The Paradox of Entrepreneurship:
The Ethnic Penalties and the Black Dutch Entrepreneurs

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Several social scientists cite economist Gary Becker’s research in 1957, *The Economics of Discrimination*, as foundational to the exposure of the hidden barriers in the labor market facing ethnic minorities (Becker, 1957; Phalet & Heath, 2010; Siebers, 2010; Guryan & Charles, 2013; Confurius, Gowrichamn, & Dagevos, 2018; McGinnity & Gijsberts, 2018). The rationale behind these ethnic penalties (economic and non-economic disadvantages) is theorized as the result of the ethnic minority’s race\(^1\) (Midtbøen, 2015; Kislev, 2017). In the Netherlands, there has been a few studies stating that black\(^2\) Dutch population face challenges in the labor market, that the dominant theories such as the human\(^3\) capital theory are unable to adequately explain (Balkenhol et al., 2014; De Witte, 2014; Hondius, Essed, & Hoving, 2014; Wekker, 2016). According to a study by the Netherlands Statistics (CBS), beneath the surface, the black Dutch can be systematically disadvantaged in the Dutch’s labor market because of their skin color (Andriessen, Fernee, & Wittebrood., 2014). This suggests that the exploration of race is needed to address these ethnic penalties in the Dutch’s labor market; however, this is challenging, due to the existence of race going unchecked in the Netherlands.

Historical evidence pinpoints race as a concept that originated from Europe; however, the Netherlands has erased this fact, registering the term as only of relevance to the United States (Wekker, 2016). As a result, the Netherlands has morphed into a highly praised, tolerant, and anti-racist nation by erasing traces of their racist colonial past and discontinuing the usage of the term “race” (Möschel, 2011; Weiner, 2014; Wekker, 2016). Some social scientists agree with this action, stating that racism cannot sufficiently explain the inequalities that the ethnic minorities in the Netherlands face (Siebers & Dennissen, 2015). Other social scientists are trying to dismantle this racial skepticism, especially when racism has been presented through strong

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1 This research understands race as being socially constructed (Clair & Denis, 2015)
2 The term black does not equate to a biological category but is used in the terms of political and cultural perspective to represent the descendants of African slaves (Wekker, 2016). This research will use the term to also represent sub-Saharan Africans diasporas members.
3 The human capital theory argues that the main determinant of one’s position in the labor market is their education and work experience (Becker, 1964). More details of the human capital theory will be explained in further details later (Clark & Drinkwater 2008; Spörlein & Van Tubergen, 2014; Confurius et al., 2018).
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The Netherlands’s passive method of dismissing racism and the economics of discrimination has contributed to the surprising increase in the rate of entrepreneurship among ethnic minorities (Kloosterman, 2003; Rusinovic, 2006). Entrepreneurship became a rewarding, default career path for ethnic minorities due to its help with economic mobility and sheltering capability from the discriminatory labor market (Zhou, 2004; Boyd, 2008; Yeboah et al., 2017). However, in the Netherlands, the benefits of going into entrepreneurship are limited for ethnic minorities.

Economic geographer Robert Kloosterman (2003, p. 168) explained that entrepreneurship is a temporary solution for ethnic minorities, merely giving them a chance to avoid the high barriers in the labor market and offering a slightly more rewarding path. The truth behind the temporary services entrepreneurship provides for ethnic minorities in the Netherlands can only be unraveled after looking at the benefits of becoming an entrepreneur.

The first benefit of entrepreneurship is it allows ethnic minorities to escape the discriminatory labor market. During the 1980s, the Netherlands was plagued with an unemployment crisis that severely affected the non-Western immigrants⁴ (Leeman, 2008; Paulle & Kalir, 2013; Keskiner, 2017). In order to address this national crisis and accommodate the non-Western immigrants, numerous policies were developed. One of the most noticeable government intervention acts, the Wassenaar Agreement of 1982, is coined the Dutch Miracle (De Lange, Gesthuizen, & Wolbers, 2014). The Dutch Miracle’s main economic objectives were to decrease the unemployment rates, increase wages, expand part-time employment, and make the labor market more flexible (Remery, Van Doorne-Huiskes, & Schippers, 2002). The Dutch Miracle efforts were seen among the native Dutch immediately after implementation; however, Kloosterman, Van Der Leun, &

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⁴ “A non-Western immigrant is someone who has origins from Turkey or countries in Africa, South America, and Asia, except Indonesia and Japan” (Rusinovic, 2006, p.16). Many of the Dutch’s research studies use the term non-Western immigrant to allude to non-white immigrants. However, the term is a part of the race problem in the Netherlands of which will be discussed later (Bovenkerk et al., 1995; Kloosterman et al., 1998; Kloosterman & Van der Leun, 1999; Rusinovic, 2006). Therefore, the term non-Western immigrant and immigrant will only be mentioned in relation with Dutch literature in order to not distort the context of the particular research. Instead, the term ethnic minorities will be used to reference the black Dutch and other minority groups in the Netherlands.
Rath (1998) noted the Dutch Miracle effects for the non-Western population were not seen until the 1990s, indicating that the labor market systematically marginalized them. As a result, between 1999 and 2002, the total number of entrepreneurs increased from 925,800 to 967,500, with the highest increase among non-Western immigrants (Rusinovic, 2006, p.20). Several of the statistics from the empirical studies on non-Western immigrants defend the theory of entrepreneurship offering ethnic minorities the chance to escape the marginalizing labor market and achieve economic mobility. However, the Turkish and Chinese population are overrepresented in the business sector compared to other non-Western immigrants (Rusinovic, 2006). According to Baycan, Nijkamp, & Sahin, (2007), the Turkish populations has a higher rate of entrepreneurship compared to Moroccans and Surinamese immigrants.

The second benefit of entrepreneurship is that the Netherlands has a supportive climate for individuals and companies with entrepreneurial ambitions (Hughes, 2003). The Dutch’s government has implemented several policies to attract entrepreneurs to sow their seeds in the Netherlands, ensuring them it will be watered with tax benefits, surrounded by fields of other innovators, and have access to global markets and advanced transportation. However, the key to harvesting these incentive benefits lies in the Netherland's definition of an entrepreneur. An entrepreneur is someone who supplies goods or services independently, with the intention to make a profit. This broad definition absorbs many people and requires them to register with the Chamber of Commerce. Through this minor legal step necessary to become an entrepreneur in the Netherlands, social scientists have been able to gather empirical evidence to support their endorsing environment for entrepreneurs. A study in 2003 estimated 54,000 companies started in the Netherlands and directly created 116,000 jobs (Sahin, Baycan, & Nijkamp, 2011). Several Dutch citizens are motivated to go into entrepreneurship for the economic mobility and welcoming climate, but the ethnic minorities also see it as a method of escaping the marginalizing labor market (Kloosterman, 2003).

The opportunities of entrepreneurship seem endless; the Netherlands enables entrepreneurs to thrive and provides ethnic minorities an escape route against the discriminatory labor market. However, the answer to the reason why entrepreneurship offers temporary services for ethnic
minorities is related to the racism embedded in the Netherlands. To further investigate the paradox of ethnic entrepreneurship, the under-researched black Dutch population should be examined. It is argued that the black Dutch entrepreneurs will not be able to harness the full benefits of entrepreneurship due to the ethnic penalties they encountered because of their race.

The black Dutch population can be traced from three main historical events 1) colonial history in the Antilleans and Suriname, 2) economic restructuring after WWII, 3) and political and economic crises in various African countries (De Witte, 2014). As a result, the black Dutch population is a heterogeneous group, with most of the population originating from the Suriname diaspora of 1974-1975\(^5\) (Vermeulen, 2005). The Netherlands has a large pool of literature on the Surinamese population, but only a few addresses the cultural differences and the racial disparity amongst the population. Suriname is a melting pot of different ethnic groups; yet studies have often clumped them together as a single ethnicity. The largest Surinamese ethnic group in the Netherlands is the “Afro-Surinamese or Creoles (descendants of African Slaves) and the Indo-Surinamese or Hindustanis (descendants of contract laborers brought mainly from India to Suriname in the nineteenth century)” (Vermeulen, 2005, p. 953). In addition, the research studies concerning Surinamese entrepreneurs are outdated: earlier research noted that the Chinese and Indo-Surinamese accounted for much of the entrepreneur population, with the Afro (Black) Surinamese being the least active in the Netherlands (Boissevain & Grotenberg, 1987). The second largest group of the Dutch’s black population comes from sub-Saharan Africa, with Ghanaians being the largest ethnic group. The few research studies on Ghanaians indicated they were treated differently because of their race and noted that the overall population from sub-Saharan Africa occupied the worst position in the labor market (Kloosterman, Rusinovic, & Yeboah, 2016; Yeboah, Kloosterman, & Rusinovic, 2017; Confurius et al., 2018). The gap in the literature on the black Dutch population, black Dutch entrepreneurs, and the impact of racism in the Netherlands makes the black Dutch entrepreneur a necessary population to study.

\(^5\) The period leading up to Suriname independence from the Netherlands, which is November 25, 1995 (Vermeulen, 2005).
This thesis will analyze the temporary services ethnic entrepreneurship provides through examining the black Dutch entrepreneurs. This thesis will begin by introducing a theoretical framework, defining key concepts, and discuss the racism embedded in the Netherlands. Followed by chapter three, which will present the research question, research design, data collection technique, the operationalization of key concepts, and the limitations of the research. Chapter four will then analyze the black Dutch experience in the Netherlands and their motivation for going into entrepreneurship. Chapter five will explore the obstacles they faced after becoming self-employed. Lastly, chapter six will conclude with a discussion, a summary of the research, and tips for future research.
Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Chapter two will provide an overview of the human capital theory and its limitations. Afterwards, the Netherlands social environment will be examined to justify an alternative framework, ethnic penalty, which can give a holistic view of the black Dutch entrepreneur experience (Balkenhol et al., 2014).

2.1 Human Capital Theory

The human capital theory was developed by economist Gary Becker in 1964 and argued that the main determinant of one’s position in the labor market is their education and work experience (Becker, 1964; Clark & Drinkwater 2008; Spörlein & Van Tubergen, 2014; Confurius et al., 2018). In 1978, economist Barry Chiswick sought to improve immigrants’ human capital level (education and work experience) after noticing they suffered from the “entry effect” (shortcoming in language, work experience, education) and straddled a weak position in the labor market compared to the native population (Clark & Drinkwater 2008; Hedberg & Tammaru, 2013; Bakker, Dagevos, & Engbersen, 2017). As the human capital theory was increasingly beginning to be used in migration studies, simultaneously, it also became a pivotal tool for measuring the Netherland’s integration policies during the 1980s unemployment crisis (Doorn, Scheepers, & Dagevos, 2013; Lancee & Pardos-Prado, 2013). Subsequently, the human capital theory became a popular framework within the entrepreneurship studies; however, it proved to be insignificant when applied to non-Western immigrants because the effects of education or work experience did not affect their rate of going into entrepreneurship (Sanders & Nee, 1996; Seghers, Manigart, & Vanacker, 2012; Yeboah et al., 2017). The causation of the human capital theory being an insufficient framework when applied to ethnic entrepreneurs can be summarized by the widely popular theory that ethnic minorities motivation for going into entrepreneurship is because of the racial discrimination in the host country (Zhou, 2004; Boyd, 2008; Yeboah et al., 2017). The inability of the human capital theory to adequately describe why non-Western immigrants’ rates of entry in entrepreneurship do not follow predicted trajectories, is because the human capital theory doesn’t consider the implicit biases of the host country. Because of this, it fails to account for how implicit biases resulted in economic and non-
economic disadvantages (Clark and Drinkwater 2008; Spörlein and Van Tubergen, 2014; Confurius et al. 2018). As a result, escaping the marginalizing environment and the discriminatory practices in the labor market is a top priority for ethnic minorities and a leading factor in their rate into entrepreneurship, not their human capital level (Herman, 2006; Siebers, 2010; Siebers & Dennissen, 2015; Confurius et al. 2018). There are other limitations to the human capital theory when applied to ethnic entrepreneurs, but this is the main limitation that makes the theory an improper framework when looking at the black Dutch entrepreneurs; a group that has been proven to face discrimination because of their skin color (Balkenhol et al., 2014)

2.2 Netherlands's Social Environment

One of the biggest problems with studying the Dutch’s black population, is it has rarely been done. The black experience has been predominantly presented by literature from the United States or the United Kingdom, but what does it mean to be black in the Netherlands? This subsection attempts to give an introduction to the Netherlands’s social environment: racial system, socio-political dynamics, and its’ labor market structure to demonstrate the hidden barriers the black Dutch population and other ethnic minorities must overcome.

2.2.1 Racial Skepticism

When examining the black Dutch population, it is important to critically evaluate the role race plays even though, as mentioned earlier, it is rarely done. Gloria Wekker, an Afro Surinamese Dutch cultural anthropologist, published White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race, one of the first books discussing the black Dutch population and race in the Netherlands. In the book, she summarized the main reasons for the denial of racism in the Netherlands. The first reason is explained through the three paradoxes of the white Dutch’ self-image. The first paradox is that the white Dutch population does not identify with migrants regardless of the fact that the Netherlands was formed by migrants (Wekker, 2016). The second paradox is the white Dutch’s perception of themselves as a victim of German occupation during World War II (Wekker, 2016). This perception overlooks the violent acts that were occurring simultaneously at the same
time under, such as the fight for independence in Indonesia. Lastly, the third paradox revolves around the Dutch’s imperial presence since the sixteenth century until the end of the twentieth century and its absence in the educational institutions, monuments, literature, and much more (Balkenhol, 2011; Wekker, 2016). The second reason for the denial of racism is because the term race has been discontinued after World War II, only being used to reference a type of animal or vegetable (Wekker, 2016; Reekum, 2016). As a result, the Netherlands never introduced a critical race body of literature, choosing instead to expand and develop their migration studies (Hondius et al., 2014). However, within the migration studies, ethnicity became the replacement analytical tool for discussing the variables and factors of race. But, when it comes to examining ethnicity, it is rarely studied from the perspective of whiteness as a racialized position; failing to see the privilege of white and its’ ability to be the term synonymous with what it means to be a native Dutch (Wekker, 2016). Therefore, substituting the term ethnicity for race did not make racism go away, it is still present in the Netherlands and impacts several of the non-white Dutch population every day (Hondius et al., 2014).

2.2.2 In-out Groups

The Netherlands’ political composition is entangled with identity policies that are reinforced through society and institutions. One of the main identity policies that divide the country is the definition of what it means to be a native and an immigrant (Paulle & Kalir, 2014). The CBS definition of immigrants divides them into two categories: first-generation and second-generation. A first-generation immigrant is someone who was born outside the Netherlands and a second-generation immigrant is a person born in the Netherlands with at least one parent born outside the country (Confurius et al., 2018). Furthermore, in the Dutch literature, ‘allochtonen’ is a Dutch term used to describe non-white immigrants. Many social scientists and ethnic minorities regard ‘allochtonen’ and immigrants as a derogatory term because it disregards highly integrated migrants and their children/grandchildren from being viewed as a “native” Dutch (Balkenhol, 2011; Hondius et al., 2014; Simonsen, 2016; Wekker, 2016). As a result of the national definition of an immigrant and the term ‘allochtonen’, in and out groups are easily created and reinforced on a national and local scale (Confurius et al., 2018). In addition, previous
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studies found that in-group favoritism exists, with different minority groups experiencing varying degrees of social acceptance- the perceived or degree of acceptance between a member of one’s social group and the other (Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000; Simonsen, 2016; Kislev, 2017). The in-group favoritism in the Netherlands aided the creation of a social hierarchy scale, with northern European being favored highly, followed closely by Jews, and other southern Europeans, then by former Dutch colonies and territories members\(^6\), and then finally Moroccans and Turkish people (Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000).

2.2.3 Dutch Labor Market Structure

The racial denial and the in-out group effects descended into the Dutch’ labor market and escalated the problems for ethnic minorities. Previous studies in the Netherlands have proven that ethnic minorities face challenges in the labor market because of their skin color or ethnic markers such as language, culture, or religion (Andriessen et al., 2014; Balkenhol et al., 2014; Gracia, Vázquez-Quesada, & Van De Werfhorst, 2015; Weiner, 2014; McGinnity & Gijsberts, 2018). This means non-Western immigrants’ entry into the labor market is difficult not because they lack work experience or educational merits, but because racism and in-group favoritism are intertwined in the Dutch’s labor market structured. Social scientists have listed the two of the main disadvantages’ immigrants face in the Dutch’s labor market.

The first disadvantage focuses on the double standards apparent in the elements that are the key to employability in the Netherlands. The Dutch’s labor market strongly values higher education, work experience, language proficiency, and economic status; yet certain non-Western education attainments do not hold value (Kloosterman, 2003; De Vries & Wolbers, 2004; Heering & Bekke, 2008; De Vroome et al., 2011; Doorn et al., 2013; Spörlein & Van Tubergen, 2014; Gracia et al., 2015; Confurius et al., 2018). Several research studies have shown that non-Western immigrants who have received their education from their host country are in a less favorable position, with no comparative advantages nor direct access to the labor market (Bovenkerk et al. 1995; De Lange et al. 2014; Midtbøen, 2015; Bakker et al. 2017; Confurius et

\(^6\) The Black Dutch population from Suriname is a part of this hierarchy, being higher than other members of the black Dutch population, the Moroccans, and the Turkish population.
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al. 2018). This has discouraged educated non-Western immigrants who often do not want to go back to school or do not have additional economic resources (Balkenhol, 2011; De Vroome et al. 2011).

The second disadvantage ethnic minorities face in the labor markets is limited career options because of the increasing polarization of employment in the Netherlands (Lusis & Bauder, 2010; Scott, 2014). According to social scientists, contemporary globalization is the main causation of job polarization due to the increase in international trade and offshoring (Krishna & Pieterse, 2008; Terzidis, Van Maarseveen, & Ortega-Argiles, 2017). Job polarization has been widely defined as the “increase in the employment shares of low- and high-skilled jobs, accompanied by a decrease in middle-skilled occupations and an increase in wage inequality” (Terzids et al., 2017, p.4). Job polarization was a leading trend in the Netherlands urbanized areas between 1999 and 2012; many social scientists saw the increase in low-skilled jobs as a positive thing for immigrants because they could get a job more easily despite the “entry effect” (Van Der Waal & Burgers, 2011; Terzids et al., 2017). The ability of immigrants to be absorbed into the job market is beneficial; however, some of these low-skilled jobs are categorized as precarious: temporary employment, low wages, low income security, and no career advancement opportunities (Lusis & Bauder, 2010; De Lange et al., 2014; Ahmad, 2015). Precarious jobs are highly criticized, with empirical studies claiming it leads to loss of productive skills and lack of work experience (De Vries & Wolbers, 2004; Gash, 2008; De Lange et al., 2014). To be more transparent, it must be stated that anyone can fall trap to precarious employment, but immigrants are more vulnerable due to the “entry effect”, discrimination, and their dependent on their social network (Remery et al., 2002; Lancee, 2012; De Lange et al., 2014; Ahmad, 2015). Social network is an important resource-opportunity structure that allows immigrants entry into the labor market (Kalnins & Chung, 2006; Ahmad 2015; Tegegne, 2015). However, Lancee (2012) explained that relying on one’s own ethnic network can put one at risk of discrimination when searching for a job. Ahmad (2015) agrees, arguing that the over usage of one’s social network can funnel immigrants into low skilled jobs regardless of their human capital level and entrap them. The next subsection will
introduce the main theoretical framework that can consider the racial inequalities embedded in the Dutch’s social environment.

### 2.3 Ethnic Penalty

To describe the economic and non-economic disadvantages in the labor market, social scientists have used the term ethnic penalty. Ethnic penalty is a concept used to explain and analyze the disparity that remains in the labor market between ethnic minorities and the native population that cannot be explained by the human capital theory (Midtbøen, 2015; Kislev, 2017). One of the main reasons why ethnic penalties exist is because of racial discrimination. Cultural anthropologist Frank Bovenkerk et al. (1995) conceptualized discrimination into two categories, direct and indirect, with sociologist Lancee (2012) citing these as the main forms of discrimination in the labor market. Direct discrimination is the most common form and it occurs when employers buy into the stereotypes of the unfamiliar group and base their hiring on racial characteristics (De Vries & Wolbers, 2004; Siebers, 2010; Hedberg & Tammaru, 2013; Confurius et al., 2018; McGinnity & Gijsberts, 2018). Indirect discrimination are rules and practices that are not “intrinsically discriminatory, but which have detrimental consequences for immigrants” (Bovenkerk et al., 1995, p. 1). As businesses are looking for employees through their own social networks, immigrants are excluded because they do not belong to the native’s social network (Lancee, 2012; Lucas et al., 2014; Kislev, 2017).

Social exclusion, non-economic disadvantages, and the discriminatory labor market are the main reasons why the ethnic penalty framework incorporates examining the social environment. Kislev’s (2017) research on ethnic penalty indicated that the social environment of the host country has a significant impact on immigrants’ labor position. Due to previous studies noting that a negative social environment is detrimental for ethnic minorities, the ethnic penalty framework continues to look at immigrants even after they have “integrated” into the host society. In the research of Doorn et al. (2013), the social scientists demonstrated that Moroccans faced heightened discrimination in the job search because of the integration paradox- the more integrated you are, the more at risk you are to discrimination. Research from Heering & Bekke (2008, p. 100) stated similar facts; a report by Monitor Rassendiscriminatie published that 60%
of second-generation Moroccans felt “discriminated during a job interview at least once within a year because of their ethnic background”.

The ethnic penalty framework is a holistic approach, making it a popular analytical tool to examine the economics of discrimination (Phalet & Heath, 2010; Midtbøen, 2015); however, it has rarely been applied in the Netherlands and if so, it was only applied to the Turkish or Moroccan second-generation immigrants (Gracia et al., 2015). The reasoning for being applied predominately to second-generation immigrants is because on average they have a higher human capital level and lower unemployment rates than first-generation immigrants, but still deviate from the native population in academic merits and in the labor market (Midtbøen, 2015). Meaning, with a clear comparative advantage over first-generation immigrants, the obstacles second-generation immigrants faced in the labor market can be attributed more easily to their skin color (Midtbøen, 2015). Additionally, the ethnic penalty framework is rarely applied to second-generation ethnic entrepreneurs because they are still young and in the process of continuing their schooling (Rusinovic, 2006). Therefore, applying the ethnic penalty framework to first-and second-generation black Dutch entrepreneurs can help address the temporary solution entrepreneurship offers and contribute to the gap in the literature on this under-researched population and the racism embedded in the Netherlands.
Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology
Within this chapter, the methodology of the research will be reviewed. This includes the research question, research design, and the data collection technique. Afterwards, the operationalization of ethnic penalty will be broken down and the discussion of the limitations within this study will be examined.

3.1 Research Question
To further investigate the temporary services entrepreneurship provides for ethnic minorities, this thesis will apply the ethnic penalty framework to first-and second-generation black Dutch entrepreneurs. The rationale behind applying the ethnic penalty framework to this group of people is because they are victims of the economic and non-economic disadvantages in the Netherlands, due to the historical legacy of racism and colonialism still impacting the social economic aspects of their lives (De Witte, 2014; Hondius et al., 2014; Wekker, 2016). To identify these racially inscribed economic disadvantages embedded in the Netherlands and the impact it imposes for the black Dutch entrepreneurs, the following question is proposed:

‘How do ethnic penalties impact black Dutch entrepreneurs?’

To assist the research question, the following sub-questions will be addressed:

1. What obstacles do the black Dutch population face in the labor market?
2. What are the benefits of going into entrepreneurship?
3. What are the obstacles for the black Dutch population after becoming an entrepreneur?
4. How have the black Dutch entrepreneurs transformed and engaged Amsterdam’s Economy?

3.2 Research Design
Due to this topic being under-researched, an exploratory research design is implemented. Exploratory research is suited for problems that have not been defined or explored yet (Bryman, 2012). In addition, although, the CBS offers statistics on self-employment, it does not further distinguish the group by ethnicity or country of origin. Therefore, the methods of this exploratory
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research design deploy a qualitative approach, which has been proven to be a powerful method in previous studies on the black population and black entrepreneurs (Jones & Spinuzzi, 2017; Van Laer & Janssens, 2017; Gericke, Löwe, & Pundt, 2018). Additionally, this study will be interpreted from an economic geography perspective. Economic geography “is the location of production in space”, this definition of economic geography was used to mainly explain regional economic disparities (Krugman, 1991, p. 483). However, this study will use an interdisciplinary approach of economic geography to examine the “cultural dimensions of economic relations, to pay attention to non-economic factors such as formal and informal institutions at various spatial scales, and to put a strong emphasis on actors’ network and interrelations, power, social agency, and social-cultural embeddedness of actors in multiple networks” (Hassink, & Gong, 2019, p.5). Through this wide interdisciplinary understanding of economic geography, this study can explore the distribution of the black Dutch businesses and examine the economic disadvantages reinforced in the Netherland’s social and economic structures. The benefits of interpreting the findings from an economic geography perspective allow for this study to go beyond traditional economics and investigate the place’s social environment (Dicken, 2004). Additionally, an economic geography perspective enables this research to explore the power-relationship dynamics in play in the Netherlands, as well as look at the geography of globalization and its impact on the Dutch’s labor market and the laborers (Dicken, 2004). The main methods implemented to answer the research question from an economic geography perspective are a spatial analysis and semi-structured interviews.

3.3 Research Methods and Data Collection

3.3.1 Spatial Analysis

Using the same definition of an entrepreneur as the Netherlands, this study incorporates a spatial analysis to bring a fresh perspective to the obstacles of the black Dutch entrepreneurs. A spatial analysis is a geographical analysis that aims to explain the pattern of human behavior and its spatial significances (Wang, 2012). Wang (2012) indicated that a spatial analysis can help researchers examine the interaction between the entrepreneurial process and space (Wang, 2012). Yeung (2009) also noted that a spatial framework in the past was rarely utilized, but it has
become a popular tool for studying ethnic entrepreneurship today. The component of the spatial analysis will be presented by displaying the allocation of the black Dutch’s businesses through GIS. The spatial area that will be examined will be a large scale of Amsterdam. Amsterdam is divided into eight regions or boroughs: Nord (North), Oost (East), Zuidoost (Southeast), Zuid (South), Nieuw-West (New-West), West, Westpoort (non-residential area), and Centrum (Central). The shapefile of the districts was provided by City Data, data that is available to the public and serviced by the municipality and external parties.

3.3.2 Semi-structured Interviews

The second research method implemented was semi-structured interviews with black Dutch entrepreneurs who had businesses or organizations in Amsterdam. The advantage of using semi-structured interviews is it allowed for probing, flexibility, and provided a realistic view beyond numerical data that can help launch new ways of understanding a phenomenon (Bryman, 2012). The method used to recruit participants was the snowball sampling method, which is a type of purposive sampling technique (Bryman, 2012). Within the snowball sampling method, participants recommended others who may be able to participate in the study. This sampling method gives a wider pool of participants researchers may otherwise not have been able to contact (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017).

In total, sixteen interviews were conducted with black Dutch entrepreneurs. Ten were first-generation and six were second-generation. The small number of second-generation respondents make it difficult to draw conclusions. Given that both generation groups had similar educational attainments, language proficiencies, and citizenship status, the two groups will be analyzed as one (Balkenhol et al., 2014; De Witte, 2014; Wekker, 2016). In addition, the sample population had a gender balance, eight respondents were females and eight were males because the black experience differs according to one’s gender (Shelby, 2002). Baycan et al. (2007) study stated that some ethnic minorities sought entrepreneurship as an alternative route to break free from traditional gender roles. As previous studies have examined the impact of an entrepreneur’s gender, it is important for it to be examined; however, this study will not focus on the differences between the genders but will encourage future studies to look at this angle. Lastly, a limitation of
relying on semi-structured interviews are respondents may have difficulties recalling certain details asked about their life (Ahmad, 2015). A second limitation is it is time-consuming, so phone interviews had to be an alternative option instead of an in-person interview. Seven of the interviews were conducted on the phone.

The topics for the semi-structured interviews were based on eight themes (See Appendix A). There was no need for a separate topic list for the organization that was interviewed because the respondent identified as being an entrepreneur that served the community. The organization that was interviewed was purposely selected after each participant mentioned the Bijlmer neighborhood as an important residential area for their community and congregation. Table 1 shows an overview of the respondent’s, age, immigration status, if they had a physical location for their business, their country of origin, and their type of business. The type of businesses the black Dutch entrepreneurs set up was within the service industry, which was further divided into the type of services they provided: Beauty (2), Cultural (4), Consultancy (5), Media (2), Tech (2), and Leisure (1). The respondent’s name and the name of their business will stay anonymous; however, for the spatial analysis, the location of their business will be pinpointed on the map. The interviews took place between March 27 to April 25th and lasted 45 to 90 minutes, they were taped and manually transcribed (See Appendix B).
## Table 1

**Characteristics of Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Type of Services Provided</th>
<th>Age (years)</th>
<th>Immigration Status</th>
<th>Have a physical location for their business Y/N (yes/no)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Suriname</td>
<td>Beauty</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Tech</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Suriname</td>
<td>Consultancy</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Suriname</td>
<td>Consultancy</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>Beauty</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Suriname</td>
<td>Media</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Suriname</td>
<td>Consultancy</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Suriname</td>
<td>Consultancy</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Suriname</td>
<td>Consultancy</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>Tech</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Suriname</td>
<td>Media</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Author, 2019)
3.4 Operationalization

According to the theoretical framework, the ethnic penalty framework needed to include direct discrimination, the social environment, and the Dutch’s labor market structure. Therefore, the variables of ethnic penalty needed to be made tangible into measurable concepts: the social environment and the labor market structure. The concepts are then defined using dimensions that are based on the theoretical framework. The dimensions are further operationalized through indicators that can measure the certain dimension. Some of the indicators are further categorized into sub-indicators when necessary.

The social environment is the first concept of ethnic penalty in this study. The dimension of the social environment is social exclusion: the disadvantages accumulated from being excluded from shared opportunities in the political, cultural, economic environment, leading to groups being separated because of “otherness” (Hooimeijer & Weesep, 1998; Mathieson et al., 2008). The social exclusion dimension includes three indicators. The first indicator of social exclusion is direct discrimination based on racial features such as skin color. The second indicator is in-out groups. This is an important indicator because regardless of one’s educational background or duration in the Netherlands one can still be perceived as an outsider (Mathieson et al., 2008; Lucas et al., 2014). However, as Confurius et al. (2018) demonstrated, not every ethnic group is preferred above others, the sub-indicator for in-out groups can be distinguished by the similarities and differences with the native population, which impacts an individual’s sense of belonging (Simonsen, 2016). Lastly, the third indicator of social exclusion is the institutions within the host country. Institutions are structures within society that reinforce the social order, such as the educational system, political systems, financial sectors, and/or even the neighborhood. The sub-indicator of institutions is separated into positive and negative categories to measure the impact each category has on the black Dutch entrepreneur. The second concept of ethnic penalty is the labor market structure. The polarization of employment is the dimension being examined and the indicator is one of the characteristics of precarious employment: no career advancement opportunities (De Lange et al., 2014).
3.5 Limitations

While completing this research there were some limitations that must be addressed. The biggest limitation of this research was this topic being under-researched due to the black Dutch population not being a commonly recognizable group in academic research, such as the black population in the United States. As a result, the exact number of the black Dutch population is hard to determine partly because of the mixed geographical origins, narratives, experiences, culture, and the ambiguity of the term itself. Therefore, choosing to use the term black in this research comes with some restrictions; however, it is very much necessary to analyze this growing self-identifying black population in the Netherlands and their obstacles because of the dismissive stand on racism in the Netherlands (Hondius et al., 2014).

A second limitation of this study occurred because of the snowball sampling methodology. This research began with an entrepreneur who was well informed about all the black-owned businesses in Amsterdam. However, unfortunately, due to the first person being a first-generation black Surinamese person, the majority of the participants recommended also had roots in Suriname. This is a direct result of the people they recommended being from their same social network, which is often based on one’s ethnic group. Therefore, it is important to look at the twelve black Surinamese respondents from a different perspective than others due to their brief comparative advantage: cultural understanding, grasp of the Dutch language, and Dutch citizenship (Vermeulen, 2005).

A third limitation of this research was the result of the researcher’s nationality. This made semi-structured interviews difficult because some respondents did not feel comfortable speaking in English. To overcome the insecurity some of the respondents felt, it was important to listen carefully to each participant. Thoroughly listening gave the chance for the researcher to recite back what respondents said to make sure she fully understood everything. This method also allowed respondents to elaborate or correct themselves if needed. Lastly, because the researcher had an African American background, her views on the ethnic penalty framework and racism are to the best of her ability presented from a non-bias standpoint.
Chapter 4: The Journey to Entrepreneurship

This chapter will be divided into two halves. The first half aims to investigate the black Dutch population’s self-awareness of their socioeconomic position in the Netherlands. Their perceived socioeconomic position is based on their social characteristics: race, social class, religion, country of origin, and much more (Andriessen et al., 2014). The second half will discuss the main ethnic penalties that projected them into entrepreneurship and the benefits of being an entrepreneur.

4.1 Racial Acknowledgement

As mentioned in the theoretical framework, the Netherlands is skeptical about racism, yet experiencing direct discrimination in the Netherlands is a reoccurring narrative for several ethnic minority groups (Hermans, 2006). Respondent four urged the Dutch government to not be deceived into believing we live in a post-racist society, “the racism in this country smells differently, but it is still here. The Dutch are normal European who went and suppress the rest of the world, nothing more and nothing less.” (Interview 4, 2019). This was a common understanding of racism from all the respondents; however, it contradicts the Netherlands highly praised reputation as a tolerant society. Dörr & Faist (1997) and Ghorashi et al. (2014) argued that the Netherlands have a passive method of dismissing racism because of their sense of righteousness and good it does for others. Therefore, some social scientists believe that the inequality that is embedded in the Netherlands is actually the causation of cultural racism.

However, Hondius et al. (2014, p. 289) dismiss this fallacy, explaining that it is too early “to conclude that “race” is a thing of the past, and that “culture” and “religion” have replaced it”. Social scientists Schrijvers (2014) and Siebers & Dennissen (2014) agree, cultural racism is not an appropriate successor of racism because it’s too similar to the historical colonial racism of oppression and exclusion that is linked to biological or cultural differences.

The inability to collectively acknowledge the racism in this country further prolong the problems for ethnic minorities. Respondent ten shares his thoughts, “you know you can't touch the racism here, but you can feel it.” (Interview 10, 2019). Respondent ten and others felt powerless to
address the impact of racism in their lives. Schrijvers (2014) believed this feeling stemmed from ethnic minority affairs being ignored and further support respondent ten claims by examining the case of Zwarte Piet (Black Pete). Black Pete⁷ is a popular folkloric figure in the Netherlands that is celebrated annually by thousands of individuals wearing blackface to represent the soot Black Pete encountered from going down the chimneys (Schrijvers, 2014). This imagery of Black Pete symbolizes two very different messages to the Dutch population. For most of the ethnic minorities and some of the white Dutch population, Black Pete is a controversial figure. Black Pete is regularly depicted as a man with thick lips, curly coarse hair, with a Surinamese or a Moroccan accent, and actively portrays the “happy black” stereotype by singing, dancing, and cracking jokes for the pleasure of the white population (Wekker, 2016, p.142). The remainder of the Dutch population view Black Pete as playing a vital role to the Dutch’s national identity, being only criticized as “an innocent and thoroughly pleasant traditional festivity” (Wekker, 2016, p.142). The division of the symbolic meaning of Black Pete can be further depicted through surveys and protests throughout the country. A 2012 survey showed that in the city of Amsterdam, “27% of the Surinamese, 18% of the Antilleans, and 14% of the Ghanaian population felt discriminated against by the appearance and speech of Black Pete compared to 1% of the white Amsterdammers” (Wekker, 2016, p. 143). In addition, protests for and against Black Pete is viewed in a shallow manner; being pro Pete is to be racist, while the latter is rejecting racism and intrinsically the Dutch’s national identity (Schrijvers, 2014). The two different symbolic meanings of Black Pete have yet to reach a compromise. Therefore, Hondius et al. (2014) want to be clear that most Dutch citizens do not tolerate racism, instead, the problem lies in the structural part of society remaining passive to racism regardless of research and politicians urging it to be a relevant factor.

4.1.2 In-out Groups
Many of the respondents retold a story about feeling like they were socially excluded because of their skin color or country of origin. Respondent one recalls the time when she first learned she was an outsider. “I remember during elementary school [age 8], that people didn’t understand

⁷ Similar to Santa Claus’s helper
that I was just a black girl. They kept asking me if my skin underneath was white, and it was very insulting, but also very confusing to me. I felt like I was the same as them, but they made me realize that I was not the same, I was different.” (Interview 1, 2019). The act of racism is a learned behavior and at an early age, children may not be intentionally trying to make one feel uncomfortable because they look different; however, this experience demonstrates what it means to be Dutch in the Netherlands and how it is reinforced at an early age. Being Dutch means to be white, a privilege accumulated over history because of preferences placed on their cultural practices (Christianity and the Dutch language) and identity (Verkuyet & Kinket, 2000; Reekum, 2006; Weiner, 2014; Wekker, 2016). As a result, other groups are commonly perceived as an outsider, often thought as a threat to the traditional norms and values (Van Assche et al., 2014). A consequence of these in-out group’s dynamics impacted individuals’ sense of belonging, the sub-indicator of the in-out groups. Nine respondents explained that they did not feel like they belonged in the Netherlands. “Even though you have a Dutch passport, when you are filling out papers/forms, they want to remind you that you are still Ghanaian. “What is your country of birth?” Although your nationality changed, they still want to know your country of birth.” (Interview 3, 2019). Reekum (2016) explained the Dutch image was reconstructed during the 1980s, during the influx of immigrants and only uprooted what the Dutch deem to be Dutch, casting out all others with almost no exceptions. Therefore, respondents felt that regardless of their similarities with the Dutch culture, they were members of the out-group. This is because the Black Dutch distinct physical appearance and cultural expression can make native Dutch perceive a cultural distance between them (De Vroome et al., 2011). This daunting reality is why the black Surinamese and other African Diaspora people living in the Netherlands have decided to identify as being black Dutch, not as an immigrant or a person from Suriname, but as a black person living in the Netherlands. This choice is the result of their understanding that they did not fit perfectly in the “Dutch” image nor was treated as such. Research by Dheer & Lenartowicz (2018) supports the Dutch’s black population efforts to develop a unifying image of themselves because it can help them establish their sense of belonging and can help assist them with combating discriminatory practices.
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4.2 Negative Institutions
Institutions were the third indicator of the social exclusion dimension and were further separated into positive and negative sectors. The negative impact of the institutions will be discussed and although the negative institutions are more than the education and the marketing sectors, they were the main institutions listed by respondents during the interview. As a result, discussing these two institutions allowed for the investigation of their impact on the black Dutch population that remain institutionally invisible and inarticulate (Ghorashi, 2014; Hondius et al., 2014).

4.2.1 Education
According to the 2014 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report, the Netherlands has one of the highest-ranking education systems in Europe because of its unique educational structure. The Dutch’s education system is stratified after elementary school into three levels and plays an important role in students’ career paths (Albers, 2001). Listing from lowest to highest are the secondary level students are placed in pre-vocational (VMBO), the senior general (HAVO) and the pre-university education (VWo) (Kucel & Vilalta-Bufi, 2013). The level students are placed in are not stationary, students have the option to switch their secondary tracking, but it is difficult and usually takes longer (Crul & Holdaway, 2009). Therefore, Pásztor (2012) argues that higher education in the Netherlands is not as accessible for everyone due to only VWO students having direct access to a university. Ten of the respondents received higher education: three respondents received their higher education from a foreign university and seven received a higher education from the following secondary tracking: HAVO (1) and VWo (6)

So how is the education system negatively impacting the ethnic minorities specifically? Ethnic minorities are overrepresented in the lower level of education tracks in the Netherlands due to language barriers, teachers, or improper measurement of the cito exam (Pásztor, 2012; Weiner, 2014). The cito exam is an assessment student take during their final year of elementary school which offers guidance to teachers and parents for which secondary tracking is best suited for a child (Crul & Holdaway, 2009; De Lange et al., 2014). Respondent one shares her results from the cito exam, “I always been smart, but did not test well on the cito exam. My mother made me
retake it with another company and I scored higher. However, I decided not to transfer school and graduated from the lowest studies.” (Interview 1, 2019). An under-researched theory to respondent’s one low score is because the cito exam was designed for the entire population, but not applicable for certain subgroups within the population (Uiterwijk & Vallen, 2003). The cito exam measures student’s command of the Dutch language, mathematical skills, history, geography, and study skills. It is argued that “hidden skill has not been mastered equally by the various subgroups of students that take part in the test.” (Uiterwijk & Vallen, 2003, p. 130). Respondent seven agrees with this theory, stating that too often the students from the black Dutch population are not given the same opportunities as the natives because they are constantly competing in a system not designed for them. “Our creativity is put along a white benchmark. We are spending our lives trying to fit in a white way of thinking, this is backward. When you put a monkey and a dog in front of a tree, and you tell them who can be the fastest in the tree. Who will win? The monkey. But they don't measure what the dog can do because they will always underestimate the dog because he can't climb the tree.” (Interview 4, 2019).

4.2.2 Marketing

The last indicator of the negative institutions in the Netherlands is the lack of products or services being marketed to the black Dutch population. Boterman (2013) praises Amsterdam for being a diverse city, with half of the population having a non-Dutch background; yet products or entertainment do not represent the diversity of the city. Respondent number nine is puzzled for why the black Dutch population is not represented in the media. “We exist, in large numbers, yet we’re not represented in the Dutch media. It doesn't give enough attention to the stories of the black or migrant communities. These communities also do not realize they're not being serviced properly, honestly, and respectfully in Dutch mainstream media. The only way the black community is presented in the media is as a criminal or an entertainer.” (Interview 9, 2019).

What respondent nine stated, is not a new phenomenon, migrants are associated with all sorts of problems such as crime, societal decay, and ghettoization (Siebers, 2010; Balkenhol, 2011). Wekker (2016, p.74) is also disgusted by this misguided narrative of blacks being portrayed as
athletic, having low literacy rate, being an entertainer, and as an organism of the lowest steps of the social ladder.

In addition, beyond the media, hair products are not marketed towards the black Dutch population. The absence of hair products for black people hair has been argued by social scientists as a structural system that validated the ideology of white supremacy. This arguable notion states that white supremacy has been historically reinforced through the appraisal of European beauty and the marketing of the features of the black body as undesirable (Hondius et al., 2014; Joseph-Salisbury & Connelly, 2018). For decades, instead of making products for kinky and curly hair, an alternative harmful product was marketed towards the black population—perms and relaxers. Dunn (2015) explained that black people used these harmful products because it was necessary for entry into the labor market; on top of all the discriminatory practiced in the labor market, black people hair was another obstacle that needed to be dealt with because their hair was deemed unprofessional (Joseph-Salisbury & Connelly, 2018). Respondent one highlights this awful reality, “The black community has been suppressed and damaged by the chemical altering businesses. Perms and relaxers should be prohibited. It’s criminals the stuff they put in it and they’re not even getting arrested.” (interview 1, 2019). However, since the natural hair movement started in the United States in the 2000s, more products have been created and marketed to individuals with kinky and curly hair, but black people hairstyles are still being discriminated and perms are still being sold (Joseph-Salisbury & Connelly, 2018).

4.3 Labor Market Structure
This subsection will go into details of the impact of job polarization and the repercussion of its sub-indicator, no career advancement opportunity. The Netherlands’ integration policies assumed that if an immigrant had a job, it would decrease their chances of experiencing discrimination and lead to successful integration, but didn’t factor in their vulnerability into getting projected into precarious jobs (Remery et al., 2002; Lusis & Bauder, 2010; Mcginnity, Mertens & Gundert, 2005). Respondent one reflected on her work experience before she became an entrepreneur. “I always got the shitty jobs [was in the call center industry], never ended up with a super high paying job. I was always in the middle, you know. I never had the opportunity
to grow or get a promotion. I was so afraid and insecure in the environment, so I just dumb myself down and stayed in the low-end jobs. I ended up quitting my job. But I realized for the first time, I had to work harder, look the best, talk a certain way or to try to not stand out simply to just fit in and not be noticed.” (Interview 1, 2019). Respondent’s one feeling supports Siebers (2010) claim that ethnic minorities may feel more insecure than others, impacting their career advancement opportunities. In addition, because of insecurity and heightened competition in the labor market, ethnic minorities are increasingly willing to accept these dead-end jobs (Remery et al., 2002; Lancee & Pardos-Prado, 2013; Terzids et al., 2017). But accepting these dead-end jobs is detrimental, leaving individuals with lower pay, low job satisfaction, and limits their career advancement opportunities (Verbruggen et al., 2015). Respondent eleven is aware of this problem, “9/10 times we’re in supporting role. We are good to create, but we are not good enough to own. Most jobs we have as black [people] in Europe are supporting roles. As a CEO who built companies, I can tell you how often I see black people in those types of roles. And even though we have some DAM successful black people and are educated, we don't see them in the boardroom.” (Interview 11, 2019).

4.4 Trajectory into Entrepreneurship

Previous research studies discovered that ethnic minorities frequently go into entrepreneurship because of racial inequality diffused in the social environment and the labor market (Zhou, 2004; Boyd, 2008; Jones & Spinuzzi, 2017; Nkrumah, 2018). These international findings are parallel to the Dutch’s findings that states immigrants seek entrepreneurship to combat the discriminatory practices in the labor market (Masurel et al., 2002; Kloosterman, 2003, Sahin et al., 2011; Yeboah et al., 2017). This study also produced similar results; the black Dutch population went into entrepreneurship to escape the racially inscribed disadvantages embedded in the Netherlands. The main ethnic penalty respondents elaborated on in the first section were racial discrimination, in-out groups, inadequate services being provided, and the funneling into precarious jobs. This second section will summarize how these ethnic penalties motivated the black Dutch population into entrepreneurship and the benefits entrepreneurship have to offer.
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The first reason why the black Dutch population is going into entrepreneurship is because of the social exclusion from certain services. Marketing was the main ethnic penalty discussed in the first half, with respondents realizing the lack of marketing towards them reinforced the social hierarchy and the “in-out group dynamics” (Mcginnity & Gijsberts, 2018). Ten respondents were motivated into entrepreneurship to address the inadequate products, services, and cultural representation in the Netherlands. Respondent sixteen discussed how he set out to create a space in Amsterdam that did not exist for black Dutch entrepreneurs. “In Suriname, there are several radio stations that present the ideas of the people, but in the Netherlands, there is no platform or space for this to be completed. I had to start this radio show in partnership with the Surinamese radio station who provided all the equipment and location for me. They believed what I had to say needed to be said and shared in Amsterdam.” (Interview 16, 2019). Respondents sixteen and others used their experience to craft a space in their image to bring recognition to their communities in the Netherlands (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017). With Achidi Ndofor & Priem (2011) and Dheer & Lenartowicz (2018) noting that the black Dutch can benefit from specializing in certain ethnic businesses because they can meet the demands and desires of their community that were not being served.

The second reason for going into entrepreneurship was to address the labor market inequalities, in the hope that members of their communities won’t fall prey to the precarious employment. Career advancements was a sub-indicator of the labor market structure concept and viewed as something difficult to achieve. As a result, six of the respondents were motivated into entrepreneurship for economic mobility. Respondent eleven shared his story of how he became an entrepreneur, “in the IT department, I always saw black people supporting the business but never leading. So, I said FUCK it. We are more than capable of being business owners and competing with anyone on any level.” (interview 11, 2019). Despite respondent eleven being highly skilled, he was never able to become a manager in the IT department. Career advancement is often measured in terms of the position of hierarchy based on a person’s job title such as assistant, associate, manager, or director (Siebers, 2010). Olsthoorn (2014) further elaborates on respondent eleven predicaments, explaining low-skilled jobs are not necessarily the
only type of precarious jobs, income disparity and lack of career advancement can be manifested in any job. Respondent eleven was employed in the same role for many years and felt like he did not obtain economic mobility within his job title because of his race, motivating him to start his own business.

4.5 Services of Entrepreneurship

Through the black Dutch examining of their social position, they came to realize they were socially excluded from services and victims of precarious jobs. These ethnic penalties increasingly made the black Dutch feel like they did not belong and that they had to change the social position by going into entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship allowed them to escape the racism embedded in the Netherlands and the social exclusion: the disadvantages accumulated from being excluded from shared opportunities in the political, cultural, economic environment, leading to groups being separated because of “otherness” (Hooimeijer & Weesep, 1998; Mathieson et al., 2008). However, additional services entrepreneurship provided was the manifestation of feeling free, proud, and the sense of being resourcefulness.

Ten of the other respondents truly felt financial and ‘literally’ free when they became an entrepreneur. Respondent six tells us what freedom means, “I can be unapologetically black and tell the stories I want to tell.” (interview 6, 2019).

Five of the respondents felt a sense of pride that has not manifested before, “There are so many events I go to and I am one of the only persons of color or women of color. I think it’s important to be in places that you’re not supposed to be in. And I like that bizarre look on their face, they’re like ahhh. I feel proud to be a Black entrepreneur.” (interview 2, 2019).

In total, thirteen of the respondents expressed they felt more resourceful to help their community and encourage other black Dutch to go into entrepreneurship. Respondent seven explained that as an entrepreneur she was able to contribute to the black Dutch community. “My business is targeted towards melanated [melanin] people, but I take white students because money is money, I take there and spend it in my community.” (interview 7, 2019).
The benefits of going into entrepreneurship gave the black Dutch the ability to do things they couldn’t do in the Netherland’s racial inscribed environment such as achieving economic mobility, providing services to their communities and obtaining freedom. However, as mentioned by Kloosterman (2003), entrepreneurship is only a temporary solution, especially since the Netherland’s racial inequalities did not structurally change. The economic and non-economic disadvantages are still present for the black Dutch entrepreneurs despite the black Dutch changed in employment, limiting the benefits of entrepreneurship.
Chapter 5: Ethnic Penalties After Entrepreneurship:

Social scientists Rusinovic (2006) and Boyd (2008) explain that many people go into entrepreneurship due to the opportunities of the host country, but during the initial stages of going into entrepreneurship, there are several risks: low success rate, long hours, low pay, competition, and more. These risks are issues for all entrepreneurs, but this thesis makes the argument that ethnic penalties are additional barriers the black Dutch entrepreneurs must overcome due to the racial inequalities embedded in the Netherland’s informal and formal structures. The theoretical framework and the testimonies of the respondents provided an extensive overview of how one can encounter ethnic penalties and proved it to be a force behind the black Dutch trajectory into entrepreneurship. However, to continue to increase our understanding of the black Dutch entrepreneurs, the remaining sub-questions are answered 1) *What are the obstacles for the black Dutch population after becoming an entrepreneur?* 2) *How have the black Dutch entrepreneurs transformed and engaged Amsterdam’s Economy?* The respondents listed several obstacles that remained for them as an entrepreneur, but the most prominent can be separated into the two main concepts of ethnic penalty: the social environment and the labor market structure. The subsections below will provide an overview of the obstacles the respondents still faced as an entrepreneur, followed by a presentation of the distribution of the black Dutch entrepreneurs.

5.1 Social Environment

Shelby (2002, p.260) explained that being black is accompanied by “racially segmented labor market, enduring systematic exclusion, unjustified hatred, and the feeling of powerless to change the inferior racial status imposed on them”. This colloquial sense of the black experience is not a reality of just 2002, but also highly prevalent in the Netherlands today as well, making the black Dutch victims of social and economic problems (Wekker, 2016). Consequently, most of the respondents felt that because of their skin they were not given the privilege or status associated with being an entrepreneur in Amsterdam. “*With me as the CEO, everyone will start asking questions that they would never ask a white CEO. Then suddenly, I must come up with*
The Paradox of Entrepreneurship: The Ethnic Penalties and the Black Dutch Entrepreneurs

**explanations, those are obstacles. I understand I must deal with it because of the color of my skin even though I don't agree with it. These obstacles are the necessary steps because, in the system, you cannot be black and not encounter obstacles, that's impossible.”** (interview 11, 2019). In historian Hondius’s qualitative research with 72 black Dutch, a similar story as respondent eleven was retold. Within her studies, one of the respondents felt that “his white staffs or his colleagues, could not get over the fact that he was in charge and that they had to take orders from him” (Hondius et al., 2014, p.282). Due to the black entrepreneur’s skin color, they did not earn the respect of being someone superior, instead, they were constantly underestimated and disregarded.

In addition, the impact of their skin color also hindered the black Dutch entrepreneur’s access to finance, as a result, four respondents had to work full-time jobs to support their businesses. Boyd (2008) believed that the four respondents may had to work full-time jobs because a black entrepreneur often had limited capital to start their business because of racial discrimination by banks. Kloosterman et al. (2016) agrees, the Netherlands puts on this facade as an equal opportunity nation, yet the ability to access these resources differs for each ethnic group because of the priorities given to the in-groups. Respondents ten shares his thoughts about the financial institutions in the Netherlands. “I tried to sell my idea to the government, but they wouldn't listen, it’s a very easy plan. However, if I was white and had blue eyes it would be a different outcome. My government is deaf. It's hard to apply for a grant or funding at the chamber of commerce because it's about who is asking and who is listening. They are advertising to you and say you can request a loan, but they're not really willing to hand out the loan.” (interview 10, 2019). Respondent ten indicates, the Netherlands’s façade as a welcoming climate for anyone with entrepreneurship ambitions (Hughes, 2003), is something that is meant to be heard by some of the population, not all, especially the ethnic minorities.

There is no doubt that part of the black Dutch entrepreneur’s inability to access finance for their business is because of the systematic racism of the institutions, but it is also because the Netherlands prioritized an incentivizing economy. Respondent thirteen shares his objection to the Netherlands emphases on profit over consumers. “I am a black social entrepreneur, which
means you don't put profit before your people. The way I was educated and conditioned during business administration, is that profit is the most important thing, the rest comes second. But I think solely a capitalist way of thinking is destructive for the whole planet, our society, and the reason behind colonization.” (interview 13, 2019). Respondent thirteen is not the only one pushing for more social entrepreneurs in the Netherlands, but also the European Commission. The European Commission defines a social entrepreneur as an “operator in the social economy whose main objective is to have a social impact rather than to make a profit for their owners or shareholders.” However, for the longest time, social entrepreneurship was a difficult career path in the Netherlands. “It's hard, especially for social entrepreneurs, people are still hesitant in investing. In 2015 it was difficult; businesses and investors are more interested in the finance part and not so much the social part. We tried to convince people of our business model, but because we were working in Africa, they assumed we were NGOs [Non-Profit Organizations]” (interview 2, 2019). The 2019 OECD report summarized the barriers for social entrepreneurs that prevent them from developing and flourishing: lack of institutional recognition and difficulties in accessing markets (Aisenberg et al., 2019, p.6). In recognition of these barriers, the OECD and the European Commission sought to improve the environment for social entrepreneurship, seeing them as important figures in tackling the socioeconomic challenges of a country. Taking the OECD findings seriously, the Netherlands implemented national and local level policies to reflect this growing concern (Aisenberg et al., 2019), but for many of the social entrepreneurs in the Netherlands and within this study, this shift came too late. As a result, two of the respondents insisted that the financial institutions of the United States were more promising. Respondent twelve indicated that in the United States, “the risk capital is higher, stating that you don't need certain educational achievement, but a good pitch that makes investors willing to invest” (interview 12, 2019). According to an empirical study, 20,000 global citizens perceived the United States as the third best nation for entrepreneurship, while the Netherlands is ranked number eleven in 2019, a decrease in ranking since 2018 when they were ranked number nine (Mejia, 2018; “The 80 Best Countries, 2019). The two respondents had similar views as this empirical study, perceiving the United States as a more welcoming entrepreneurial environment, but also forgetting the ethnic penalties embedded in their society as well.
5.2 Spatial Analysis

This section will engage the last sub-question by investigating how the black Dutch entrepreneurs have engaged in Amsterdam’s economy by examining a popular neighborhood within the black Dutch community, the distribution of the black Dutch’s businesses, and the impact of globalization.

Previous studies emphasized the importance of neighborhoods in helping immigrants gain access to the labor market and establish their social network; however, in the Netherlands, immigrants are predominantly located in distressed areas (Boelhouwer, 2002; Hedberg & Tammaru, 2010; Karsten, 2011). The distressed area in Amsterdam is the district Zuidoost, an area where seven of the respondents are or past residents of. The residential areas of Zuidoost, is widely known as the Bijlmer. The Bijlmer was built between 1965 and 1975 and is frequently cited as the Netherlands first black neighborhood due to the large amount of Surinamese, Antilleans, and west Africans residing in the area; however, the labor demand in this area seeks a different source of labor (Kloosterman et al., 1998; Balkenhol, 2011; Abdou & Krobb, 2017).

Kloosterman et al. (1998) explained that the Bijlmer depicts the two sides of globalization, having residents and employers coexisting without interacting with one another. This means due to the overwhelming amount of office parks and expensive arenas, the majority of the Bijlmer population’ are unable to find a job in the area due to most of the jobs requesting high-skilled labor (Kloosterman et al., 1998; Musterd & Deurloo 2002; Hedberg & Tammaru, 2010; Czischke & Huisman, 2018 ). The inability of the residents in the Bijlmer to find a job in their neighborhood is because “in the context of economic restructuring, inner-city residents are increasingly concentrated in residential areas where they are less likely to find job opportunities commensurate with their skill and education levels.” (Wang, 2010, p.184). As a result, these neighborhoods cannot support ethnic enterprises (Wang, 2012). There are just a few black Dutch entrepreneurs in the Bijlmer and they are predominately Ghanaians (Yeboah et al., 2017).

Kloosterman & Van Der Leun (1999) explained that sometimes immigrants are unable to set up businesses in their neighborhood because they lose out to native entrepreneurs in their own neighborhoods. Nonetheless, it is ironic that there’s a black neighborhood in Amsterdam, but it
has not resulted in full economic participation, economic ethnic enclaves, or a situation where people have ownership where they live and work. Respondent six also noticed this, “in the Bijlmer blacks cannot own anything and nothing is owned by the community, but the churches” (interview 6, 2019). Many of the black Dutch entrepreneurs wished to reverse this trend, by reclaiming their community and buying property in Amsterdam. Seven of the respondents owned a physical building for their businesses (see figure 1). The eighth person that was able to rent was the key respondent (eleven), but his business was in Rotterdam, the second largest and culturally diverse city in the Netherlands (Heering & Bekke, 2008)

Figure 1.

*The Distribution of Black Businesses in Amsterdam*
The black Dutch’s businesses are in the following districts: Nord, New West, West, Zuid, East, and Southeast. In addition, the type of black Dutch businesses that were able to rent a space in Amsterdam were the following service industries: Cultural (1), Tech (1), Consultancy (1), Media (1), and Leisure (1). Because of previous studies of immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurship, it was assumed that the black Dutch entrepreneur's businesses will also have some clustering (Achidi Ndofor & Priem, 2011; Wang 2012; Yeboah et al., 2017), but this is not the case. They are all scattered through the Netherlands districts which can be explained in two folds.

A straightforward answer for the disperse arrangements of the black Dutch’ businesses in Amsterdam would be the cost. Van Der Waal & Burgers (2011) expands on this idea: Amsterdam is an expensive city due to the urban economy upgrading and the byproduct being polarized labor markets and increase in cost of basic amenities, such as rent. Therefore, all entrepreneurs can have a difficult time with obtaining a space for their business because of the cost. However, the ethnic penalty answer for the scattering of the black Dutch businesses is that the black Dutch entrepreneurs had additional obstacles that prevented them from full participation in renting a space. Therefore, the first argument for the scattering of the black Dutch business is because of racial discrimination when trying to rent a space. Respondent six and fifteen further explains the difficulties of being a black Dutch entrepreneur trying to find a space to rent in Amsterdam.

“The venues told me my events were too “black”. I had to give up one of my structural events that generated a lot of money because I walked away. I will never make my events less black.” (interview 6, 2019).

“I would move to another place, my area is very conservative and the richest part of Amsterdam, but it's a huge investment. Plus, where would I move to? I couldn't go to the center; it's not really welcoming to my style.” (interview 15, 2019).
A power-relationship is clearly intact and impacts who can access what property. Both respondents’ testimony, demonstrates that although you may be able to find a space to rent, it may not always be welcoming to your message, style, or consumers. Hondius et al. (2014, p. 282) makes it clear that this could be because of the stereotype of the black Dutch population being “noisy, having a loud style of dressing, and not understanding the Dutch language” which make real estate agents not wanting to deal or attract this type of potential renter. In addition, in areas being gentrified, real estate agents may not want to attract ethnic businesses because it will ruin the facade of the area (Kloosterman & Van Der Leun, 1999). Nonetheless, the respondent’s testimonies prove that this can attest as a reason for the scattered distribution of the location and the low number of respondents being able to rent in Amsterdam. However as noted by an Expat article, discrimination can sometimes be difficult to measure and seek justice for (“What you need”, 2017).

The second reason for the absence of a pattern with the black Dutch’ businesses can be explained through understanding the impact of globalization on the economic structure of the Netherlands. Globalization has affected the polarization of employment in the Netherlands, but also made the economy increasingly digitized, commodified, and tradable due to the advances of the information communication and technology (ICT) (Lambregts, Kloosterman, & Beerepoort, 2015). As a result, the ICT revolution offers many opportunities for entrepreneurs, regardless of their human capital level, making the need for a physical building no longer necessary to start a business (Kloosterman et al., 2016; Mahmoudi & Levenda, 2016). Kloosterman (2003) explains that this shift in the economy directly contributed to the increase in small businesses. Van Ark (2016) agrees, explaining that entrepreneurs are taking advantage of this because of the availability of ICT services and technology. This reality helps explain why only seven respondents operated in a physical location in Amsterdam. In addition, because of the ICT revolution, three respondents worked exclusively online or from home because they did not need to rent a space, nor did they want to. Respondent nine explained how the advancement of technology has allowed his ideas to be diffused throughout the Netherlands, allowing more people to access his services. “The majority of my money does not come directly from my
website, but through it, I get requests to do projects. My online magazine has become my extensive business card.” (interview 9, 2019). The ICT revolution allowed black Dutch entrepreneurs to engage in space differently than other ethnic entrepreneurs before them.
This research explored the ethnic penalties the black Dutch entrepreneurs faced in the Dutch’s social environment and the labor market. The following research question was proposed: ‘How do ethnic penalties impact black Dutch entrepreneurs?’ This question allowed for a deeper reflection on a population that is commonly ignored and face racially inscribed disadvantages because of the racism embedded in the Netherlands (Hermans, 2006; Heering & Bekke, 2008, p. 165; Ghorashi et al., 2014; Hondius et al., 2014; Keskiner, 2017). To further explain the manifestation of ethnic penalties in the Netherlands, this chapter will discuss the comparative advantages of a subgroup within the black Dutch population. In addition, it will also address an interesting finding on the impact of the usage of one’s social network. Lastly, this chapter will conclude the study with suggestions for future research.

6.1 Comparative Advantages
Due to the mix geographical origin of the respondents, their comparative advantages must be examined. In this study, twelve of the respondents had an Afro Surinamese background. The Surinamese population is overly stated as the most integrated group in the Netherland and seemingly appears well off (Kok et al., 2003; Vermeulen, 2005), but beneath the surface, the black Surinamese experiences heighten discrimination (De Witte, 2014). Vermeulen (2005) explained that at first the Surinamese immigrants were included in the Netherlands local minority policies; however, attention has shifted to the guest migrants\(^8\) and their descendants. As a result, the Surinamese population is no longer perceived as a minority due to the Dutch implicit biases; the Surinamese immigrants are perceived as highly capable of integrating, finding a job, and being self-sustainable because of their proficiency in the Dutch language and understanding of the culture (Wekker, 2016). In addition, these implicit biases are perceived as the truth due to the overwhelming amount of success stories of the Surinamese immigrant population in the Netherlands. However, those romanticized stories are not the stories of the black Surinamese population.

\(^8\) Turkish and Moroccans population
The twelve respondents’ testimonies indicated that their comparative advantages of being able to find a job and integrate into the Dutch’s society are what made them victims of the integration paradox- the more integrated you are the more at risk you are to discrimination (Doorn et al., 2013). They further explained that their comparative advantages only lasted momentarily due to the racism embedded in the Netherlands; they too were racially profiled and propelled into the same precarious jobs, just the same as other members of the black Dutch or ethnic minorities. The black Surinamese were victims of economic and non-economic disadvantages because their comparative advantages were only a temporary privilege. This “privilege” is a mirage that was fabricated and can be dismantled at any turn of event. Currently the black Surinamese merely have a higher position compared to other ethnic minority groups such as the Moroccans or Turkish communities, but still are unable to surpass the white Dutch in the labor market (Wekker, 2016). This power-relationship dynamic is interesting and always changing based on the in-out group preferences. Currently, the Muslim Moroccans are the least favorite group, which consequently allows the black Dutch to climb up on the social hierarchy to a certain extent. However, Hondius et al. (2014) explained that this also means that racism has intensified, regardless of other out-groups gaining more acceptance.

6.2 Social Networks

As mentioned earlier, social network is an important resource-opportunity structure that offers many services such as assistance with entry into the labor market (Artus & Chung, 2006; Roggeveen & Meeteren 2013; Ahmad 2015; Tegegne, 2015). Previous studies had conceptualized social network into dichotomous categories to help understand one’s access and the ability to use the resources to one advantage because the availability of the resources is not attainable for everyone (Lancee, 2012; Gericke et al. 2018). Meaning, having access to a social network can lead to endless opportunities or limited benefits (Garip, 2008). In the theoretical framework, the social network was discussed in relation to indirect discrimination, but it was not a problem for the black Dutch entrepreneurs. Secondly, social network was discussed as a factor for why ethnic minorities were being funneled into precarious jobs. A recent study on Ghanaian entrepreneurship in the Netherlands showed how first-generation Ghanaian immigrants’ usage of
their native social network funneled them into low-skilled markets with limited opportunities (Yeboah et al., 2017).

However, instead of addressing the negative impact of the usage of one’s social network as mentioned above, the respondents mentioned how their social network helped them start their business and combat the racial discrimination in the formal institutions. Kloosterman et al. (2016) indicated that there are a few exceptional first-generation Ghanaian entrepreneurs who can gather loans from the bank, but the majority of their capital is dependent on informal financial injections such as family members or another entrepreneur. Kloosterman et al. (2016) reiterate Boyd (2008) theory that black entrepreneurs are discriminated by the banks and proved it to be an increasing concern in the Netherlands. Seven of the respondents indicated that due to their inability to access finance from the banks in the Netherlands, they relied heavily on their usage of their social network. Respondent five shared her struggle with accessing finance, “I had my business for three years now and I am still struggling, we need a financial injection, but the banks won’t help. I am actively relying on the investment from other black entrepreneurs that are willing to help” (interview 5, 2019). In addition, respondent sixteen was able to find a place for his radio show because of his social network with a Surinamese radio producer. With this interesting finding, future studies should look at how the usage of one’s social network can enable ethnic entrepreneurs to counteract ethnic penalties in the Netherlands.

6.3 Conclusions
Ethnic penalties are prevalent in the Netherlands and the influencer of the decision of the black Dutch population to become an entrepreneur. The main ethnic penalties the black Dutch entrepreneurs experienced, direct discrimination, in-out groups, social exclusion in services, and other external factors pushed them into precarious employment. Going into entrepreneurship provided them a temporary shelter from the discriminatory labor market and social environment. As well as made them feel proud, free, and resourceful enough to help their community; these emotional benefits of going into entrepreneurship did not go away, even when the economic benefits of going into entrepreneurship became limited because of their race. Meaning, a black entrepreneur in the Netherlands will inherit additional obstacles, such as the lack of institutional
support of banks or the discriminatory practices in the rental sector. All the ethnic penalties they encountered before and after going into entrepreneurship contributed to the low participation rate of the black Dutch in the urban economy, in terms of renting a space in Amsterdam. Thirteen respondents said they wanted a space for their building, but only seven were able to because of the racial discrimination and the increasing gentrification within the districts in the Netherlands.

The evidence presented throughout this research contributes to Kloosterman’s (2003) theory about ethnic entrepreneurs having limited opportunities in entrepreneurship by highlighting the heighten ethnic penalties in the environment due to racial discrimination. In order to address the ethnic penalties, the black Dutch entrepreneurs experienced, the Council of Europe’s European Commission against Racism and Intolerance reports that “the Netherlands needs to do more to tackle racism” (Andriessen et al., 2014, p. 7). The Netherlands is undergoing increasing pressure to acknowledge the consequences brought about by racism; its current ignorance fuels the difficulties of monitoring it and ensuring equal opportunities (Siebers, 2010; Czischke & Huisman, 2018). Therefore, more work needs to be done to provide further insight into the black Dutch livelihood. This study served as a start at understanding what obstacles the black Dutch entrepreneurs faced in the labor market and correlated with prior studies that ethnic minorities seek entrepreneurship to escape the discriminatory labor market and social environment (Boyd, 2008; Yeboah et al., 2017). In addition, this study contributed to the evidence of racism being embedded in the Netherlands (Hermans, 2006; Heering & Bekke, 2008; Ghorashi et al., 2014; Hondius et al., 2014; Keskiner, 2017).

More research should continue studying the paradox of entrepreneurship for black Dutch entrepreneurs from an economic geography analytical perspective. An economic geography perspective provided an in-depth analysis of the economic and non-economics disadvantages through being multidimension in studying the problem from an economic, spatial, and cultural framework (Hassink, & Gong, 2019). To continue research, a start can be by creating a demographic box, specifically for the Afro/Black Surinamese. This can allow for further measurement of the economics of discrimination the group experience beyond the labor market (Andriessen et al., 2014). Borkert & Caponio (2010, p. 16) agree, arguing that minority group in
the Netherlands needs to be quickly identified because they are rarely being served in the policies that are needed to effectively address the racially inscribed disadvantages. Lastly, future research should go more in-depth in examining how the ICT revolution and the usage of one’s social network have helped the black Dutch entrepreneurs combat the ethnic penalties embedded in the Netherlands. The research suggested can be duplicated in any cities in the Netherlands, but it would be best to go to cities with a high population of black Dutch such as Amsterdam or Rotterdam (Heering & Bekke, 2008).
References


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Appendix

A Topic List of the Semi Structured Interviews

Table 1

*Topic List of the Semi-structured Interviews*

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<th>Self-Identity and Belonging</th>
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<td>The Netherlands social environment</td>
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(Source: Author, 2019)

**B Example of Interview divided into Theme**

**Respondent 1**

**Type of Business: Beauty**

**Time: 70 minutes**

**March 27 via phone**

**Social Environment**

**In-out groups of Amsterdam**

- **See herself as an outsider:** I don't feel like im Dutch, even though I adopted some of the cultural traits. I hated it when I have to identify as Dutch, you know cuz my passport says Dutch. I absolutely do not feel or is treated as such. So I do, Identify as a Surnames women.
- **Outsider:** you know I knew I was Surnames but the law said I was Dutch as my nationality. I didn't know the difference btw nationality and ethnicity. So, I didn't know what I was but I saw the way I was treated. You know I was treated as such; Dutch girl are treated different you know
I now have accepted that I am a Black Surnames girl that lives in Holland. That's how I feel, but it also my experience

- **Blacks**: Most of the Black people come from Surname, most of the people you will speak to. As a black person we always have negative experiences
- **Hierarchy, African are even more outsider**: Africans are not really in business, well they're just not really connected to our business, ethnic
- **Outsider because of skin earlier on as a child**: I remember during elementary school, that pple[people] didnt understand if I was just a black girl. And they kept asking me if my skin underneath was white, and it was very insulting but also very confusing to me. I felt like i was the same as them, but they made me realized that you are not the same you are different.
- **How to live as an outsider**: And that when I started to realize the first time, that I have to work harder or look the best or you know talk a certain way, not to stand out, but to just fit in or to not be noticed. You know
- **Housing bubble**: the area where all the Black people live is the Bijlmer and its consider the ghetto of Holland

**Comparative Advantage:**
- Adjusted well to the Netherlands: The funny thing is in Suriname they speak Dutch, so it wasn't like a major transformation for me. And I adjusted really quick, but of course the culture is different.
- Work full time, and is her main income

**Labor Market Structure: Employment history**
- **Service industries**: worked at a call center in entry level
- **No career advancement**: i always got the shitty jobs [full time/service/call center], never ended up with a super high paying job it was always in the middle, you know. I never had the opportunity to grow better or get a promotion. And I was so afraid and insecure in the environment, so I just dumb myself down. And stayed at the low-end jobs, I guess. I ended up quitting and going back to school to use my creativity.

**Institutional inequality- education, economic structure, housings**
- **Education**: I started HBO and went into art academy but quit mid-way thru
- **Education disadvantages/CITO**: I always been the smartest in class and the best in everything when I was younger. The CITO test contained a lot of number exercises and **I didn't score high and the school gave me a low score**. And my mother was very much against it and she made me do another test by and external company and that's when I scored higher. I had the opportunities to transfer to a higher study. But because I was a teenager and wasn't doing my best anymore and just trying to impress my friends and not trying to learn anymore. I actually, graduated from the low studies even though I had the opportunity to transfer.
  - //Talk about how colored children are often in the lower studies in Amsterdam
  - . I was extremely insecure. That I didn't attempt to do anything because I thought I was going to fail.
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- **Education disadvantages/no black**: There are fewer black people in higher education and I was one of the few. Felt like an outcast. The higher education you have the whiter it is. So I feel like people who have higher education is kinda dismissive of people with other cultures, that what I really experience

- **No representation**: Everyone sought the European features because it’s easier to maintain and beautiful.
  - The black community has been suppressed and damaged by the chemical altering businesses
  - Perms should be prohibited, its criminals the stuff they put on it is allowed on our hair. Without getting arrested, its toxic for your skin and hair.

**Trajectory into self-employed**- started in 2011 with the idea and kicked off 2015 online and at some locations

**Motivation**
- **Make a place for my people**: After not seeing yourself going anywhere in the Art school and being interested in the Black hair because it hasn't been talked about in the Netherlands, so you created a space for it. So, people can learn, grow, and embrace their texture.

**Benefits**
- **Add pride**: Because I feel like I am sending out a message that we're here and we are not going anywhere. And we are capable of being successful and going against the stereotype of black people in general
- **Example**: being an inspiration, because a lot of people want to do stuff, but we are not stimulated really well by each other or even our environment.
  - So being a black entrepreneur is more than just having a black skin, it’s an important role you play in society. And I hope other will follow in our footsteps.
- **Freedom**: freedom of it all and being able to be your own boss. And pursuing your dream at your own pace, no one is pushing you. Being able to transport
- **Share info**: There were very few information available how to care for your afro texture hair, so I was kinda the first, second, or third people here in Holland who kinda figured it out or came out with it.

**Obstacles after starting business**
- **Obstacles after starting business**: we are a black brand, especially dark skin girl, and I feel like sometimes we don't get the support we deserve sometime because of how we look. Also, we target a certain type of people [in-out group], When I go to events and tell white people that this can also be for them. They don't buy it, why would I buy my hair product from a black girl? You know
  - but we buy from the Asians
  - The whites are smart, they don't do it. Laugh. the average white customer would not buy our product.
  - We won't get noticed by big companies
Ownership - rent or own the space, looking for locations: its hard looking for location where I can place my products, as of right now we are only in black neighborhoods or stores [2 branches, SE and a Surinamese store]

Currently work from home, we are home operated

Indirect discrimination - Couldn't access a certain type of market: I used to do business with a friend of mine, were not friends any more. She was from morocco and she had curls and she attracted a lot of audience for the curly line. So I did noticed, you have to have a certain look to attract certain people

Social Network
Access - Don't know how to access money: I know there is money lying around, but I not someone who pursue that it

Usage of Native network for support:

importance - The black social network kick started her career: looked for sales locations and started networking you know, doing interviews on radio shows being interactive with people. Letting people noticed my product.

importance - Still use it for marketing: on social media, and we also visit events to generate new income and just be physical for new clients. Actually, for every exposure we can get we try to pursue that.

importance - Support to talk about how we feel: FB [facebook] group that I ended up doing a lot of work for, it's called Black Lady talk. After that I realized that I am just BLACK and Surnames, not Dutch. I actually started doing more research into the black culture, started feeling more prideful of my African’ descent. And starting to identify as a black woman, PERIOD.

Trust, a tool of the accessing the social network

Need to trust them: we are always open up to partner just depends on what it is about. most of the time people partner because they want free products, especially up and coming businesses. And business don't work like that. I have a strong partnership with “”

Jan 2018, I started working with my business partner who also have similar goals. but also, her product combined makes a complete product line. We are just the two of us.

And we get jealous when one of us make us. That's why my collaboration with “” is important, because two black girls can work together and lift each other.

Profit first! Before trust: Don't plan on partner up with anyone unless I see a chance of growing. I just noticed that the partnership doesn’t go well or they don't take it seriously, don't pay, or they don't reply. That was my experience with the black community it didn't go well.