African descent. GR3 may navigate his citizenship far differently, and far easily, than fully-African Greek citizens, a difference rested in his ethnic approximation to Greekness and their African distance from phenotypic and ethnic Greekness. These understandings may limit the accessibility fully non-native Greek national have to not only a legal belonging to the state, in the form of citizenship and the legal rights that accompany it, but similarly to a cultural belonging, and their acceptance as legitimate Greeks. Afro-Greek citizens, like GR1, are relegated to a tier within the citizenry well below the level available to white, native Greeks, a tier scarce with rights and legitimacy.

These are different experiences

Dutch respondents made reference to how essentialist Dutch minority policies often erase the particularity of the sub-Saharan African experience. The erasure of specific ethnicities and the ready adoption of the autochtoon – allochtoon binary sees the creation of essentialist policies catered to Dutch citizens with a non-Western background, a dynamic that subconsciously prioritizes the more visible minority, such as the Turk, Moroccan or the Afro-Surinamese/Afro-Antillean (Janssens, 2015). This conceptualization proves damning for Afro-Dutch citizens, whose lived experience remains particular from the experiences of other migrant groups42. Many Dutch respondents felt as if the African experience was not particularly catered to within Dutch political spaces. DR1 elaborates on how "there are policies catered to POC43 or minorities, not specifically Africans [...] but these are different experiences". DR2 echoes this and asserts "(sic) no policies for Africans, just for all migrants". Due to the historical

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42 African migrants had a more recent immigration to the Netherlands and had had no prior histories with the Dutch state. This may affect the manner in which they engage with the adoptive country in terms of cultural, linguistic and phenotypic compatibilities (Chelpi-den Hamer, 2009; Confurius, Gowricharn, Dagevos, 2017).
43 People of Color
engagement the Netherlands has had with post-colonial nations such as Suriname and the islands of Antilles, their citizens benefit from a larger part of policy creation when in the Netherlands. Chelpi-den Hamer (2012) discusses how post-colonial migrants, particularly those of Surinamese descent, are the largest beneficiaries of minority policies in the Netherlands. Despite the prolonged presence of Afro-citizens in the Netherlands, Afro-Surinamese and post-colonial migrants continue to be the biggest recipients of governmental and social policies. The normalization of the Afro-Surinamese and Afro-Antillean Dutch experience as the predominant minority experience, particularly as the predominant Black citizenship experience, may not only work to erase the particularity of the sub-Saharan Dutch citizen, but may also push Afro-citizens further into the realm of unfamiliarity.

**There are a lot more policies for Albanians**

Much of the discussion regarding minority others in Greece focused predominantly on the Albanian migrant experience in relation to the African experience, and how color and Africaness separated the two. GR2 insisted, “Albanians are accepted as returnees, especially those that were in the former Greek lands, they think of themselves as Albanians, kind of like the Germans in Russia”. Unlike Africans, Albanians hold a status as historical minorities in Greece (Anagnostou, 2007). GR5 stipulates, “there are a lot more policies for Albanians than there are for Africans in Greece, I really think so”. Like in the Netherlands, Afro-Greeks similarly suffer from a shortage in adequate policies catered to their particular experience. Greece has shared a history with Albania and even some Albanians bear Greek ancestry, and vice versa. A level of recognition, both historical and contemporary, is afforded to Albanians, as opposed to Afro-Greeks, who continue to feel a “very big sense of invisibility, of not being recognized as existing” (Goodman, 2019). This sense of invisibility may work to hamper the manner in which Afro-Greeks navigate their Greek citizenship as opposed to their more historically recognized minority citizen counterparts.

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44 Sub-Saharan Africans began to migrate to the Netherlands between the 1980s and 1990s (Chelpi den-Hamer, 2009).
At times, I tell myself that I wasn’t supposed to fight for this citizenship

Almost all Greek respondents recognized the exclusionary nature of the Greek conceptualization of citizenship, particularly towards black, African nationals. GR6 argues, "I do everything a Greek citizen should do, my mother too, she pays taxes and yet I am not a citizen". GR6 accredits this pattern to an inherently racist positioning, saying "there is too much bureaucracy to get citizenship, and it's made harder once they see and know your color". GR5 denounces the government’s complicity and says "the government could have done more to help black Greeks, honestly [...] there are a lot of African children in Greece that need help with citizenship, but no one is helping them". Goodman (2019) elaborates on how Afro-Greeks “who were born here (Greece) found it difficult to secure legal residency, let alone citizenship [...] their stateless status denied them national health care, Civil Service jobs and access to sports leagues”. In a New York Times piece, Goodman documents the rise of NBA superstar and Afro-Greek citizen Giannis Antetokounmpo, and how his battle for Greek citizenship only ended when he rose to fame and was drafted by the NBA. Giannis, like other Afro-Greek citizens, has been victim to racist assaults, stunted prospects, threats of deportation to countries they had never been, a continued invisibility and a lack of recognition within Greek socio-cultural spaces. GR6 attributes this experience to the way citizenship has been constructed in Greece, saying "blackness is still not yet acceptable as a definition of Greekness, not yet, not at all". Chorianopoulos (2009) discusses how the continued exclusion of non-native Greek citizens is founded on an ideological conceptualization of a “homogeneous nationhood”, an understanding that constructs otherness in the image of non-native Greek peoples (p. 533). Kirtsoglou (2016) attributes these hostilities to the perception of non-natives as filthy, backwards and incompatible with advanced Greek culture. The racialization of Africans as the anti-thesis of Greekness by virtue of skin color and cultural and phenotypic polarity distances Afro-Greeks from this space of homogeneous nationhood, a distancing that works to propagate their invisibility and their denial of citizenship.

45 The Greek state grew wary that if Antetokounmpo had no Greek citizenship, he might easily acquire American citizenship once he joined the NBA, therefore losing out on him as a Greek talent
The Afrophobic perpetuation of Africans as “stupid and illiterate” (Pietsch, 2013) places Africans, and more particularly Afro-Greeks, at a distance from Greek standards, both in physicality and in the assumed belief in African backwardness, inferiority and in their inability to approximate to standards of true Greekness. Much of the difference between Afro-citizens and other minorities, according to both GR6’s observations and Goodman’s piece, is rested in this black, racial signification that Africans embody. In forming a conclusion about the difference in experience between Africans and other minorities, such as Albanians, GR4 says “it’s the color [...] the moment they see you (as an African), they automatically think you cannot adapt [...] they think you’re annoying and can’t speak the language”. This belief in African ineptness is echoed by GR1 who says "it’s like they see me, and judge me already, without even giving me the opportunity to talk [...] they’ve already put me in a box". These factors amalgamate to particularize the African experience, as their inability to conform to the standards necessitated to move from outsider to established are significantly emphasized, relative to the Albanian experience (Adamczyk, 2016).

Afrophobia, passing and the hierarchies of blackness

*They have one picture about Africa and they feel that everyone should fit into that image*

All Dutch respondents acknowledged the prevalence of anti-African stereotypes and Afrophobic sentiments within Dutch socio-cultural spaces. DR1 recounts, "I get questions like 'oh my God, do you have Ebola?' It's crazy". When probed on how this has proved damaging, DR1 elaborated on how "we are getting these stereotypes as a continent". Seay & Dionne (2014) elaborate on how there has been “a long and ugly tradition of treating Africans as savage animals, and the African continent and its peoples as dirty, diseased people to be feared”. This association has not only worked to propagate fears towards Afro-citizens and the potential illnesses they may bear, but works to further relegate this group to a position of global inferiority (ibid). Similarly, there’s a tendency to essentialize and categorize Africans under a roof of sameness, a sameness rooted in shared narratives of poverty, disease and suffering
(Hellstern, 2013; Wong, 2017). DR3 echoes these sentiments and says "they have one picture about
Africa and they feel that everyone should fit into that image”. When probed on what this image entails,
DR3 insists, "I've noticed that some people usually have a negative idea about Africa”. This fear of the
disease-borne African and the negative preconceptions associated with them amalgamate to particularize
the African experience, a particularization based on Afrophobic understandings of the African and the
African continent.

Essed & Trienekens (2008) explore how Europeanness often connotes ‘white’ and the physical
indicators that accompany whiteness: color, physicality and features. This understanding ferments the
boundaries of exclusion due to the inability of an explicitly black, Afro-Dutch citizen to assume true,
white Dutchness, an understanding similarly rooted in Afro-centric stereotypes. DR5 attributes the
negative stereotypes surrounding Africans to “the way the world is set-up, to believe Africans are less and
to believe that we are less able, it's all in the small things, like hair and food, and African culture is
perceived as less than European culture”. Smith (1997) elaborates on the notion of ascribed
                                                            citizenship, in
which citizenship is firmly rooted in natural, innate and biological factors that determines one’s perceived
legitimacy and reception as a citizen. The racialized positioning of the sub-Saharan African phenotype at
a distance from that of a white, Dutch phenotype not only curtails the ability for Africans to assume
Dutchness, but may further demote Afro-citizens to a second-tier of citizenship, “never quite Dutch, never
quite the norm, always considered as aspiring, as a problem, lagging behind” (Essed & Trienekens, 2008,
p. 62). This understanding may work to consign said minorities to a tier of citizenship well below that
afforded to ethnically Dutch citizens; a relegation that may not only perpetuate the inferiority of the
African, but may similarly re-emphasize their polarity to Dutchness, highlight the extent of their non-
Dutchness.

**Black is a difficult color here**

Like in the Netherlands, Afrophobic stereotypes that center on the innate inferiority of the
African in Greece were discussed. These stereotypes, according to the respondents, readily keep Afro-
citizens in a position of subjugation and accelerate the disdain experienced by this group (Papadopoulos,
GR4 attributes this disdain to the way Africans are conceptualized, "they have categorized Africans as the third world, you know? So they always believe people in Africa are hungry, they don't have anything to do, they believe when you come from Africa to Greece, that means you've made a very, very big move in your life and you have to respect that they (native Greeks) own everything and you have to forget your own, you don't belong to a country, you are nobody for them". The already barring conceptualization of citizenship in Greece places a number of non-native Greeks into a second-class position regarding citizenship (Vangi & Odubitan, 2016). However, the conceptualization of the African in relation to this citizenship proves particular. The understanding of Africans as desperate, idle, hungry and fleeing from conflict almost automatically positions the Afro-citizen as inferior to the superior Greek border guard. GR5 asserts "some Greeks think they've done me a favor by giving me Greek citizen (sic), so I will never feel Greek, no". Their migration is conceptualized as involuntary, as fleeing from a state riddled with problems, and their settlement into Greece as a favor done onto them by the Greek state (Adamczyk, 2016).

Surinamese and people from Curacao are perceived as better in the society

Within the Dutch interviews, a recurring comparison was made between the African experience and the Surinamese/Antillean experience, with the purpose of creating a distinction between different Black experiences. Much of the comparison was rested in the perceived phenotypic superiority of Surinamese and Antillean minorities. The insights provided a deeper understanding into an entrenched hierarchy between shades, even if both parties assumed a level of Blackness. DR3 describes, "I do think some people perceive Surinamese or people from the Dutch Antilles as different from Africans [...] they're kind of superior". DR4 reiterates this, "Surinamese and people from Curacao are perceived as better in the society". When questioned as to why these communities are perceived and received as superior to Africans, DR4 claims, "most of the time, not always, they are of mixed background or mixed race ancestry [...] they have a different type of skin color [...] and people look at that as better". Although
not all, a significant portion of Afro-Surinamese and Afro-Antillean migrants are from a Creole background (van Amersfoort, 2006). This background ascribes this group with lighter skin, looser hair and physical features closer to that of the European phenotype. This difference in physical appearance often places both Surinamese and Antillean Dutch citizens in a position higher than the darker, more African appearing Afro-Dutch citizen. This hierarchization can be said to be rooted in colorism. Dhillon-Jamerson et al (2018) define colorism as the systemic preference for lighter skinned populations within an already minority group. There is a continued “valorization of light skin” and dark skin is more readily affiliated with “animal physicality and lighter skin with refinement and educability” (Jablonski, 2012, p. 150; Dhillon-Jamerson, 2018). Consequently, these groups assume more privileges and their approximation to whiteness, through both physical appearance and European ancestry, see them favored over the overtly Black ‘other’. This understanding can be used to understand the dichotomy between the Afro-Dutch and Afro-Surinamese/Afro-Antillean experience in the Netherlands; where the fairer skinned ‘Black’ other in the form of the post-colonial migrant is received as more palatable, less threatening and far closer to the physicality appropriate for Dutchness. The overtly ‘Black’ African ‘other’, however, is far too polar and their “black, racial signification” too excessive (Carbado & Gulati, 2001, p. 718).

This hierarchization at times even translates to Afro-Dutch minorities concealing their identities, in order to refrain from prescribing to the negative connotations assigned to Africanness. DR1 elaborates, "I know a lot of African girls who lied they were mixed and stuff, just to be less black". When asked whether she had ever concealed her African heritage, DR2 responded, "no I haven't, but I do know a lot of people who have. Who have lied that they were half-Surinamese or mixed race". DR2 attributed this desire to the negative connotations applied to Africanness in the Netherlands, "in some people's minds, there's only one type of Blackness, the moment you step or look different from that, you are perceived as more beautiful". Applying this to the Dutch context, the Surinamese or Antillean approximation to Whiteness grants this group somewhat of an edge over other Black, African minority groups, an edge that

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46 An ethnic group that emerged as a result of racial mixing between European natives and non-European natives, originated predominantly in the colonial period. This group can be found in an array of countries and regions across the world, including Haiti, Cape Verde, Seychelles, Suriname and south of the USA.
is well known and seeks to be ascribed by fully black, African Dutch citizens through the concealment of their black Africaness.

**I've noticed anti-African stereotypes more amongst other minorities, which is really sad**

Interestingly, some Dutch respondents even noted prevalent instances of Afrophobia within other minority communities. DR3 comments "I do know some stories of Surinamese people calling African people names [...] I've heard that it happens a lot, especially in Amsterdam". DR4 echoes her sentiments and states, "I've noticed anti-African stereotypes more amongst other minorities which is really sad [...] Moroccans did that a lot with me, they would be like we are not African, you are because you're dirty and you're black". This introduces a new understanding into how Afrophobia may not only manifest in the relationship between the African and the majority (read white) population, but may similarly transcend into relationships between the African and other minority groups, not only accentuating the differences between the experiences of these minority groups, but similarly delineating the African in a position of inferiority, even against other non-native minorities. DR5 attests to this pattern and says "in Rotterdam west, where I live, there are a lot of Cape Verdeans and Moroccans, and there's always a thing with the Moroccans [...] here they like to discriminate". Minority status, it appears, is hierarchized, whereby Africans, even to other minorities, assume a position of lesser, in person and in their approximation to Dutchness, whereby an association is made between their racial composition and their subordination.

**Language**

**When white people try to speak to me, they will try and put on an accent**

The concept of accent came up regularly throughout the discussion with Dutch respondents. DR2 expands, “when white people try to speak to me, they will try and put on an accent, I think because they think it’s funny, I don't know, or assuming I would be more comfortable or stuff like that”. Olum (2019) attributes this pattern to the dissociation between people of color, particularly Africans, with being able to speak clearly and articulately. This disassociation stems from Afrophobic understandings that place
Africans at the lowest rank of intelligence and intellect (Pietsch, 2013; Muižnieks, 2017). Their accents, influenced by their backgrounds, home life and dialects may differ from the way majority citizens may converse. This distinction in accent may urge people into thinking “they are less intelligent and less trustworthy” and may spark some ridicule (Fricker, 2007; Gray, 2019; Peled & Bonotti, 2019). Jones (2016) explores how, in the Netherlands, accent is a fundamental signifier used to construct difference, and the more polar one’s accent comes across, the more othered they become, even if they are holders of legal citizenship. Unlike Afro-Surinamese minority citizens, whose generational proficiency in Dutch may alleviate the presence of an accent - or even if an accent is present, their normalization as minority, “models of integration” citizens may absolve a stigma - sub-Saharan Afro-citizens work against Afrophobic ideas behind African intelligence and what their unconventional accents may represent. DR3 expands, "the way they would talk (West Africans) people would make fun of them". DR4 echoes, "people sometimes think I am Surinamese but then I always make it a point to correct them and say I am African [...] but the moment they realize you're African, they start making little dumb comments, like hakuna matata or stuff like that". Those “whose accent stands out” may be susceptible to both covert and overt forms of prejudice which may inadvertently hinder their ability “to exercise their equal, free, inclusive, and reciprocal political membership” (Peled & Bolotti, 2019, p. 412). In the Dutch context, post-colonial minorities, such as Afro-Surinamese minorities, are afforded the benefit of the doubt and their accents shed off a layer of unconventionality. Alternatively, Afrophobic understandings of African minorities, coupled with the novel peculiarity of their accents, may work to further exclude this group from a status of Dutchness.

I was respected more because I spoke Greek

Like in the Dutch context, language and accent were identified as central indicators to one’s approximation to Greekness. Tsri (2016) explores how language acts as an indicator of Greek culture and identity and is largely considered the main signifier between Greek insiders and foreigners. GR1
explained how "you must go to them and speak the most eloquent, sweet\textsuperscript{47} Greek [...] you have to speak the crazy Greek, even the one where they would also be like 'ehhh' (shocked) for". He insists "when I try and go fix my Greek papers, I actually do that shit [...] I go there, I dress well, talk like them [...] if you don't dress good or talk good, you just don't get any papers". Proficiency, therefore, is expected, and a deviation from that expectation results in an automatic othering, a pattern GR1 is well aware of.

Interestingly, both GR5 and GR4 express how they have curtailed some instances of exclusion because of their proficiency in Greek. GR4 discusses, “if you speak their language, and can communicate with them, they can't really discriminate you or make you feel bad, because you can understand everything they're going to say [...] in some parts, I even understand more than them, I can speak it perfectly, so they can't do much [...] they say 'you might be black but at least you understand' [...] for jobs, I haven't been left out, because I speak the language". GR5 echoes, "when I speak to them in Greek, they value me more, they respect me more [...] because I was black and speaking Greek, I was more up than the others where I worked (in a cafe), they were respecting me". A fascinating insight therefore emerges; language remains a central indicator in determining a minority’s approximation to Greekness, an approximation that may readily ignore one’s ethnic markup.

\textbf{When I speak on the phone, they think I am Greek, then I appear then it’s an automatic ‘no’.}

Despite the acknowledgement by some Greek respondents that their proficiency in the Greek language often reduced their experience with exclusion, this was curtailed as soon as these individuals presented themselves in person. The respondents asserted that this privilege existed solely telephonically, and how their eventual physical encounter with the interviewer or landlord would simply prompt rejection. GR4 discusses, "if I say I'm Greek, they can't recognize I am not Greek through the phone, but if I make an appointment with them, they would be like 'whoa, but you speak good Greek, I thought you were a Greek' [...] they will then let you see the house, and if you call about the house later on, they would be like 'oh I'm sorry, I gave it to someone else', so they won't tell you it's about the color". GR6 echoes the same experience when looking for work, "when I speak on the phone, because my Greek is good, they

\textsuperscript{47} According to the respondent, 'sweet' means speaking an incredibly refined Greek
always ask me to come over for interviews, simply because they couldn't understand that I could be black ...
when you arrive they say 'sorry, we don't take black people', their honesty is sickening". This
dynamic limits the Afro-citizens accessibility to improved housing and an improved living situation or
access to certain jobs and an improved professional experience.

Exclusion

The above factors coalesce to marginalize the African out of the realms of both Dutchness and
Greekness. Beyond this, this marginalization transcends into both socio-cultural and socio-economic
domains. Respondents discussed how racialized constructions of the African as inept, backwards,
unintelligent and un-Greek/un-Dutch prompted their exclusion from higher education, specific
professions and housing markets.

School

*I went to a school with only other minorities*

All five of the Dutch respondents stipulated that they went to predominantly minority populated
schools. Essed & Trienekens (2008) discuss the controversy surrounding zwarte 48 and witte 49 schools in
the Netherlands, whereby school segregation remains a prevalent occurrence. In these segregated zwarte
and witte schools, minority students trail behind their white Dutch counterparts in higher education
placements with opportunities more readily available to White Dutch students (Gramberg 1998; Crul
2007; Vasta 2007). GR5 attributes this pattern to how the education system in the Netherlands is
conceptualized and how it remains disadvantageous to minority, particularly African citizens, "I feel like
a lot of colored people are not in the university [...] society doesn't stimulate Africans enough [...] it starts
at elementary school, the teachers demotivate the students [...] they say things like your child can't handle
that, they need to go to a lower school". It has been shown that Dutch teachers disproportionately
recommend minority students to lower tiers of further education, such as vocational schools, as opposed

48 Black schools are schools reserved for minority students; occurs when white parents take their children
out of these schools due to the increase in a minority population
49 White schools; predominantly white pupil population
to university, which results in a predominantly White university population (van de Werfhorst and van Tubergen 2007; Crul and Holdaway 2009; de Graaf and van Zenderen 2009).

This experience is particular for the Afro-citizen because of the predisposed notions of the African level of intelligence and their presumed polarity from what Dutchness entails. Essed’s (2002) theory of cultural cloning discussed a preference for sameness in appearance, norms, language and background in order to gain accessibility to certain Dutch domains and spaces, including higher education spaces. Africans, as has been discussed throughout this piece, are positioned as polar to the ideals of “white, European, homogeneous Dutchness”, and therefore their entry into higher education remains significantly hampered (Essed & Goldberg, 2002; Essed & Trienekens, 2008; Hondius, 2014; Jones, 2016; Wekker, 2016).

*There is always an expectation of us to be illiterate and not know*

Following on from earlier patterns, Dutch respondents alluded to a preconceived expectation for African minority citizens to be inept and unintelligent, and how this expectation often left them excluded from certain opportunities. DR2 narrates a story about a White teacher in primary school that always questioned her intelligence and belittled her when she answered incorrectly, “he gave me the feeling that I was less than/less smart, while there were other students who were white who wouldn't know the answer, he always gave them the benefit of the doubt and would always choose them to give the answer, even though I would also raise my hand, and that switched once the test came and then he saw that I was smart too, I even had better grades than the other white students and then I saw a switch in his attitude”. She affirms "they don't believe like our opinions are true or valid [...] in group work, they don't believe what I say as true ". Like DR2, DR3 notes, "people will get marked poorly in their advies because of their background or maybe because their Dutch isn't as good as a native, white speaker". Most of the respondents ascribed this pattern to the preconceived Dutch conceptualizations on what Africaness symbolizes, particularly when the discussion centers on intelligence and capabilities. Afrophobic associations between Africans with a level of stupidity and ineptness may work to curtail the
opportunities available to this group, particularly in educational and professional spaces (Cheng, 2011; Hondius, 2014).

**Housing**

*Where they can discriminate you most is when you're looking for housing*

According to some Greek respondents, most discrimination manifests within the housing market. Papadopoulos (2015) uncovers how second-generation Afro-Greek citizens are often victims to housing and employment discrimination, stigma and maltreatment irrespective of their Greek nationality. GR4 elaborates "where they can discriminate you most is when you're looking for housing, there is a big discrimination there". When asked why she believed this discrimination occurred, GR4 said "the fact that I am a black does not give me the same opportunity as them [...] every time we've been searching for an apartment the first question they ask is 'where are you from?' If you mention that you are from Africa or Nigeria, they say 'I do not give my house to blacks', bye, bye". GR4’s experience, and perhaps the experience of a number of other Afro-citizens, is indicative of a systematic redlining tied to the Afrophobic perceptions held towards Afro-Greeks.

**Jobs**

*It really could be this thing of, I'm white, you're white, here's the job*

An interesting dynamic discussed in both the Greek and Dutch interviews was how whiteness, rather Greekness or Dutchness, was a sufficient requirement to access certain opportunities. DR1 narrated a pattern she noticed at work, "I was the only black person in the whole company, and there were like 500 people working there". DR2 narrates a similar experience she had at work, “if you don't fit into their idea, they will isolate you [...] they'll make you feel alienated [...] (at an internship) I worked hard, I stayed longer even though I didn't have to, I came in extra days, even holidays, I really showed I was willing to work hard [...] I felt like they were treating me different [...] they felt that I wasn't part of the group, they

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50 Redlining is an unprincipled procedure that limits the accessibility of certain financial or non-financial services to certain racialized residents. Redlining can occur through the routine denial of mortgages, loans, insurance etc.
came up with all types of excuses on how to get rid of me". DR2 attributed these patterns to Dutch socio-cultural reservations to those that appear and behave differently, like the African other. DR3 provided a possible explanation to these patterns when asked why job seeking was difficult for the African other, "it really could be this thing of, I'm white, you're white, here's the job". Essed & Goldberg (2002) would label this pattern cultural cloning and argue that this dynamic remains prevalent in Dutch professional and educational spaces, whereby a preference for sameness, rather whiteness, sees the saturation of white, heterosexual, Dutch men in high level roles. This preference for sameness similarly perpetuates a scarcity in African minorities in such roles due to how their positioning as polar may compromise this sameness (Essed & Goldberg, 2002). The higher the level of importance is for the role, the more likely this cloning will take place. This preference for sameness is rooted in a desire for familiarity, a cultural and phenotypic familiarity within their surroundings that enable majority groups to cope far easier. Those that sway furthest from this homogenized standard of Dutchness, such as the African, positioned as other, unconventional and unfamiliar, either fail to get the job, or experience incidences of daily exclusion like DR2.

You only see Africans on the street

The same patterns were manifest in the Greek interviews. GR1 attests, "you never see a black person in a high position, never [...] that shit don't happen [...] you only see Africans on the street". GR2 echoes GR1’s sentiments, "we don't have access to any spaces, there's exclusion everywhere, for example in sport, there are no black Africans in the football team only in basketball [...] even in jobs we face a lot of discrimination". This observation reiterates the invisibility and rejection experienced by Afro-Greek citizens (Goodman, 2019). GR5 continues, "even if I go to a job interview, I may have more things (qualifications) than the Greeks have, but because I am black, they don't take me, and when I ask 'why don't you take me, I have everything', they say 'we're going to think about it' and all these silly excuses' but it's obvious why they don't take me [...] when they see something that you're not good at, even if its small, they're going to fix on it and use that as an excuse as to why they won't hire me [...] but if it’s a Greek person, 'oh if its only that, we're going to help you, don't worry' you know?" Like in the
Netherlands, Afro-Greeks remain largely underrepresented in higher-ranking roles. GR6 elaborates, "it’s really difficult to see African people in normal, well-doing jobs [...] these positions are just closed to them [...] I have never seen an African hold a job more than a waitress [...] a lot of these second generation Africans are either waitresses or work in brand stores, like Nike, but never anything serious". Adamczyk (2016) discusses how stereotypes of Africans being lazy and loiterers have seen their ready exclusion from certain jobs, particularly high-ranking, well-paid, white collar roles.

**Life Chances**

*I don’t have the same chances*

As a result of these exclusions, almost all respondents insisted that they did not have the same chances or opportunities as native citizens. Weber conceptualized life chances as the ability for one to change their quality of life depending on the tools available to them to achieve that. This thesis hypothesized that the exclusion experienced by Afro-citizens, as explored above, inhibits their ability to change their quality of life and leaves them in a perpetual cycle of subjugation and socio-economic inferiority. DR2 insists, "I definitely do not have the same opportunities except when I put on that white face (accent)". Both DR3 and DR5 reiterate these stances respectively, "I probably don't have the same opportunities as native white Dutch people" and "I don't feel like I have the same opportunities as Dutch, white people". The specific experiences will be explored in detail in the following paragraphs; however, it is interesting to observe a pattern whereby all respondents answered in the negative when probed on whether they believed they had the same opportunities as native, Dutch citizens. The same patterns are visible in the Greek interviews, with GR4 asserting, "I don't think I have the same opportunities as white Greek people, and that's because of the color". Her statements are reiterated by GR5, "I know I don't have the same opportunities, I have always really struggled in my life". GR6 concludes, "living in Greece is a

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51 In Greece, most second generation Afro-citizens work in the service industry, such as cafes or retail stores. They can similarly be found in low-ranking manufacturing roles (Papadopoulos, 2015). In the Netherlands, citizens with a non-Western background remain highly represented in low-skill roles and contribute the most to the unemployment rate (Entzinger, 1994; Reinsch, 2000).
constant 'you can't do this, you can't do that' simply because of your color [...] I don't know why". The ready exclusion of these groups from educational, professional and social spaces, as discussed above, limit the opportunities available to them to access higher education, acquire better professions or change their social perception and social capital (forthcoming).

Even in the university, I needed to read more than a Greek person

Both Greek and Dutch respondents discussed how they did not experience the same opportunities afforded to native citizens and how their academic efforts often had to be twice as good as those of native students in order to have access to the same opportunities. DR1 commences, "we do not have the same opportunities, we have encountered a lot of limitations and ceilings [...] perhaps 30 percent of our whole high school graduated, I am the only one at a university of research at the moment". When probed as to why this disparity exists, DR1 answered, "people who got stuck at lower levels of schooling are not dumb or anything, they didn't get the same opportunities [...] their potential is limited [...] they are starting to believe the limitations themselves". She accredits this to an inherently racist educational system that disproportionately benefits native, White Dutch students, "if you go to our neighborhood and ask average people 'do you think you can go to university?' They would all say no [...] even I said that [...] whereas white people in Grade 8 (last grade before university) would have had a very different answer". Siebers (2008) attributes this polarity in opportunities between natives and non-native Dutchmen on the local’s assumptions of an “incompatibility between assumed migrants’ cultures and assumed Dutch culture” (p. 373). By way of a cultural incompatibility, minority citizens are perceived as an unable to graduate to higher levels of education and are therefore automatically excluded on the basis of such preconceptions.

An exclusion from higher education by way of poor advies, which has been recorded to disproportionately target and affect minority citizens, translates to an exclusion in certain professions in the labor market and hindered life chances (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003; De Graaf & van Zenderen, 2009; Weiner, 2014). DR2 attests, "you have to find the courage to go further, they will not give you the opportunity [...] everything is pitted against you [...] they gave me the lowest of the lowest advies and I had to work myself up". When probed further, she replied "you just have to work twice as hard to prove
yourself, just to get the same acknowledgement as the other white man or woman". These sentiments are echoed by both DR3 and DR5 respectively "we minorities really need to show that we are equal in terms of grade [...] like we would need higher grades to get the same position". DR5 affirms "I feel like as an African, you have to work twice as hard, like in school, if I get a 6, people would say things like 'oh she just passed', whereas the case would be different if I were white". According to DeSante (2013), racialized minorities have to put in double the effort to reap just half of the rewards available to white, majority citizens. DeSante discusses how “whites gain more for the same level of effort, and blacks are punished more severely for the same level of laziness”, establishing a standard of inequity when comparing the two (p. 343). DR5 offered an example of her own experience, "when I was in art school, the way they judged my work, it wasn't in an objective way [...] and I felt like the white girls got away with a lot of stuff, but when I was making stuff about Africa, they didn't get it, or didn't want to get it” causing the respondent to eventually dropout of art school. In the Greek context, GR5 explains how her Africaness has hindered her accessibility to educational opportunities, "I know I don't have the same opportunities, I have always really struggled in my life [...] even in the university I needed to read more than a Greek person". This inequity in the manner in which white natives and Afro-citizens are assessed not only works to grant natives more access based on their presumed superiority in efforts, but similarly restrains Afro-citizens in a preconceived tier of laziness and ineptness.

**Hierarchies of Africaness**

A hierarchy, as discovered, exists within the larger African group context between the separate nationalities. DR1 commented, "Somalis don't identify as being really black [...] Somalis in general feel better than the rest of Africa [...] when I talked to my Moroccan and Turkish friends they would say 'oh no, you're not the n-word, you're Somali' [...] we were African, but there was a difference in the type of African we were [...] even now that I'm woke and pro-black, people in my community are like 'what the fuck? That's not our struggle [...] that's not our identity". DR2, who is close friends with DR1, attributed this to the Somali phenotype, "I think it's because you lean more towards the European phenotype". Passing and colorism, as discussed earlier, amalgamate to separate the Somali experience, synonymous
with curly hair, thin noses, fairer skin, from that of other visibly African minorities. DR3 attests to this "in Africa, I have noticed, that there are more stereotypes made of West Africans in relation to other Africans, such as North Africans or Eastern Africans". A Cape Verdean national, DR3 similarly notes how the Cape Verdean experience differs from that of other Africans, "I think in terms of skin color and features" (Cape Verdean superiority). She continues, "I do think that because our languages (Cape Verde) is very similar to Portuguese, that it’s perceived as more beautiful than any other native African language". This hierarchy in language may isolate the Africans that speak languages without roots in European Lingua Franca more readily than their Cape Verdean counterparts (Loehrke, 2017). This hierarchy manifests in the labor market whereby Cape Verdean labor market representation deviates the least from the native Dutch labor market representation (Confurius et al, 2017). In the Greek context, GR5, a Greek-Nigerian, insists that Greek racism is more prevalent towards West Africans, "especially when you're from Nigeria, they have some racism towards Africans, but especially when they find out that you're from Nigeria". She attributes this to a level of criminality associated with Nigerians, an association not applied to other Africans.

Chapter Summary

This section sought to understand the specific experiences of both Afro-Dutch and Afro-Greek citizens. The interviews, albeit not representative, were intended to give a glimpse into the daily, lived experiences of this group as they navigated their citizenship. The first three themes, ‘citizenship and rights’, ‘Afrophobia, passing and the hierarchies of blackness’ and ‘language’ intended to answer the first research question in assessing how the conceptualization of citizenship in both the Netherlands and Greece were exclusionary of Afro-citizens. Various patterns and trends were uncovered, such as how homogenous conceptualizations of citizenship excluded the already unfamiliar African within both Dutch and Greek understandings of citizenship. Respondents asserted that they felt that they did not share the

52 An African country off the coast of West Africa with a large Creole population
same rights as native citizens and that they did not entirely fall into either ideas of ‘Dutchness’ or ‘Greekness’. Reasons for this were largely attributed to their presumed phenotypic and cultural dissimilarity from what ‘Dutchness’ or ‘Greekness’ entails. The theme of Afrophobia was thoroughly discussed by respondents as they realized how Afrocentric stereotypes separated their experience from other minorities’ experience, minorities that occasionally fed into these Afrophobic sentiments as well. Similarly, Afrophobic sentiments fed into their social perception as slow, backwards, diseased and truly un-Dutch or un-Greek. The passing privilege experienced by both Albanian and Afro-Surinamese minorities were discussed respectively and how these groups, although minorities themselves, escaped a level of exclusion due either to their phenotype or their generational familiarity within the national context. The themes of ‘school’, ‘housing’ and ‘jobs’ sought to answer the research question by understanding how this very conceptualization of citizenship led to the greater exclusion of Afro-citizens. Respondents discussed various levels of exclusion; Dutch respondents fixated more readily on educational and professional exclusion and Essed’s theory of cultural cloning was used to analyze the dynamic within that national context. Greek respondents, alternatively, explored both professional and housing exclusion and how Afrophobic stereotypes minimized their opportunities in those domains. The third theme, pertaining to life chances, sought to answer the final research question through understanding how this exclusion affected the life chances of the Afro-citizen. The inaccessibility of said groups to these domains inadvertently limited their life chances; their ability to access higher education, better housing or an improved professional experience. It would be criminal for this research, however, to ignore the particularities of different African experiences and assert that all Africans share the same experience within both Dutch and Greek contexts. It would therefore be incredibly beneficial for further research to delve deeper into the separate lived experiences of the different nationalities within the continent.
Conclusion

This thesis sought to understand how the conceptualizations of citizenship in both the Netherlands and Greece can be exclusionary in determining who is accepted and who is marginalized and focused particularly on the experience of second-generation Afro-citizens. Through the adoption of five central concepts – Afrophobia, passing, name, accent/language and generational bond – and through the execution of eleven interviews, this thesis has demonstrated, albeit on a minimal scale, how the stringent application of the jus sanguinis policy in Greek citizenship and the rigid construction of Dutchness as white, *autochtoon*, secular, communitarian and homogenous proved exclusionary of second generation Afro-citizens. Beyond this, the results of the interviews revealed the various ways said minority groups experience this exclusion and how this exclusion inadvertently lessened their life chances. The analysis of this part of this research was understood through the lens of cultural cloning, whereby exclusion, as facilitated by an exclusive understanding of citizenship, sought to retain that which was familiar, similar and dominant, and consequently expel that which was polar and different in both socio-economic and cultural contexts.

In regards to the exclusionary nature of the conceptualizations, this research identified Greece’s rigid adoption of the jus sanguinis principle as a dominant component behind a prohibitive construction of citizenship. This construction of citizenship not only prompted sentiments of statelessness amongst Afro-Greeks, but similarly saw their ready exclusion in both housing and labor spheres. This research uncovered how an insistence on Greek homogeneity, a proven Hellenic bond and an emphasis on ethnic compatibilities pushes non-native minorities out of the frame of both legal and social Greekness. The research, however, utilized the concept of Afrophobia to separate the African experience from other minorities, such as Greece’s historical minority, the Albanian. More particularly, however, Afrophobia was adopted in order to separate the African experience from other Black experiences and to uncover a historical power dynamic not entirely considered within the scope of simply anti-black racism. This research demonstrated how Afrophobia, which places Africans in a position of historical and
contemporary inferiority, coalesces with a resolute and inflexible ascension to Greek citizenship to isolate the African as too polar, inferior and un-Greek, a sentiment regularly conveyed by Greek respondents. Beyond their *Africanness*, the research uncovered how their inability to phenotypically *pass* for Greek and their inadequate *generational bond* pushed them further out of this idea of Greekness, an exclusion that percolated into various socio-economic arenas, such as the job and housing market. The analysis uncovered that as opposed to the Dutch context, *color* appeared to be an influential indicator of extreme otherness and therefore a justification behind exclusion in Greece. This was largely attributed to the equation between blackness and Africanness and subsequently *refugeedom* and suffering. Similarly, the profound emphasis on Greek homogeneity equated non-whiteness with non-Greekness and therefore impurity and illegitimacy (Pratsinakis, 2008; Tsri, 2016). The literature further asserted how the polarity of their *name* enhanced their exclusion when seen on a CV or on a letter of interest for a home. These exclusions, this research uncovered, leaves this minority group socio-economically marginalized, exploited⁵³, victims of cultural imperialism⁵⁴, susceptible to racist violence and largely powerless⁵⁵ (Young, 2013). Their exclusion, which manifests predominantly in housing and labor spheres, not only limits their ability to improve their socio-economic positions by way of acquiring higher-ranking roles, but similarly stunts their ability to procure improved housing.

As opposed to the Greek conceptualization, the boundaries of Dutchness remain relatively permeable, even legally accommodating of citizens from an array of backgrounds, including post-colonial Dutch citizens. Despite these permeable boundaries of legal Dutchness, this research uncovered how an emphasis on communitarianism, homogeneity in beliefs, service over rights and a subtle emphasis on phenotypic compatibilities, largely governed by the *autochtoon - allochtoon* binary, has often made the

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⁵³ According to Young (2013), exploitation is prompted due to the presence of a segmented labor market that reserves higher-skilled and higher paying roles for white, native majorities.

⁵⁴ Those that fall victim to cultural imperialism remain defined and positioned by external groups through a system of dominant significations, these positions are often propagated via stereotypes (p. 282).

⁵⁵ Although used in a classist context, powerlessness is defined as a subordinate group’s inaccessibility to authority, a sense of self or status when interacting with other, dominant groups. They are often placed in this position of powerlessness due to their perceived lack of respectability. This dynamic can readily be applied to racialized and gendered contexts.
boundaries of de facto Dutchness impermeable to those that are culturally and phenotypically polar, irrespective of their legal recognition as Dutch citizens (Jones, 2016). The concept of Afrophobia proved to be even more vital in separating the African experience within the Dutch context. This research unveiled that despite the common blackness shared between Afro-Surinamese and Afro-Antillean post-colonial migrants and Africans, Afro-Dutch citizens have not been afforded the same privileges when navigating their citizenship. Afrophobia, passing, name, accent/language and generational bond separated the supposedly more refined, familiar, Dutch-influenced, fairer skinned and name passing Afro-Surinamese from the allegedly more backwards, peculiar accented, less refined, unorthodox named, darker hued and unfamiliar African. These factors similarly propelled the former group further into the idea of Dutchness and the latter further away, further demonstrating how an Afro-Dutch citizen’s interaction with their citizenship proves to be distinctly exclusive. Like in Greece, this exclusion seeped into different socio-economic domains, particularly affecting the access Afro-Dutch citizens had to higher education and to more white collar roles, not only placing them in a position of socio-economic marginalization, exploitation and cultural imperialism, but similarly hindering their ability to improve their present lived experience (Young, 2013).

The limitation of space and time proved to be a marginal hurdle in carrying out an even deeper and expansive analysis on the experiences of Afro-citizens in both countries. Perhaps further research can accommodate more interviews in order to encompass more Afro-citizen respondents with backgrounds from an array of African countries. This would create space for respondents from more diversified backgrounds to recount their experience and therefore prompt more diversified responses. Further research may similarly consider class and socio-economic positioning and how these identities may contribute to the way Afro-citizens navigate their citizenship in both the Netherlands and Greece. The presence of hierarchies amongst different Afro-citizen communities which consequently determined their

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56 A majority of the respondents in this research were from similar national backgrounds (for example, Nigeria, Cape Verde). It would be interesting to understand how other Africans living in the Netherlands and Greece may interact with their citizenship, an insight that might be achievable through more interviews.
perception and navigation was an unprecedented insight generated by this thesis. Based on this realization, it would be interesting to delve further into those differences and perhaps pursue research catered to the very different experiences of Afro-Dutch or Afro-Greek citizens in both countries.

This modest research has contributed to the discussion surrounding the *weaponization* of citizenship and particularly to how the experiences of Africans born in the diaspora interact with Eurocentric and homogenous constructions of citizenship. The conversation surrounding these dynamics in relation to the second generation sub-Saharan African was and is profoundly absent in both Dutch and Greek academia, therefore I hope this piece is a stepping stone to further investigation and debate.
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Appendices

Appendix A

Chronology of regulations surrounding citizenship acquisition in Greece

In 2010, the first law (L. 3838/2010) enabling second generation citizens to obtain citizenship was passed, however it was deemed unconstitutional and annulled approximately two years later (see Generation 2.0, 2013). There was then a legislative gap until the second bill was passed in 2015 (L. 4332/2015). Considering the very limited time frame in which the first law was active and considering the bureaucratic
processes involved, not all second-generation citizens were able to acquire citizenship (Generation 2.0, 2013). In 2015, however, a ‘centrist/leftist’ government passed another bill that enabled second generation citizens to acquire Greek citizenship. Citizenship is presently granted through two distinct modes. The first concerns minors and can be acquired either from birth or school attendance in Greece. This strand requires at least one parent to have been residing legally in Greece for 5 years prior to the birth of the child or if none of the parents meet that requirement, then one of them would need to have 10 years legal continued residence in Greece at least one day prior to the birth of the child (Generation 2.0, 2017). Both parents however would need to have a form of legal residence when applying for the child. The second strand concerns school attendance in Greece and is generally used for adults. This strand only requires the papers of the person applying and does not take into account the status of the parents. However, the applicant would need to have successfully completed either 9 years of primary and secondary schooling or 6 years of secondary (middle and high school) schooling, and of course have a valid residence permit (this severely hampers the accessibility of citizens that attended international schools). This process is sometimes coupled with the unspoken expectation that second generation citizens must prove/assert a “bond” with Greek culture, an incredibly ambiguous prerequisite (see Figgou, 2015; Lawrence, 2005; Pratsinakis, 2008).
Appendix B

Historical relevance of the research

The relevance of this research is two-fold. In both Dutch and Greek academia, there has been repeated negligence of the Afro-citizens’ experience in relation to citizenship, often times with authors placing precedence on the experiences of post-colonial and MENA region citizens in the Netherlands (Hondius, 1999; Komen; 2006; Puar, 2007; van Amersfoort, 2009; Mepschen, Duyvendak, Tonkens, 2010) and on Albanian, Turkish or Soviet Greeks in Greece (Tsitselikis, 2004; Anagnostou, 2007; Choudhury, 2015). This could be attributed to both the historical relationship each country has to the aforementioned migrants and the notable presence of these groups in the country. A second reason behind the relevance of this research is the uniqueness of the African experience. Almost all minority groups in majority societies experience some form of oppression, be it exploitation, marginalization, feelings of powerlessness, cultural imperialism, or violence (Young, 2013). This thesis insists, however, on the particularities of the African experience. Placing the concept of Afrophobia at the center, and concepts of ‘passing’, ‘name’, ‘language’, ‘accent’ and ‘parental background’ (explanation forthcoming) nearby, this research intends to demonstrate how certain factors - often out of the control of Afro-citizens, further limit their acceptance into this constructed ideal of citizenship. This limitation can be argued to be felt less intensely by Surinamese or postcolonial Caribbean migrants, a group heralded as being the “model of integration”, with their relatively smoother adaptation into Dutch societies.

Often times, migrant experiences are essentialized, with terms such as allochtoon in the Netherlands and allogenesis in Greece, blurring the distinctions and differences between different types of non-native citizens. Putting ‘everybody black’ under the same category obscures the differences in experience and distorts the realities of many sub-Saharan Afro citizens in the Netherlands and Greece. Despite Islamophobia and racism being somewhat widespread in Greece, Islam has been much closer to the country57 than blackness and more particularly Africanness, making the African ‘other’ more

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57 The Muslim minority in the north of Greece is the only recognized minority in the country, with regions such as Thrace and areas near the Balkans being predominantly Muslim (see Ministry of Foreign Affairs Greece, 2017)
unfamiliar and perhaps even more threatening (Al-Janabi, Shahd, MacLeod, Rhodes and De Fockert, 2012). Similarly, like in the Netherlands, Muslim or MENA region Greek citizens have the benefit of ‘passing’ (see the experience of a Turkish Greek citizen in Turkish Daily News, 2008) and therefore less likely to be excluded or experience instances of racism due to the privilege of ‘passing’ for Greek, a benefit not granted to overtly black Afro-citizens. All these factors combine to demonstrate the relevance of focusing in on Afro-citizens, not only because of the limited research reserved for them, but similarly due to the particularity of their experience. This research matters because it will aim to demonstrate - albeit on a small scale - how citizenship can be weaponized and used as a tool for exclusion, particularly in nations adhering to the ethos of EU equality and inclusion.
Appendix C

*Interview scheme*

*(After general salutations and introduction: applies to both countries)*

Theme: *connection to home culture*

A. What is your relationship to the continent? (Mother, Father, Both from sub-Saharan Africa)
   1. Did you travel there a lot in your youth? If so, how often did you go back?
   2. How often do you presently go back?
   3. How long have your parents lived in the Netherlands/Greece -- give rough estimate if not known precisely (do they speak Dutch/Greek)?
   4. Did your parents make it a point to keep you connected to the culture? Did you eat the food from there? Listen to music from there? Speak the national/tribal language? Were you given a traditional name?

B. To what extent do you identify with your “Africanness” or see it as a part of yourself?
   1. Is it something you engage with actively? (consider it a central part of yourself e.g join groups, associations, attend concerts, talks pertaining to the continent)
   2. Beyond something you engage with actively, is it something you portray explicitly? (e.g clothing, hairstyles)
   3. If you do indeed engage with your Africanness explicitly and very outwardly, has your expression of Africaness limited your proximity with your Dutch/Greek side?
   4. Do you make a point of asserting your Africanness? Why? Would this differ if you were not in a predominantly white space? How so?
      a. How have people responded to you dressing ‘outwardly’ African?
Theme: *connection to Dutch/Greek culture*

A. Did you feel like you engaged with Dutch/Greek culture from an early age? (Dutchness/Greekness can be whatever you may conceptualize it as: behavior, values, etiquettes, articulation)

1. How old were you when you realized you were “physically different” from other Dutch/Greek classmates/neighbors/friends? (if one cannot remember: have them recount any early memory of when they realized they were different)

2. When in these spaces, did you feel a sense of alignment, compatibility, belonging or friction? How so?

3. Did you feel as if your Africanness was a noticeable (perhaps hindering or beneficial) factor when engaging with this culture?

4. Do you feel as if this element of Africanness has kept you ‘in’ or has it kept you ‘out’; in other words, has it played a role in your access to certain ‘things’?
   a. In what ways have other citizens responded to you listening to afro beat music, speaking to your family in local tongue? Are you embraced or rejected (reaction can differ between different citizens)
   b. Do you inform people of your African heritage? If so, how do they respond?
   c. Outside of this, how do people respond when something about Africa is in the media?

Theme: *relevance of Africanness + skin color*

A. Multiculturalism has remained a contentious matter in Europe, and particularly in nations such as Germany, the Netherlands, the UK and France. Do you think race (more particularly your Africanness) matters in Dutch/Greek society?
a. If so, why?

b. How have you experienced the Netherlands as someone with an African background?

c. Do you believe your experiences have been similar or different to that of ‘native’ Dutch/Greek citizens? Why?

d. Have you experienced anti-African sentiments from fellow minority citizens?

e. Does your experience differ from other minorities in the Netherlands/Greeks? If so, how?

B. Was there a time you tried to conceal your heritage? (not mention that you were African)

Why?

a. If so, how did people react/respond/treat you under the guise that you were not African?

b. If you eventually did reveal your African heritage, did their reaction/response and treatment change towards you or stay the same?

c. Why do you think it stayed the same/why do you think it changed?

Theme: conceptions of citizenship in the Netherlands/Greece (de jure and de facto)

A. How do you perceive your legal citizenship? Do you believe you have the same rights as other Dutch/Greek citizens, if so/not, why?

B. Do you believe there are a significant number of policies catered to Dutch/Greek ethnic minorities? (This can be workforce, education, social policies)

a. Would you say a number of these are catered to African Dutch/Greek citizens, or to other minority groups?

b. Have you ever felt disadvantaged by a policy passed in parliament?

c. Do you feel a disproportionate number of policies are centered away from your needs? If you do not agree, why?
C. Do you feel like you are included in the Dutch/Greek understanding of citizenship? (what answers, thoughts come to mind when I ask you this question)?

Theme: *experiences of socio-cultural exclusion in the Netherlands/Greece*

(after general conversation regarding background, career, education)

**A. Discrimination**

1. Have you ever experienced any discrimination (conceptualized as unfair treatment based on a personal attribute) based on the color of your skin/blackness? This can be both implicit and explicit
   a. Was this experience rooted in your Africanness in any way e.g your Africanness was brought into the fore of an insult/reason not to higher/reason not to give an apartment?
   b. How often would you say this happens?
   c. Within which domains does this discrimination happen the most for you?
   d. are these occurrences implicit (passive, microaggressions, subtle) or explicit (name-calling, violence)?
   e. Do some of these incidences bring your citizenship into question? E.g slurs such as “go back to your country” or expletives that bring your Africaness to the fore and pushes your Dutchness/Greekness to the periphery **citizenship** has been elaborated above
B. Life Chances

1. Closely linked, do you attribute your current social standing (career, education, living conditions) to your Africanness?
   a. Do you believe that you have been exposed to the same opportunities (career, education, living conditions) and chances your fellow citizens have (native ones)? If not, why?
   b. According to you, is there an opportunity to be socially mobile in the Netherlands/Greece? To what extent do factors such as gender, religion and race play a role in enabling/hindering this?
   c. Would you say your Africanness has hindered your ability to be socially mobile?
   d. Do you sense an exclusiveness in accessing the same areas/domains available to native citizens (e.g. fraternities/sororities at universities, internships, managerial roles in offices)?
   e. If so, does this work to separate Afro-Dutch/Greek citizens from the native citizens?
Appendix D

Methodology and specific processes of the interviews

Johnny Saldana’s hypothesis coding was deemed as the most appropriate method to use due to the possibility to translate the pre-established concepts, quasi-hypotheses, adopted by this research (Afrophobia, passing, name, accent/language, generational bond) into premeditated codes and thereafter effectively assess the veracity of the hypothesis. The method enabled the careful consideration of all central concepts and aligned them against the various responses in order to best assess their significance in the Afro-citizen experience.

The research adopted a qualitative approach in order to best answer the research question and sub-questions. Qualitative research is primarily exploratory and inductive in its workings; it is thus appropriate in circumstances whereby the essence of certain consequences are to be inspected, where the question why and how are of crucial importance (van't Riet et al, 2001). An interview scheme was adopted, with questions dedicated to various themes pertaining to the Afro-citizen experience, however, for the most part, the questions were either improvised or were follow ups from given answers. This enabled respondents to feel less restrained, particularly on a topic that is relatively personal and could assume various trajectories depending on the respondent. McIntosh & Morse (2015) expand on how semi-structured interviews enable interviewers to understand the personal experiences of each, individual respondent relating to the topic.

Two minutes were spared before the start of the interview to familiarize both researcher and respondent with each other whereby non-research related topics were explored and daily catch-ups shared. Lavrakas (2008) describes how creating a rapport between researcher and respondent not only ensures that the respondent will continue and complete the interview, but similarly puts the respondent at ease and generates more honest and open responses. Physical interviews were often carried out in quiet
areas, such as university study rooms. The Skype interviews were similarly carried out in silent areas, including my home or at various libraries across the city. The method adopted to source respondents was largely based on snowball sampling and criterion sampling. Snowball sampling is a method based on referral, whereby one subject/respondent refers a friend or acquaintance that fits the profile of an appropriate respondent and is willing to take part in the research (Sedgwick, 2013). A majority of the respondents were sourced via snowball sampling. Baltar & Brunet (2012) explore how snowball sampling is a time-effective method that spares the time a researcher dedicates to finding respondents, particularly when respondents are hard to find, for example protected groups or outlaws. Criterion sampling refers to a method whereby respondents are chosen on the basis of their fulfilment of certain prerequisites, in this case, second-generation Dutch and Greek citizens of African descent (Patton, 2001).

**Background information on respondents**

Eleven respondents were interviewed, five in the Netherlands and six in Greece, one respondent more than the intended sample goal. The number of interviews carried out was dictated by the availability of time and the intended scope of the research. Below are summaries of each respondent’s background for the purpose of clarity.

**Dutch respondents**

a. DR1 - aged 23 years old; her parents have lived in the Netherlands for 35 years, she is originally from Haarlem but relocated to the Hague in order to pursue higher education. She is of Somali origin.

b. DR2 - aged 23; her mother has lived in the Netherlands for 25 years, originally from Haarlem but pursuing higher education in Amsterdam. She is of Ugandan origin.

c. DR3 - aged 24, her mother has lived in the Netherlands for 27 years; she is from the Hague. She is of both Cape Verdean and Surinamese origin (but identifies with her African roots more closely).
d. DR4 - aged 25; her parents have lived in the Netherlands for 24 years. She is of Congolese origin.

e. DR5 - aged 24; her mother has lived in the Netherlands for 43 years, and her dad for 28 years.
   She is originally from Rotterdam but studies in the Hague. She is of Cape Verdean origin.

*Greek respondents*

a. GR1 - aged 24; his parents have lived in Greece for over 30 years. He is originally from Athens.
   He is of Ghanaian origin.

b. GR2 - aged 27; his parents have lived in Greece for 28 years; originally from Athens. He is of
   Ghanaian origin.

c. GR3 - aged 21; his father has lived in Greece for 21 years, his mother is Greek. He is originally from Athens. He is of both Nigerian and Greek origin.

d. GR4 - aged 28; her parents have lived in Greece for 30 years. Originally from Athens. She is of
   Nigerian origin.

e. GR5 - aged 26; her parents have lived in Greece for 30 years. She is originally from Athens but has recently relocated to the United Kingdom. She is of Nigerian origin.

f. GR6 - aged 26, her mother has lived in Greece for 19 years. She is from Athens. She is of
   Nigerian origin.