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The fine art of boundary sensitivity

Second-generation professionals engaging

with social boundaries in the workplace

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Prof.dr. Christiane Timmerman

Antwerpen, 2018

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Een inherente gevoeligheid voor sociale grenzen

Hoe tweede generatie professionals omgaan met sociale grenzen op het werk

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To Emma,

seldom fazed

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Chapter 1

Introduction

'There are barriers. I see that so clearly in my organization. And if you do not acknowledge these barriers, colleagues push you out of the group. So, what do I do? I play along, but only to a certain extent. I put on some sort of mask, but I always stay true to myself as well. For instance, people at work know that I'm religious, but do I express my religious beliefs openly? No, I don't. If people ask me, I will always truthfully tell them that I'm a Muslim. And colleagues know that I won't accept any stupid jokes about Turks and Islam. It's all about striking a balance. I'm Turkish and I'm Dutch, and this combination works for me[1].'
(second-generation Turkish-Dutch corporate lawyer, female, interviewed for the Pathways to Success Project)

For many people in the Netherlands, should they read the above mentioned quote, one of the most distinctive marks would be that the lawyer in question is Turkish-Dutch. The quote shows that the second generation – the descendants born of immigrant parentage in the country of migration encounters many barriers in the workplace because of their ethnic background but they handle it with great care and are strategic about confronting it. These barriers are partly based on stereotypes towards the second generation, which are mirrored in the general discourse on ethnic minorities and the second generation in the Netherlands. A discourse which is imbued with the notion of failed integration, as the second generation –and especially those with a Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch background - are considered being a predominantly low-educated group who has failed to adjust to the norms and values of Dutch society. The combination of having a second-generation Turkish-Dutch background and being a highly-educated professional working in a prestigious corporate Law firm therefore does not fit the average image of the second generation in the Dutch context.

[1] Original quote in Dutch. Translated by the author.

There are however, next to the above mentioned lawyer, numerous other exceptions to refute the stereotype of the second generation as predominantly low-educated. Increasing numbers of the second generation are going through higher education and establishing themselves as professionals in the labour market. This successful group of second-generation professionals is hardly mentioned in the public discourse on ethnic minorities. Moreover, the combination of having a second-generation background and working as a highly-educated professional in the Dutch labour market also points to a noticeable gap in education and occupational attainment between this segment of the second-generation and their parents, who in majority came to the Netherlands during the 1960's and 1970's as low-educated and low-skilled labour migrants. This gap, in combination with a generally negative attitude in Dutch society towards ethnic minorities, begs the question how these second-generation professionals have succeeded against the odds.

In this thesis, the pathways to success of second-generation professionals will be highlighted. These pathways firstly pose a much-needed antidote to the many negatives images that exist about the second generation in the Netherlands. What's more, these pathways can also shed light on how second-generation professionals, against the backdrop of a society which is dominated by negative stereotypes towards ethnic minorities, experience barriers in the workplace and how they consequently engage with these barriers.

The dominant discourse of failed integration

The educational and labour market pathways of the second generation are oftentimes problematized in migration countries throughout Western-Europe (Heath, Rothon & Kilpi, 2008). The Netherlands is no exception. Dutch public discourse revolving around the second generation is predominantly negative. Especially the second generation with a Muslim background are considered

problematic, because of their religion which is believed to be at odds with the Dutch liberal attitude (Vasta, 2007, p. 714; Foner & Alba, 2008, p. 369; Phalet, Maliepaard, Fleishmann & Güngör, 2013) and because of various societal issues, such as residential segregation, school-dropout, unemployment, poverty and delinquency (CBS, 2012; SCP, 2014). Moreover, the second generation with parents from Morocco and especially Turkey are considered to be among the most disadvantaged ethnic groups in the Netherlands concerning education, labour market access and occupational attainment (Heath et al., 2008, pp. 228-229).

The before-mentioned societal issues are part of the overarching theme of integration. When taking a closer look at what integration means, namely the process of increasing participation of migrants and their offspring on all levels of Dutch society (CBS, 2012), the general consensus in the Netherlands is one in which integration has failed (Vasta, 2007; Van Reekum & Duyvendak, 2012). This dominant discourse of failed integration has, over the years, become more and more a call for assimilation (Ghorashi, 2006; Vasta, 2007; Slootman & Duyvendak, 2015). This call for assimilation refers to a compulsory process of complete incorporation of migrants and the second generation into the norms and values of the Netherlands (Vasta, 2007, p. 734). A demand for complete incorporation into the dominant culture exposes deep fault lines in Dutch society, whereby migrants and the second generation are required to make a zero-sum choice between ethnic identities in order to belong in the Netherlands. This enforced choice creates impermeable, bright social boundaries (cf. Alba, 2005) between ethnic groups in Dutch society.

Social boundaries in the workplace: 'There are barriers. I see that so clearly in my organization.'

Social boundaries are (ethnic) group lines that demarcate social and cultural differences between groups and they serve to canalize social life in terms of who belongs within the boundary lines and who doesn't (Barth, 1969). The nature of social boundaries varies, and "in turn, the nature of the boundary effects fundamentally the processes by which individuals gain access to the opportunities afforded the majority" (Alba, 2005, p. 22): some social boundaries are more flexible and therefore inclusive, while others are more impermeable and therefore excluding. The latter are called "bright boundaries" (Ibid., p. 22). Bright boundaries make the clearest distinction about who belongs within the boundary lines and who doesn't, since "the distinction involved is unambiguous, so that individuals know at all times which side of the boundary line they are on" (Ibid., p. 22). Bright boundaries can therefore easily act to exclude, or at least drive individuals to make a zero-sum choice to become either someone on the inside of the boundary line, or outside of it.

When it comes to the nature of social boundaries based on ethnic distinctions, the basic assumption in this thesis is that social boundaries in the Netherlands are bright. Terms like '*autochtoon*' and '*allochtoon*', which are commonly and extensively used for people of native Dutch parentage on the one hand, and for migrants and the second generation on the other, are among the most obvious examples of a bright boundary: a person cannot be both and it is impossible to become *autochtoon* when one hasn't been born in the Netherlands or even when one has been born in the Netherlands, like the second generation, but at least one of the parents was born abroad. Moreover, the common usage of these terms exposes a wry paradox: dominant discourse requires migrants and the second generation to make a zero-sum choice

between ethnicities in favour of the Dutch one, while migrants and the second generation can never become an *autochtoon*.

The terms '*autochtoon*' and '*allochtoon*' not only portray that boundaries between ethnic groups in the Netherlands are bright. They also show that boundaries are social constructs, since these terms were created to make distinctions between people based on their ethnic background, demarcating – based on certain constructed criteria- who belongs on the inside and who belongs on the outside of the boundary (Barth, 1994; Wimmer, 2008a). These distinctions are not neutral; they involve a hierarchy, whereby *autochtoon* is set and seen as the norm and *allochtoon* refers to the eternal "other" who can never become the norm. This creation of a hierarchy between *autochtoon* as the norm and *allochtoon* as the "other" touches upon power dynamics in the drawing of boundary lines (Barth, 1969). These power dynamics portray that those with the power to draw boundary lines "choose that level of ethnic distinction that will best support their claim to prestige, moral worth, and political power" (Wimmer, 2008b, p. 1007), thereby depicting *allochtonen* "not only as absolutely different but also as morally inferior" (Ghorashi, 2014b, p. 59; cf. Essed & Trienekens, 2008; cf. Ossenkop, Vinkenburg, Jansen & Ghorashi, 2015).

The bright social boundary, on the basis of which ethnic groups in the Netherlands are differentiated, therefore poses a double distinction: that of being the "other" and of being inferior to the norm. Employees with an ethnic-minority background show an awareness of these bright social boundaries by placing emphasis on their professional "sameness" in the workplace in order to find acceptance among co-workers of ethnic-majority descent (Siebers, 2009a; cf. De Jong, 2012; Slootman, 2014; Konyali, 2014). This emphasis on professional "sameness" goes hand in hand with a de-emphasis of ethnic "difference" in the workplace, and it is a reflection of the implicit organizational norm of assimilation that favours "sameness" over equality, and tolerates the "other" as

long as the organizational norm of assimilation is left intact (Puwar, 2004; Holvino & Kamp, 2009; Van den Broek, 2009; Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013).

Agency: 'So, what do I do? I play along, but only to a certain extent.'

Understanding that social boundaries are created structures means that these boundaries do not have to be taken for granted as fixed, natural entities (Wimmer, 2008b, p. 995). According to Giddens (1984), structures both constrain and enable action. Structures constrain when they are taken for granted, seen as a given and are therefore unequivocally reproduced. But structures can also enable action.

The possibility of action refers to the concept of "agency". Agency can be defined in a variety of ways, depending on how it is theorized (Kockelman, 2007, p. 387). Moreover, having agency comes in degrees (Ibid.) and it can have unintended and even diametrical effects (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017), and it is therefore not something one altogether 'has' or 'hasn't'. In this thesis, having agency involves having knowledge of the existence of structures, such as social boundaries, in combination with the tools and willingness to challenge these structures. In other words, agency refers to the capacity "to act otherwise" than –inadvertently - reproducing social boundaries (Giddens, 1984, p. 12). First generation migrants might be inclined to take social boundaries in the migration country as a given, partly because they lack the required knowledge of the structures of which social boundaries are made up. However, it can be expected that the Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch second generation, born and socialized in the Netherlands, have the knowledge and potential to question, engage with, and challenge social boundaries (Alba, 2005, p. 21).

Engaging with and challenging boundaries can be done in several ways. Alba (Ibid., p. 23) uses a typology of boundary-related strategies, which is made up of

three options: boundary crossing, boundary shifting, and boundary blurring. "Boundary crossing corresponds to the classic version of individual-level assimilation" (Ibid., p. 23), and it is a boundary-related strategy that fits well in the context of bright boundaries. Wimmer (2008a) has elaborated on the boundary strategy typologies of crossing, blurring and shifting. In his "taxonomy of boundary-making strategies" (p. 1044), Wimmer classifies boundary crossing as a membership changing strategy. Boundary crossing refers to an individual boundary strategy, whereby a person is allowed within the boundary lines at the expense of leaving behind the membership of the group on the outside of the boundary. Boundary crossing is usually linked to bright boundaries, where a zero-sum choice has to be made, and the boundary lines themselves, in principle, do not change. The risk involved in boundary crossing is that a person who is forced to make a zero-sum choice in order to belong within the boundary lines, can lose the connection to the (ethnic) group outside of the boundary, while remaining unsure whether he or she will ever be truly accepted within the group on the inside of the boundary lines (Alba, 2005, p. 23).

Boundary shifting, according to Alba (Ibid.), refers to the situation in which boundary lines are expanded to include people who were previously on the outside of the boundary lines. Wimmer (2008a) adds to this classification by stating that boundary shifting is a strategy that changes the topography of the boundary, but this change can concern both the expansion and the contraction of boundary lines. In other words, boundary shifting can lead to a broader inclusion of who belongs within the boundary lines, but it might also lead to a narrower definition of who belongs and who doesn't. In general, boundary shifting addresses boundary alterations on a group level. It requires that both those within and those outside the boundary lines accept the changing topography of the boundary.

The third option, boundary blurring, seems to be the option where the actual boundary lines are altered, not just to include certain people or certain

groups, but on the level of the boundary itself. Wimmer (Ibid.) classifies boundary blurring as the strategy that changes the meaning of the boundary instead of just its location or memberships. As with boundary shifting, boundary blurring addresses boundary alterations on a group level. But other than boundary shifting, boundary blurring takes away the "brightness" of a boundary and allows for people to be both on the inside and on the outside of the boundary lines. "This could mean that individuals are seen as simultaneously members of the groups on both sides of the boundary or that sometimes they appear to be members of one and at other times members of the other (Alba, 2005, p. 25).

Boundary shifting and boundary blurring, as they have been theorized, refer to large-scale group-processes. These boundary-related strategies therefore appear to be unsuitable for individuals to undertake. Moreover, in the case of boundary shifting, although it can occur and has occurred, "it is premature to look for boundary shifts involving contemporary immigrant groups and the ethnic majorities in their societies" (Alba, 2005, pp. 23-24). In the same vein, boundary blurring isn't probable to occur either in the Dutch context with its call for assimilation, since one of the conditions for blurring boundaries is a societal context which "allow[s] for the incorporation of cultural elements brought by immigrant groups" (Ibid., p. 25). It could therefore be presumed that boundary crossing, especially in the Dutch context of bright social boundaries, is the most probable strategy, compared to shifting and blurring, for highly-educated second-generation Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch professionals to undertake.

The successful second generation: 'It's all about striking a balance.'

To engage with the bright social boundaries that are in place in the Netherlands by crossing them "requires a breaking of many ties to the group of origin and

the assumption of a high degree of risk of failure [makes] it unlikely to be undertaken by large numbers, even in the second generation" (Alba, 2005, p. 26). This breaking of group ties as a prerequisite for crossing boundaries, in combination with the uncertainty of being accepted in the new group, doesn't make boundary crossing an attractive option.

Yet, bright boundaries are apparently challenged, since it is evident that the second generation of Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch descent are participating more on all levels in Dutch society than their first generation parents (CBS, 2012). Moreover, there is a considerable group among the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second generation who is doing very well in education and the labour market, by going through higher education successfully (Crul & Heering, 2008; Crul, Schneider & Lelie, 2013; Rezai, Crul, Severiens & Keskiner, 2015) and consequently establishing themselves in professional positions in the labour market (Crul & Schneider, 2012; Crul et al., 2013; Slootman, 2014; Konyali, 2014; Van der Raad, 2015; Ossenkop, 2015). These facts first of all refute the dominant discourse of failed integration and make clear that the concurrent call for assimilation is built on false pretences (Slootman & Duyvendak, 2015). Secondly, and more importantly for this thesis, this successful second-generation group receives little attention in the Dutch migration discourse, whereas it could be argued that their steep upward mobility and successful professional establishment in the workplace is either a sign of successful boundary crossing or a sign that second-generation professionals otherwise challenge bright boundaries in Dutch society.

If boundaries for second-generation Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch in the Netherlands are indeed bright and negatively affect "the processes by which individuals gain access to the opportunities afforded the majority" (Alba, 2005, p. 22), and if boundary crossing is indeed an unattractive and therefore an unlikely boundary strategy for second-generation Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch to choose, it is relevant to understand how highly-educated second-

generation Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch professionals experience and engage with social boundaries in the Netherlands.

As social boundaries permeate multiple and varying social fields (Wimmer, 2008b, p. 992), this thesis will focus on one specific social field: the workplace. This particular field is highly applicable to study social boundaries, since organizations can be seen as extensions of society and social boundaries that exist in society are therefore oftentimes reflected in organizations (Holvino & Kamp, 2009, p. 400; Slay & Smith, 2011, p. 86). Taking bright social boundaries in the field of the workplace as starting point, the aim of this thesis is to understand how highly-educated second-generation Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch professionals experience these social boundaries in the workplace, and how they subsequently deal with the consequences of social boundaries. This leads to the **main research question** of the thesis:

How are social boundaries opening up for and being opened up by second-generation professionals in the workplace?

In order to answer this main research question, the thesis is based on empirical research that was conducted over the course of two separate, but related, studies: the Pathways to Success Project and the ELITES[2] project. Before going into how the two studies were set up and carried out, the notion of "success" will be reflected upon.

"Success": 'I'm Turkish and I'm Dutch, and this combination works for me.'

The definition of who is successful among the second generation is open to debate. There is the option of choosing for an objective or for a subjective definition of success. In the Pathways to Success Project and in the ELITES

[2] ELITES stands for Emerging Leaders In The European Second generation.

project the definition of success was an objective one, based on job position and job status criteria. The idea of imposing an "objective" mould of success upon participants can be considered problematic, since what researchers define as "success" might not always be in accordance with how the second-generation participants would define success. Zhou and Lee (2007) and Zhou, Lee, Vallejo, Tafoya-Estrada and Xiong (2008) therefore refer to the importance of paying attention to the ways in which the second generation defines success, in order to not impose one particular idea of what success means. Participants in the Pathways to Success Project and the ELITES project, although selected on the basis of objective criteria, were therefore also asked in the interviews whether they considered themselves successful and why.

Yet, even after introducing the question to participants of whether they considered themselves success, the matter remains that being successful is always in relation to others. This relational aspect of success begs the question whether these second-generation professionals in leadership positions are successful compared to their parents, compared to their peers from the same socio-economic and ethnic background or compared to the average level in society? Firstly, in the Pathways to Success Project and the ELITES project the participants show a steep upward mobility compared to their parents. Secondly, by selecting participants working in the top two scales of the eleven point EGP (Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero Occupational Class Coding) coding scheme as a criterion for the ELITES project, makes the participants in this study also far more successful than the average person in their own ethnic group or the average person in the native parentage group (Crul, Keskiner & Lelie, 2017, p. 215). In other words, the participants in the ELITES project belong to the most successful group in their ethnic community and to the above-average successful segment in society. While the participants in the Pathways to Success project show steep upward mobility compared to their parents and the average person in their own ethnic groups.

Looking at success through the lens of occupying a high-status position can seem one-dimensional. However, when considering the fact that the second generation with labour migrant parents from Turkey come from one of the most disadvantaged ethnic groups in Western-Europe (Heath et al., 2008), and considering the one-sided negative attention surrounding this group, the professional pathways of these new upcoming elites in four Western-European countries[3] are worth the attention.

Data collection

The thesis is built upon two data sets. The articles in chapters 2 and 3 are based upon the empirical material from the Pathways to Success Project. The articles in chapters 4 and 5 are based upon the empirical data from the ELITES project. The two projects are closely related, but there are two important differences between the data sets: The Pathways to Success Project focuses on second-generation professionals with a Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch background in the Netherlands. Whereas the ELITES project, having a comparative character which includes four Western-European countries in the data set, focuses only on second-generation professionals with labour migrant parents from Turkey.

The Pathways to Success Project

The Pathways to Success Project is the first major Dutch qualitative study conducted in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, focusing on highly-educated second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals. The Pathways to Success project was initiated because of earlier findings from the TIES[4] study, showing that a quarter of the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second

[3] The four countries are: The Netherlands, Sweden, Germany and France.
[4] TIES stands for The Integration of the European Second generation. TIES was a comparative research project conducted in 8 European countries concerning the integration of second generation young adults of Turkish, Moroccan and former-Yugoslavian descent.

generation is in or has finished higher education (Crul, Pasztor & Lelie, 2008). This finding inspired to understand how this highly-educated segment of the second generation has managed to get where they are, taking into account their school trajectories, labour market experiences, and social activities.

The fieldwork for the Pathways to Success Project started in April 2011 and lasted until January 2012. During that period second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch participants for the Pathways to Success Project were found and approached using different search methods. Firstly, respondents who had participated in the 2007-2008 Dutch part of the TIES study, during which time they were in a higher education trajectory or had just finished higher education, were asked whether they wanted to participate in the Pathways to Success Project. Secondly, when former-TIES respondents participated in the Pathways to Success Project, they were subsequently asked if they could provide more second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch participants from their networks. This snowball method, in combination with the former TIES respondents, generated 114 participants.

"Success" was defined by the Pathways to Success research team. Participants were considered successful when they met one of the following three criteria for success:

- Having a higher education diploma, or;
- Working in a position managing at least five employees, or;
- Earning more than €2000 net per month.

In the Pathways to Success Project participants were interviewed based on a semi-structured questionnaire in order to understand the mechanisms that allowed the second generation from two of the most marginalized ethnic groups throughout Western-Europe to succeed against the odds. Since the Pathways to Success research team worked with multiple interviewers to cover the wanted sample size within the available time frame, semi-structured interviews ensured

both a fixed questionnaire ensuring that all interviewers would cover the same questions. While simultaneously, the semi-structured questionnaire also allowed both interviewers the room to probe, and the participants the room to address issues that the researchers had initially not thought of (Gilbert, 2008; Gomm, 2008).

The ELITES project

The ELITES project is the first study with an international, comparative perspective, focusing on the "new upcoming elites" (Harvey & Maclean, 2008) among second-generation professionals with parents from Turkey and born in The Netherlands, Germany, France and Sweden. These four countries were chosen based on outcomes of the TIES study, showing that these country cases represent distinct pathways to success (Crul, 2015, p. 328). All participants in the study had parents who had come from Turkey to North-western Europe under similar labour migrant conditions, and their similar background features make comparisons between the Turkish second generation in different European countries possible. The results from the ELITES project are therefore at the forefront of the academic debate on second-generation upward mobility, labour market careers, and the role of national, institutional structures on processes of second-generation elite formation.

The fieldwork for the ELITES project started in September 2012 in the Netherlands and Germany. The fieldwork period was closed when the fieldwork in Sweden and France was done by the end of 2013. The ELITES project worked with a sector-focus, meaning that professionals working in leadership positions in the business, law and education sector were interviewed. Looking at similar sectors and similar positions within the sectors across the four countries, made the cross-national comparisons more precise. For the purpose of this thesis, the

focus will be on the professionals working in leadership positions in the education sector.

The professionals working in leadership positions in the education sector were selected for the ELITES project by taking their job status as a selection criterion for success. More specifically, participants were selected when they worked in a professional job in middle or higher managerial functions (Crul et al, 2017, p. 215).

How participants were found and approached varied. Some of the participants were found through searches on the internet. Other participants were –more or less- public figures in their respective country and were therefore relatively easy to find and approach. When the people who were approached agreed to participate in the ELITES project, they were subsequently asked whether they could provide more names of second generation professionals in leadership positions with parents from Turkey. And most of the participants could. Therefore, snowballing proved to be an important means of finding participants.

The different approaches resulted in 50 semi-structured interviews with professionals working in leadership positions in the education sector in the Netherlands, Sweden, France and Germany.

More detailed information on data-collection and data-analysis can be found in chapters 2 to 5.

Outline of the thesis

In the subsequent outline of the thesis the main research question and argument per chapter will be described.

The fine art of boundary sensitivity

Chapter 2 broadly explores the two main theoretical concepts of the thesis: social boundaries and agency. The article revolves around the central question of *what strategies highly-educated Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals apply to gain entrance to and succeed in the Dutch labour market*. The chapter shows how social boundaries are particularly bright during the transition from higher education to the labour market, and how second-generation professionals develop several coping strategies to gain access to organizations. The chapter furthermore explores how social boundaries remain bright for second-generation professionals once they have gained access to organizations, for instance in the form of experiencing subtle discrimination, and how their coping strategies turn into a distinct boundary strategy, which has been labelled 'boundary sensitivity'. This strategy of boundary sensitivity points to an awareness by the second generation that boundaries exist, and it is an individual strategy, like boundary crossing. Yet, the distinguishing aspect of boundary sensitivity, in relation to boundary crossing, is that the highly-educated second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals do not make a zero-sum choice between ethnic identifications, but rather emphasize their professional identification at work to cross boundary lines, while keeping their ethnic and religious differences mostly private but intact to avoid assimilation.

Discrimination of second-generation professionals in leadership positions

In chapter 3, the focus lies on one particular social boundary that was generally addressed in chapter 2: subtle discrimination. The central question in this chapter is *how second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals working in leadership positions experience and deal with subtle discrimination in different organizational relationships –such as with supervisors, co-managers and subordinates- within an organization*. The shift in focus to the

particular social boundary of subtle discrimination and second-generation professionals working in leadership positions makes this the bridging chapter between the Pathways to Success Project (containing Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in various positions in the labour market) and the ELITES project (containing the second generation with parents from Turkey in leadership positions). In this chapter it is argued that the bright boundaries that exist in Dutch society in relation to the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second generation are mirrored in organizations in the form of subtle discrimination at various organizational levels -that of supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates. And that second-generation agency in the form of boundary sensitivity, albeit limited, is used for forms of small-scale boundary changes in organizations.

Practices of change in the education sector

Chapter 3 showed how second-generation professionals try to change the boundaries in their various professional fields in regard to how others see them or their ethnic group. In chapter 4 the emphasis lies on changing social boundaries in one particular field: the education sector. I have taken the example of ethnic school segregation as a "wicked problem". This social boundary shows a strong interdependence with other social boundaries, such as residential segregation and free school choice. The exact nature of these social boundaries varies across countries. Therefore, different national contexts are included in the analysis, allowing for a cross-country comparison of how the social boundary of ethnic school segregation is to be understood and *how second-generation professionals working in the education sector are able to shape outcomes concerning ethnic school segregation, taking the different national characteristics of the sector into consideration.* The chapter shows that agency is conditional because of the fixed structural boundaries of the education sector. Simultaneously, second-generation professionals use their

awareness of the nation-specific structures of ethnic school segregation, in combination with their professional knowledge of the education system and their positionality as second-generation social climbers. Through this combination of knowledge of the sector and its possibilities and limitations towards change, and their position as second generation with knowledge of multiple cultural repertoires and a drive for educational change, second-generation education professionals apply in their organization on a group-level small-scale practices of change that are guided by the specific opportunities offered by the national context.

The ability to deal with difference

Based on the findings in chapter 4 on how second-generation professionals use their positionality as second-generation professionals to bring about change in the education sector, chapter 5 further explores this "newcomer" positionality, and how it plays out in the ethnically homogeneous upper echelons of the Dutch education sector, in which second-generation professionals form a very small minority. The chapter revolves around the central question *how second-generation Turkish-Dutch professionals working in the education sector experience in-betweenness at work, and how they act upon these experiences?*, and it departs from the notion that the second generation, based on their minority ethnic background in the migration country, has long been considered a group "in-between" cultures, and therefore not belonging anywhere or able to reach their full potential. And that this in-between position is exacerbated for these professionals, since they are new to the upper echelons of the education sector and stem from a marginalized ethnic and religious group. The chapter unravels how instead of being stuck in-between ethnic and social cultures, the newcomer position of second-generation education professionals enables them to actively "go-between" cultural repertoires. This ability to "go-between" cultural repertoires is considered to be both an advantage and growing

necessity in the increasingly super-diverse Dutch classrooms, and it is conceptually better suited than “in-betweenness” to describe the position of second-generation professionals.

Based on the ‘Upward Mobility Boundary Sensitivity Model’ that I have constructed, I will tie together the empirical findings of the four chapters in order to provide an answer to the main research question of the thesis in the final “Discussion and Conclusion” chapter. The chapter ends with a discussion of the main theoretical implications that follow from this thesis, and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2

The fine art of boundary sensitivity: Successful second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch in the Netherlands*

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Abstract

This chapter investigates in what ways the highly educated second generation of Turkish and Moroccan descent in the Netherlands deal with the increasingly impermeable, bright boundaries in various fields in Dutch society, including the labour market. We find evidence that these Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals employ a strategy of sameness and difference throughout their careers to deal with societal and work-related boundaries. Their emphasis on professional sameness opens up way to relate to and instil confidence among ethnic-Dutch colleagues. Second-generation professionals simultaneously avoid giving up parts of their identity through assimilation by keeping their differences in place where it matters most to them. This juggling of sameness and difference seems to be an individual balancing act, based on an awareness that social boundaries exist, and a sensitivity towards dealing with them.

Introduction

The topic of migration in the Netherlands has received ample attention in Dutch public discourse for quite some time now. This attention has mainly been directed towards negative aspects related to migration and migrants, and specifically towards migrants with an Islamic background.

Stemming from migrants is the so-called "second generation". This group consists of children of migrants who are themselves born in the country of settlement: in our case, the Netherlands. This second generation, and again the Islamic group in particular, also receives quite some negative attention in public discourses (cf. Slootman and Duyvendak, 2015; Entzinger, 2009, p. 8; Ketner, 2009, p. 81; Vasta, 2007, p. 714-715).

Because of these predominantly negative discourses, and a concurrent call for ethnic minority adjustment to ethnic majority norms as the solution to problems related with ethnic minorities in society (Vasta, 2007, p. 714; Ghorashi, 2006, p. 16), ethnic boundaries in various fields in Dutch society seem to have become more distinct and impermeable over the years, or as Alba (2005, p. 20) calls it "brighter", allowing no ambiguity about membership, and drawing a straight demarcation between those within the boundary lines and those outside (cf. Vasta, 2007, p. 736). These increasingly bright boundaries can easily act to exclude (Alba, 2005, p. 24).

In contrast to the dominant discourses about problems, as well as the actual problems that exist among the second generation, a sizeable number of the Moroccan and Turkish second generation, both male and female, is doing well within education (cf. Crul and Heering, 2008; Crul, Pasztor, & Lelie, 2008, p. 25; SCP, 2011), and the labour market (Entzinger, 2009, p. 8; SCP, 2011).

In this article we will primarily focus on the central question *what strategies highly educated second generation people of Turkish and Moroccan descent*

apply to gain entrance to and succeed in the Dutch labour market. This focus on the labour market, and particularly on the different phases of the successful second generation's labour market careers, has two main reasons. Firstly, most of the research on successful second generation youth has been done in the field of education. Research on the labour market position of successful immigrant youth is still scarce. Secondly, we expect bright boundaries to be especially in place in the labour market, as the parameters for being qualified are fuzzier there than, for example, in the education system with its rather clear points of measurement. We can expect discrimination in hiring people with an immigrant background, a lack of possibilities of being promoted on the job and problems with acceptance of people with an immigrant background in leadership positions.

We will make use of the Dutch TIES[5] survey data from 2008 on the second generation in Europe and interviews of the Pathways to Success Project[6] from 2012 on successful second generation people in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The two research projects show that the overwhelming majority of the highly educated second generation has a job and most of them have a job in line with their education. This result in itself is already interesting, since research has shown that the second generation is not always able to fulfil their educational promise with corresponding jobs (Alba, 2005, p. 41) and that a so-called "glass ceiling" is in place for the second generation in the Netherlands (Entzinger, 2009, p. 19).

We will continue this article with a theoretical discussion, followed by the

[5] TIES stands for The Integration of the European Second generation, a large scale international study on the second generation in Europe, conducted in eight countries encompassing 15 European cities during 2007 and 2008.

[6] Pathways to Success Project entails in-depth interviews executed in 2011 and 2012 among successful second generation Turks and Moroccans in the two largest cities in the Netherlands: Amsterdam and Rotterdam.

methodology and an analysis of the interviews and how our findings relate to the theoretical outlines. We will end with a conclusion based on our central research question.

Theoretical Framework of our Study

Ethnic Boundaries

Boundaries in societies between different groups of people have long been in place, such as the boundaries between those who are affluent and those who are not, between men and women, and between people with different religious beliefs, to name just a few. Cultural and ethnic differences have often been the subject of research, among other things, to understand identity processes and processes of in- and exclusion.

The focus on how ethnic boundaries are drawn came under discussion when Barth claimed in 1969 that boundaries are not merely a given; they are social structures, making the boundaries themselves of more importance than the 'cultural stuff' (Barth, 1994, p. 12). Barth explains how boundaries are drawn through an analysis of the power processes involved. Barth modified this viewpoint in his later work (see, for instance, Barth, 1994), stating that both the boundaries and the 'cultural stuff' are important in understanding ethnic identity processes. He points out that central and culturally valued institutions and activities in an ethnic group may be deeply involved in their boundary maintenance by setting internal processes of convergence into motion (Barth, 1994, p. 18). Boundary processes can thus not be properly understood by solely looking at how boundaries are created; one also has to pay attention to the people and their habits – that are partially shaped by cultural content of experiences – inside the boundaries.

Bright and Blurred Boundaries

Boundaries seen as partially social constructions can help to understand why some boundaries seem more fixed and difficult to cross than others. This is because boundaries are, at least to a certain extent, made to delimit people who either belong to a given group, or who don't. In other words, the processes of power, which result in in- and exclusion, essentially determine the rigidity of boundaries. This rigidity of boundaries plays a central part in a new theory about the importance of boundary crossing or blurring (Alba, 2005).

Alba speaks of 'bright boundaries' when referring to boundaries that leave little to no room for questions about belonging, and which draw a sharp distinction between individuals being within the boundary lines and those who are not (Ibid., p. 24). These bright boundaries come about through institutionalized interrelations between 'normative patterns' (Ibid., p. 26) that indicate who belongs and who does not. Bright boundaries require people who are outside of the boundary to fully assimilate to the cultural norms and habits that are predominant within the boundary lines. Bright boundaries thus call for 'boundary crossing', which involves individuals adopting the norms and values of the "other side" of the boundary, enabling them to become included in the group of which they want to be a part. This boundary crossing changes nothing about the nature of the boundary. It demands a personal change of the individual wanting to gain entrance to the group (Ibid., p. 23; Wimmer, 2008a, p. 1039).

Crossing a bright boundary can be a challenge for individuals. Not only does it mean that boundary-crossers have to leave behind what is familiar to them in terms of cultural habits and values, but it also imposes the threat that they might become an outsider of their former group, while maybe always remaining some sort of outsider within the new group (Alba, 2005).

Boundary crossing offers a way to deal with bright boundaries; yet, it is not

the only way in which individuals can try to establish access to the dominant group. Alba (2005, p. 23) also mentions 'boundary shifting' and 'boundary blurring'. Boundary shifting touches on boundaries changing in such a way that those who were once outsiders become insiders and it "…requires large-scale preliminary changes that bring about a convergence between ethnic groups" (Ibid., p. 23). An example of boundary shifting is the inclusion of Judaism within the dominant Western religions, both in Europe and in the United States. Such a large-scale change does not happen overnight and, according to Alba, anything similar is not likely to happen anytime soon for new migrant groups, if they are to happen at all in a time of continuous migration (Ibid., p. 23-24). Furthermore, boundary shifting seems to imply an absence or, at least, a sharp decline of the brightness of boundaries. One of the ways through which this decline can come about is by means of boundary blurring.

Unlike boundary shifting, boundary blurring does not involve a large-scale societal change in order for so-called "outsiders" to belong, although it may set in motion processes of boundary changes. Neither does it call for so-called "outsiders" to give up on their ethnic identity in order to belong, as is the case with boundary crossing. Blurring boundaries "…implies that the social profile of a boundary become[s] less distinct (…), and individuals' location with respect to the boundary may appear indeterminate" (Alba, 2005, p. 23). Blurred boundaries allow for belonging in combination with multiple ethnic identities without asking for a zero-sum choice between identities (Slootman & Duyvendak, 2015), as is the case with bright boundaries. Blurring boundaries thus entails diminishing the brightness of a boundary, resulting in less clear demarcations between those who belong inside the boundary, and those who do not. This gives way to more permeable group boundaries, which, moreover, allow for greater chances of the "outsiders" identifying with the new group (Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011, p. 912).

Boundary blurring thus seems to be an alternative to boundary crossing (at

least for those people wanting to gain entrance to the dominant group) and, in many cases, is a more feasible option than boundary shifting. Yet, how does the social profile of a boundary actually become less distinct? In other words, what is needed for social boundaries to become less bright and more blurred? According to Alba, a possible explanation for blurring a boundary is when boundaries are considered "porous and allow for the incorporation of cultural elements brought by immigrant groups" (2005, p. 25). And while this explanation can be considered valid for the United States and its century-old history of large migration flows, how can boundary blurring be achieved and explained for societies such as the Netherlands, where the extensive labour migration after the Second World War demarcated the beginning of a modern migration society? The Netherlands has become increasingly intolerant towards migrants and ethnic minorities (Vasta, 2007), claiming an "imagined national community" (Ibid., p. 736) in which the Dutch of native parentage own the place because they were there first (Slootman & Duyvendak, 2015). They ask for a zero-sum decision between ethnic identities (Ibid; Ghorashi, 2010) and make it "near impossible for ethnic minorities to integrate into and become part of a Dutch national identity" (Vasta, 2007, p. 736).

Boundary Drawing in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, as well as in other North-Western European countries, discourses and policies related to migrants (and the second generation) have changed over the years, becoming more negative and leading to more exclusion in various fields of society (Ghorashi, 2006; Vasta, 2007; Entzinger, 2009; Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011; Slootman & Duyvendak, 2015). This exclusion is manifested, among other things, through discrimination of immigrants and their children in the labour market (cf. Foner & Alba, 2008; Siebers, 2009a).

This clear social distinction between immigrants and their children, on the one hand, and people of native parentage on the other (Alba, 2005, p. 20),

seems to affect Muslims the most (cf. Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013). This is partly because Northern European societies generally view religion as a problematic factor when it comes to immigrant adjustment and belonging. Moreover, Islam as such receives the most attention (Crul & Mollenkopf, 2012; Foner & Alba, 2008, p. 368). These exclusionary (as opposed to integrated) practices play a crucial part in facilitating or hampering the second generation's feelings of belonging and participating in society (Crul & Schneider, 2010).

Dealing with Bright Boundaries

Recent research in the Netherlands by De Jong (2012) among highly educated second-generation youth of Moroccan descent shows how they try to find ways around the bright boundaries. She found that the students show an awareness about the multiplicity of their (ethnic) identity, and, moreover, an awareness about which parts of their identity to highlight or not in particular situations and contexts. The students in De Jong's study see attending higher education as a means to become part of mainstream society and as a way to escape the mostly negative discourses related to their ethnic group. At the same time, they do not want to denounce parts of their ethnic and religious identity. They do, however, usually keep these parts private, mindful that expressing precisely these features might hinder them in their attempt to belong. They emphasize as such their "sameness" based on being fellow students, but they do not solely adapt to Dutch norms, values and practices, as they simultaneously try to maintain the values of the ethnic (and religious) group to which they belong through their parents' background. By staying true to the values of their ethnic group, they stay loyal to their parents, gaining trust and freedom from them that is needed for their participation in higher education.

The students in De Jong's study thus try to belong to the majority culture by choosing to keep their ethnic and religious identity intact but private. They do

not openly portray their differences compared to the majority group in their dealings with the people of native Dutch parentage because they realize that their religious and ethnic identity might frustrate their attempt to be seen as the same, thus hindering their attempt to belong to the majority group.

These findings are in line with research done by Siebers (2009a) in a study on employees of the Dutch national tax administration. He found that first generation ethnic minority employees actively employed the strategy of wanting to be seen as a 'good colleague', stressing, as did the second generation in De Jong's study, their sameness in relation to their native Dutch colleagues. These migrant employees are aware that showing their difference, whether explicitly through particular clothing such as a head scarf, or more implicitly through respecting religious customs while in the work environment, such as abstinence of alcohol during company parties, can compromise the sameness relationship with their ethnic-Dutch colleagues. This awareness of the risks involved in showing "difference" is reflected in the idea that sameness – instead of equality – is the organizational norm (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013; Holvino & Kamp, 2009; Van den Broek, 2009; Puwar, 2004), and therefore the "other" is tolerated as long as the sameness is not challenged.

The studies conducted by De Jong and Siebers show the central importance of de-emphasizing ethnicity in various public spheres, while simultaneously keeping some aspects of ethnic and religious identity intact. In environments in which boundaries are particularly bright, at times they also emphasize similarities based on other social divisions (cf. Wimmer, 2008a, p. 1031) as an individual strategy. For the strategies to be "successful", the individuals need to be flexible in operating in different contexts and be keenly aware of the boundaries and the sensitivities involved. The second generation seems particularly apt to do this. The second generation possesses the ability to "sometimes negotiate among the different combinations of immigrant and native advantage and disadvantage to choose the best combination for

themselves" (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway, 2008, p. 7). This capacity to negotiate between various aspects of one's identity permits people of the second generation to preserve important elements of their ethnic background, while at the same time enabling them to bring to the fore identity aspects linking them to members of the ethnic majority group.

To explore more precisely the strategies the second generation employs, we will look in detail at different phases of their labour market careers. A first hurdle in their labour market careers is the transition from an educational institution to the labour market. The unemployment rates of immigrant youth for years have been higher than those of youngsters of native parentage background, which is even more so the case since the economic recession. Several explanations have been offered, most importantly discrimination and the lack of network contacts "in the right places" (Crul & Doomernik, 2003, p. 1057; Bovenkerk *et al.* in Vasta, 2007, p. 723), as well as a general lack of places to do apprenticeships, leaving it up to young people themselves to enter the labour market (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003, p. 981). It has also been argued that internalized negative views could be detrimental to their self-esteem as well as their job performance (Siebers, 2009b, p. 63-64; Ghorashi & Ponzoni, 2014).

Transition to the labour market could be different for the highly educated second generation than it is for immigrant youth overall. One such difference might be that while discrimination for the highly educated second generation is still in place, it's less permeating than it is for the second generation youth with lower levels of education (Bovenkerk et al. in Crul & Doomernik, 2003, p. 1057). Less discrimination for the highly-educated is a premise that the second generation youngsters of Moroccan descent from De Jong's study (2012) seem to take as point of departure for their future prospects in Dutch society. Yet, the opposite could also be true, resulting in an emerging elite who is more easily frustrated by the lack of opportunities and discrimination against

them (Entzinger, 2009, p. 22).

Methods

As mentioned above, the data in this chapter comes from two studies: mainly from the 'Pathways to Success Project' (PSP), and in part from the study 'The Integration of the European Second Generation' (TIES). Starting off with the latter, the survey data for TIES were gathered in 2007 and 2008 in 15 cities in 8 European countries, among which are Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the Netherlands. In these two cities, 1000 people of second generation Turkish and Moroccan descent between the ages of 18 and 35 were interviewed about their lives (Crul, Schneider, & Lelie, 2012), as well as a comparison group consisting of people of native born parentage. The sample was drawn from administrative register data from the cities Amsterdam and Rotterdam, which included the respondents' birthplaces and the parents' birthplaces. The second generation sample drawn from the register data is representative for the two second generation groups in both cities (Groenewold & Lessard-Phillips, 2012).

From the Dutch TIES data it came to the fore that a sizeable group of the second generation of Turkish and Moroccan descent was attaining higher education. This outcome made us realize that part of the second generation is becoming increasingly successful in the Dutch Education system and may also be successful in the Dutch labour market. As a consequence, we became interested in finding out about their pathways to success during and after finishing higher education, resulting in the Pathways to Success Project.

For the Pathways to Success Project (PSP) we thus focused on the second generation people of Turkish and Moroccan descent who obtained a university of applied science diploma (BA) or a university (MA) diploma. Additionally, we included people who did not have a BA or MA diploma but

who work in a professional position managing at least five people. On top of this, we included people who earned more than €2000 net per month. This definition of "success" aimed at objectifying the notion of success.

The interviewees in the PSP study had to match with (at least) one of the three categories, but many fitted overwhelmingly in the first category (which overlapped with the two other categories): they were successful because they had finished higher education and had found a job in accordance with their educational level.

The positions in which the interviewees work can be condensed into the following sectors: social sector (including legal services), education sector, health sector, business managers, financial sector and ICT sector. 114 semi-structured interviews among second generation people of Turkish and Moroccan descent between the ages of 28 and 38 were conducted in 2012 in the two largest cities in the Netherlands: Amsterdam and Rotterdam for the PSP. The 54 interviews in Amsterdam were done by employees of the statistics bureau of the Municipality of Amsterdam (O+S). The 60 interviews in Rotterdam were done by Master students in Sociology and supervised by a PhD candidate associated with the project. Unfortunately, due to a lack of funding, there is no native-born parentage comparison group in the PSP study.

We started off with contacting people who had participated in the TIES study, during which time they were attaining or had finished higher education. This group proved to be difficult to track down after five years; many of them had moved. Others had little time in their busy schedule to participate in the study. This caused us to make the decision to extend our search for interviewees through snowball sampling. We asked the former TIES respondents who did participate in the PSP if they could come up with other second generation people of Turkish or Moroccan descent who would meet our criteria of success, and if so, if we could contact those people.

Furthermore, through the personal networks of our interviewers in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, some of whom were of second-generation Turkish or Moroccan descent themselves, we also found respondents. The PSP interviews took approximately one to one-and-a-half hour per interview. The questions were semi-structured, leaving room for further inquiries into certain topics, but also ensuring that all domains that we wanted information on were covered in the interviews. This was especially important since we worked with different interviewers.

Table 1: Pathways to Success division between cities and gender.

	Rotterdam		Amsterdam		
	Women	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Total**
Turkish 2nd generation	17	14	13	13	57
Moroccan 2nd generation	16	13	13	15	57
Total	33	27	26	28	114
Total	60		54		114

All interviews were voice-recorded and literally transcribed by the interviewers. The transcriptions, along with the voice-recordings, were sent to us and we prepared the texts for qualitative analysis. For the analysis, we coded all interviews along the lines of our codebook using the program 'Kwalitan'. This coding enabled us to obtain an overview of the nature and frequency of responses by all 114 interviewees. Furthermore, it enabled us to analyse possible differences between men and women, second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch, as well as people living in Amsterdam or Rotterdam.

We aimed at obtaining a sample as equally divided as possible, between the cities, as well as between men and women, leaving us with the distribution as

seen in Table 1.

Analysis

Transition from Education to the Labour Market

The first point we looked at in our study was the transition point from school to work. This point has become less clearly defined since it is not uncommon nowadays that people return to education after entering the labour market. This is also true for second generation youth (Keskiner, 2013). In addition, young people enter the labour market while engaged in fulltime study. They work student jobs or they need to do an internship before they enter the labour market full time.

These experiences often play an important role (as we will see) when entering the labour market. Nevertheless, the transition from full time school to work for highly-educated professional youth appears to be problematic. The highly educated second generation has less difficulty accessing jobs than their lower educated peers, but they deal with more problems than young people of native background. The TIES survey conducted in 2008 shows that 23% of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation with a higher education diploma experiences unemployment for a short period after leaving fulltime education. This is only true for 16% of the respondents of native parentage in the TIES survey. The duration of unemployment is usually short (only a few months) but it is an indication that some TIES respondents did experience difficulties entering the labour market. We will show below the various ways in which the successful second generation of Turkish and Moroccan descent from the Pathways to Success study have dealt with these difficulties.

Moving from being a student to being a professional happens at various paces and the effort it demands seems to differ among the highly-educated group from the Pathways to Success research Project. Some of the

respondents state that the effort required was minimal. They report facing no boundaries at all when entering the labour market. They almost immediately got a job or already acquired a job before finishing fulltime education. Most of them, however, entered the labour market before the financial crises hit, when there was a general lack of highly skilled people.

Table 2: Successful Turkish and Moroccan second generation: encountered discrimination while looking for a job.

	Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Regularly	Often
Turkish 2nd generation	53%	16%	18%	8%	4%
Moroccan 2nd generation	40%	13%	18%	12%	8%

Source: TIES survey 2008

Other interviewees indicated considerable difficulties, and they describe at length the process of sending in application letters and receiving rejections, one after the other, oftentimes not knowing what the precise reasons for the rejections were. For these interviewees the transition was strenuous. In this regard, some respondents also refer explicitly to the negative media images of immigrants:

> This is where the downside of the negative media image kicks in. Of course there is an economic crisis as well, we have to be honest about that. But I have really had to struggle for half a year and react to every job opportunity in like 40 to 50 companies before I finally got a chance. In the end, I got a job at an international company. I think that is pretty characteristic. (XX - translation)

The respondents can only guess what the motivation is for not inviting them to

an interview or for not hiring them. In the TIES study only a minority expresses that they were confronted with discrimination while looking for a job (see Table 2).

Some of the Pathways to Success participants explain more in detail how difficult it is to point the finger at discrimination experiences. It often concerns small incidents and questions during the interview that seemed to be strange, akin to subtle discrimination which is less visible and is quite ambiguous for those experiencing it. It is often not recognized as discrimination (also see Van Laer & Janssens, 2011). If discrimination is mentioned at all, the overall tendency is that the respondents tend to ignore it because they do not want to be seen as passive victims because of this (Van den Broek, 2009):

> Look, discrimination will always be there. It is second nature to humans, so yes, you have to take notice, it exists, it is there but I do not have to play along with it. I do not have to become a victim because of it. (XX - translation IW)

All Pathways respondents have succeeded in finding their first job in the end. Some, however, had to use alternative strategies to increase their chances. We highlight some of the most important strategies.

Students in higher vocational education (leading to a BA diploma) in the Netherlands are obliged to do an internship in an organization. The duration of internships can go up to one year. Of the Turkish and Moroccan second-generation youth with a higher education diploma in the TIES survey, 15% found their first job through an apprenticeship and 14% found their current or last job through apprenticeships.

In Pathways to Success, internships offered relevant work experience and positive recommendations, leading to employment in- or outside the internship company.

> My final internship project was with the KLM [Royal Dutch Airlines – IW], and then they just said: 'do you want to stay to do more research in this area but also in other areas?' (XX - translation IW).

Obtaining employers' confidence is crucial for finding a job, especially for a first job when the interviewees usually still lack references by former employers. Knowing an employer personally, or through a friend or former classmate, can be helpful for creating confidence in the candidate, thus increasing the chances of getting invited for an interview and being offered a job. The respondents learn along the way that sometimes you only get to be invited if you have a contact within an organization.

The TIES survey found that about a quarter (27%) of the successful Moroccan and Turkish second-generation respondents obtained their first job through a friend, colleague or family member. Using network contacts is also considered by the vast majority of the Pathways interviewees as being a crucial strategy for entering the labour market. Network contacts can help to establish a link with an employer, increasing the likelihood of getting invited for an interview:

> I got a coach who could introduce me to his network contacts. He then presented me to someone he knew in the courthouse, and that is how I got a job interview and my first job. (…) I tried before, my letter was the same, my CV was the same, but I could not get a job interview. (XX - translation IW)

Yet asking for help and using contacts for finding a job touch on issues of pride, and some of the respondents dislike not being judged on the basis of their merits but on the basis of whom they know.

Interviewees also stress that their first jobs were not handed to them, even when they were introduced to their employer by a network contact. They still

had to go through job interviews, assessments and trial periods, proving themselves worthy for the job, and relying first and foremost on their own abilities and not on who introduced them.

The strategies of using (extra) internships and network contacts often only come into play when the "normal" way of entering the labour market has failed. Both strategies open up boundaries by allowing the second generation to portray their professional identity for the first time, through which they manage to de-emphasize their ethnic background as the prevalent identity marker (Wimmer, 2008a), showing their "sameness" as professionals, and finding common ground with the ethnic majority professionals as a consequence (Siebers, 2009a). These strategies offer a way to cross bright boundaries in the labour market, and to become part of the professional ingroup (Alba, 2005).

Acceptance in the Workplace

Getting hired in a job is not the same as being accepted by your fellow colleagues in the workplace. In the Pathways to Success interviews we asked about acceptance and discrimination in the workplace. Most interviewees claim to have had little to no experience with discrimination in the workplace, while simultaneously mentioning that they have noticed a change in the public and political atmosphere in the Netherlands towards ethnic minorities. Almost everybody mentions that the tone has become more negative and prejudice towards ethnic minorities has increased. In the TIES survey, the question of discrimination in the workplace was also asked.

Table 3: Successful Turkish and Moroccan second generation: encountered discrimination in the workplace.

	Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Regularly	Often
Turkish 2nd generation	51%	22%	22%	2%	3%
Moroccan 2nd generation	43%	22%	25%	6%	4%

Source: TIES survey 2008

As the TIES survey clearly demonstrates, a minority of interviewees report that they are often confronted with negative discourses and prejudices at work. Negative discourses and discrimination in the circles in which the successful second generation move are often subtler than in lower class environments. The PSP respondents are therefore reluctant to call it discrimination:

> Yes there are remarks. Certain remarks, I do not know if you can truly call it discrimination because it is so subtle. You do not feel good about it, so that is why you think there is something wrong. But it is not like… you cannot prove that it is discrimination. It is really a grey area. (XX - translation IW)

Either open or subtler, the discourses in society and the effects they have on the workplace can become a serious obstacle in feeling accepted in an organization as a colleague. Those who mention it also assume that the harsh opinions of co-workers stem from the negative political climate in the Netherlands (see also Siebers, 2010). They report how public and political debates seep through in the workplace of their organizations:

> Yes, as I said before, on the work floor, mostly with clients. But also inside the company you hear things and you experience things having to do with your religion. That is, at this moment in time, all very negatively portrayed

> [in public] and since I have an Islamic background, you hear things here and there and it makes you think: should I make a comment about this or not? (XX - translation IW).

Similar to the outcomes in the TIES survey, the women within the Pathways to Success Project wearing head scarves most often report about remarks concerning religion.

> Of course things happen but I do not know, I do not know… you are with someone, and you just come from a meeting with that person and you go for lunch together, and then she starts about your head scarf. Don't you have anything else to talk about? You get it? It is not discrimination or anything but it does give you the feeling like they still see you as the woman with the head scarf and not as X [name interviewee – IW] who happens to wear a head scarf." You see? That happens every now and then. (XX - translation IW)

Respondents of the Pathways to Success Project report that openly expressed racism or discriminatory remarks are extremely rare, especially in the context of the workplace. In the most openly racist cases, it is not colleagues, but clients or customers that are the perpetrators of racism.

Respondents deal with experiences of racism in different ways. What they all have in common is that they consciously choose if and when to react. Some of the respondents choose to confront people in a very direct manner:

> People make wrong remarks about head scarves or something like that. Then I will be the first to respond. (…) And you hear Muslims this, Muslims that. Then I will clearly say: "listen, I am one too and I feel addressed and I do not agree with you." (XX - translation IW)

Other respondents position themselves above such remarks or they will proof them wrong in practice:

> Sometimes things are said that are hurtful. (…) When I was younger, I reacted ardently to these things. But not anymore, I do not do that anymore (…). (…) When things are said about Islam, of which I think they are incorrect, then I explain, so I deal with it more easily. That is because when you grow older, you are able to explain things better, you are stronger. (XX - translation IW)

> Yes, I have had the feeling that I was treated differently than people who had done the same as I. Same functional level, same age (…). (…) I did not get projects as easily. That you are excluded in a subtle and perhaps unintentional way, that certain things are not granted to you. (…) My strategy or tactic is to show them that I can do it. If you do not grant me a project, I will go get it myself. (XX - translation IW)

Above all, interviewees are very cautious to describe incidents as racism. They often stress that they are not sure if they are not accepted because of their Turkish or Moroccan backgrounds or because of the fact that they are young, women, fresh out of university, working in a profession dominated by older men: “50 plus, bald or white haired.” (XX – translation IW). The successful Turkish and Moroccan second generation seems to be aware that they have to be very careful in the Netherlands to call something racism, as racism as a pattern in society is not an accepted viewpoint (Vasta, 2007; Ghorashi, 2014) and, therefore, it is not without danger for their careers to confront people at the workplace with accusations of racism. It can easily backfire on them. They often just cope with it or choose to ignore it, positioning themselves in both

of these reactions as active agents, refusing to be victimized by discrimination (Van den Broek, 2009).

Another strategy for gaining acceptance in the workplace for the second generation is through emphasizing their professional identity. Initial resistance by some colleagues is often overcome over a course of time because of their professional success:

> In the beginning it is startling for them that you have this position. And then they hear your story and see what you have accomplished, how many customers you have, what you have built. And then you can see that they do have respect for you. Yes. (XX - translation IW).

Acceptance in the workplace for the second generation can thus be accomplished by showing that they are capable professionals and good colleagues (Siebers, 2009a), and in that sense, no different than their colleagues of native Dutch parentage. They emphasize sameness to weaken the fixation on difference, and they become accepted by their colleagues based on the quality of their profession (cf. Wimmer, 2008b). Their professionalism acts as a binding element with colleagues of native Dutch parentage, allowing for acceptance and a feeling of belonging in the workplace.

> I noticed because I was THE guy who was hired for sales but ended up with the managers. To a large extent they [other managers – IW] had an attitude towards me. The good thing is, people like us who are faced with some resistance, we bite the bullet. I did not respond to their attitude but I worked like crazy. I booked really impressive results. And now they take me seriously as a manager. (XX - translation IW)

The vast majority of the interviewees expresses a wish to climb the career ladder further. The highly-educated second generation of Turkish and Moroccan decent is very ambitious. They managed to enter the labour market and are mostly content with their current position – which is, in most cases, a position in line with their education – but they have a clear vision for the future: they know where they want to go and they plan to get there.

One of the driving forces behind the ambitions of the second generation is that they want to keep developing themselves. They want to grow, become better at what they do, specialize, explore new fields, work abroad, earn more money, gain more influence, start their own company. Most of the interviewees who do not yet have a management position express that they would like to move into such a position. They look for possibilities in their own organization, but if they feel like they will not get a fair chance, they will also look for possibilities elsewhere. Many respondents advanced their careers by changing jobs.

> At a certain moment, I had had a promotion after three years, I started wondering: do I still like this? Am I going to grow further? Do I want to become a manager or not? You know, I will just go and work for another company, closer to home, more meaningful, more interesting. That I am challenged more, that it is professional, that I can develop myself. (XX - translation IW)

They constantly look for new challenges and they change their pathways to new and better positions:

> Yes, something better came along. You know, you are young, you have to be flexible. You have to climb [the corporate ladder – IW] as fast as you can, especially when you are young, you know. I am now at a position that took

other people 30 years to get at. I believe that you have to stay focused and seize your opportunities. (XX - translation IW)

Even those who are already in a high-level position express they want to achieve new goals, more often unrelated to financial gains or prestige.

So I have everything, and yes, it is weird but at a certain moment in time, then yes, you want to achieve more. You know? Not in terms of money or anything but more in terms of being more successful in reaching your goals and yes, I think you can achieve anything you want, you only have to do it. (XX - translation IW)

From the interviews, it is clear that the uncertainty of many respondents as they enter the labour market is, over time, replaced by self-confidence and a firm belief in possibilities. This attitude can partly be explained by learning the rules of the game and playing along with them:

And yes, I know the tactics now. Let me put it this way, I have been through so many job interviews, I actually just say what they want to hear. (XX - translation IW)

Positive experiences in the labour market also play a role in building self-confidence (Siebers, 2009b, p. 63-64; Ghorashi & Ponzoni, 2014). The interviewees are making themselves visible: they become noticed as professionals, are good at their job, ambitious, hardworking and looking for opportunities. They do, however, know they "[h]ave to work twice as hard." (XX – translation IW) because they have a Turkish or Moroccan background.

Acceptance of Leadership Position

The true test of acceptance in the workplace is being supported in a leading position by colleagues. More and more, successful second-generation professionals are moving into leadership positions. In the TIES survey, one in five second generation respondents that are active in the labour market have a higher education diploma and supervise people below them. They often supervise people of Dutch descent. A supervisory role could be seen as the ultimate test of acceptance by colleagues of Dutch descent. Do they encounter resistance to their authority?

Interviewees in our Pathways to Success Project state that having grown up in the Netherlands, they are used to Dutch customs and feel "Dutch" in their professional behaviour. They are accepted in their leadership position partly because of their fitting style of professionalism and work ethics, as for example expressed through the leadership style of second-generation managers, which is one of working together on a joint outcome, informal, friendly and little emphasis on hierarchy:

> Just Dutch, let us do this and if I have something to say, there is always a platform to deliberate. (XX - translation IW)

This leadership style is in line with the feeling of acceptance that interviewees experience because they speak the same professional language as their colleagues. By speaking the same professional language, people become more enthusiastic and willing to cooperate. Two interviewees also explicitly refer to the organizational culture in which there is no room and no tolerance for political views when it comes to ethnic minorities. In these organizations, it is all about doing your job and doing it well. And as long as you do it well, you get the credit. "No matter what you look like" (XX- translation IW).

Acceptance, in this case, thus becomes strongly related to being a

professional, skilled colleague, instead of belonging to the same national, ethnic or religious group. It is precisely this sort of acceptance that the highly educated second generation is looking for; the kind of acceptance they can achieve by being good at what they do at work:

> They look at your knowledge and skills and no attention is paid to your background or ethnic background. (XX - translation IW)

This so-called colour-blind strategy seems to be in concordance with the diversity approaches that are dominant in Northern European societies. These approaches hold the expectation that the "other" becomes the same and difference, in whatever form, is denounced and considered undesirable, as pointed out by various authors discussing diversity in organizations (Puwar, 2004; Holvino & Kamp, 2009; Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013). Furthermore, the colour-blind strategy closely resembles the strategy of de-emphasizing ethnicity, as described by Wimmer (2008a), through which boundary blurring occurs.

Putting one's professionalism and work identity to the fore thus enables the second generation to emphasize their "sameness" in relation to their colleagues of native parentage. Yet, de-emphasizing ethnicity is not entirely what the successful second generation seems to be doing. However sensitive they are to the bright boundaries, their situational choice to downplay their difference does not mean that they do not stand up for their ethnic or religious distinctiveness when they feel the need to.

Staying True to Oneself

Seeking recognition for the different aspects of their identity (professional, ethnic and religious) is important for the interviewees, since they feel that parts of their identity occasionally conflict with work or organizational related

issues; they do not want to compromise certain aspects of their identity. They do, however, sometimes need to make compromises, feel the need to adjust, and leave certain aspects of their identity in the background. These actions are born out of fear of conflict, based on different expectations, opinions or ignorance from colleagues. Interviewees do not want to hide or conceal parts of their identity, but do find themselves sometimes putting them “on hold” during working hours:

> Sometimes you have to put on some sort of mask, while still staying really close to yourself. People know about me that I am religious but do I express it? No, you would not be able to tell by the way I dress or anything. (…) I will always be honest about being religious and Muslim. (…) I do not give in on that. (XX - translation IW)

> Giving up, no. But distance, yes. And with which I mean that I do not give up on my principles, values and standards. But when I am at home, I can pray on time. And of course, that is not an option in an institution like that. (XX - translation IW)

Interviewees find ways to manage day-to-day interactions with colleagues without touching upon sensitive topics. Sensitive issues often have to do with religious aspects, such as fasting during Ramadan, observing Islamic holy days or not drinking alcohol. The most often mentioned uncomfortable situation at work is when alcohol is served at company drinks. Such a situation makes the cultural and religious differences obvious to colleagues:

> For example, I do not drink alcohol. When everybody is drinking a beer and I have a coke, it just stands out. (XX - translation IW)

> That is [drinking alcohol – IW] something I don't do. I will have a drink, coffee or tea. But I will not drink alcohol and that sets you apart. (XX - translation IW)

Difference can, however, also become an asset in the workplace, especially in cases where the customers or clients are of ethnic minority background as well:

> I do notice with youngsters, especially when they are youngsters with an immigrant background, that (…) there is a click (…). (…) Some will say: 'I will not cooperate with the psychologist'. And then they see me and they think 'Ah, she is one of us. It should be OK then'. (XX - translation IW)

The strategy of juggling sameness and difference is, in essence, what the successful second generation of Turkish and Moroccan descent is doing. They only put to the fore their ethnic or religious background when conflicts are imminent and unavoidable, displaying their difference at the risk of losing acceptance at the workplace. They therefore do not cross boundaries, and leave behind their ethnic group's customs and fully embrace those of the majority group. Their strategy also does not amount to what Alba calls boundary blurring: "participati[ng] in mainstream institutions [while maintaining their] familiar social and cultural practices and identities" (Alba, 2005, p. 25). Due to their awareness that difference can potentially jeopardize their professional status, they only display personal, social and cultural practices when there is no way to avoid difference, or when difference could be considered an asset for the organization. In addition, they do not expect boundaries to blur; they only hope to be respected for their own individual choices. The strategies they use are individual and context-based. The strategy of "sameness" through de-emphasizing ethnicity and emphasizing social

similarities (Wimmer, 2008b) opens up pathways to success for the second generation, as it provides them with means for acceptance in organizations that are in the Dutch context, which is still predominantly focused on sameness instead of equality, let alone diversity.

Boundary Sensitivity as Alternative to either Boundary Crossing or Boundary Blurring

We have shown in this article that the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation respondents from the Pathways to Success study have employed various strategies during the different phases in their labour market careers. Through these strategies, they have seemingly overcome bright boundaries that are in place in the labour market in the Netherlands, especially for ethnic minorities of Islamic background. What the strategies have in common is that the successful second generation does not want to be passive victims in the face of discriminatory practices or remarks at their workplace. They actively engage with exclusionary practices in different manners by performing a complex balancing act in which they, on the one hand, stress their quality and professional identity as being similar to the majority group members and, on the other hand, they want to be respected for who they are ethnically and religiously. Their refusal to fully assimilate sometimes makes their professional position in the labour market a vulnerable one.

We argue that rather than a process in which the successful second generation crosses ethnic boundaries or blurs boundaries, they circumvent boundaries by being very sensitive and competent in dealing with the limitation of boundaries. This sensitivity has become second nature for them (cf. Den Uyl & Brouwer, 2009), through which they juggle sameness and difference, resulting in what we would call “boundary sensitivity”: an

individual and contextual strategy, circumventing bright boundaries with the aim of gaining acceptance while staying true to oneself. With this strategy, the successful second generation avoids boundary crossing, which holds the inherent risks of losing the link with the ethnic group of the first generation, as well as never truly becoming accepted by the majority group (Alba, 2005, p. 26). The strategy is also pragmatic, since they are aware that boundary blurring – where difference is accepted and belonging to the majority group goes hand in hand with belonging to their own ethnic group – is, in most organizations, and in the present Dutch anti-immigrant context, not a viable strategy (Ibid., p. 25).

The highly educated second generation is particularly apt to develop a strategy of "boundary sensitivity" because they have grown up learning and reading differences, resulting in multiplicity competence. The strategy of boundary sensitivity is their answer to the bright boundaries in Dutch society. It is this subtle yet fine art of boundary sensitivity that resolves the apparent paradox of a growing successful, highly-educated Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation group of professionals in a country context with bright boundaries. They actively make use of the sameness and difference strategy depending on each situation, thereby circumventing bright boundaries and establishing themselves through de-emphasizing ethnicity. They manage to maintain and show difference, sometimes even conflicting differences, and thus display boundary sensitivity to gain entrance and acceptance in the Dutch labour market.

Chapter 3

Discrimination of second-generation professionals in leadership positions*

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Abstract

This chapter, based on interviews from the Dutch Pathways to Success Project, investigates how Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions experience and deal with subtle discrimination at work. We argue that subtle discrimination in organizations remains a reality for second-generation professionals in leadership positions. Because organizations are penetrated by power processes in society at large, these professionals are perceived not only on the basis of their position within the organization, but also on the basis of their marginalized ethnic group background. We show this through the existence of subtle discriminatory practices at three organizational levels—that of supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates—which may take place at one or more of these levels. When dealing with subtle discrimination, Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions show an awareness of organizational power and hierarchies. This awareness amounts to various forms of "micro-emancipation" by the second generation—adapted to the organizational level (supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates) they are dealing with—that question and challenge subtle discrimination in organizations.

Introduction

In March 2015, the Dutch Prime Minister stated in a newspaper article that labour market discrimination in the Netherlands exists, but that he could do nothing about it on a structural level (Metro, 2015). He claimed that migrants and second and third generation descendants of migrants always face opposition and discrimination, no matter where they live and added, rather paradoxically, that the solution to labour market discrimination lies in the hands of those being discriminated against. It is up to them to "fight their way in" (authors' translation) and to not give up.

The Prime Minister's attitude towards a structural injustice in Dutch society signals a context in which the existence of labour market discrimination has only very recently been publicly acknowledged. The Netherlands has long been known for its history of tolerance towards many aspects of social life. And along with this history of tolerance, there has been an assumed absence of racism in Dutch society (Vasta, 2007, p. 715). Even though there have been indications for some time now that discrimination exists in various fields in the Netherlands (Jungbluth, 2010; Siebers, 2010), such as the labour market with its higher levels of ethnic minority unemployment, regardless of educational level (Andriessen, Fernee, & Wittebrood, 2014; Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2012), the reluctance to address racism and discrimination (Ellemers & Barreto, 2009; Ghorashi, 2014; Vasta, 2007) remains.

The Dutch labour market context thus seems to be one where assumed self-reliance and agency leave people to fend for themselves when facing discrimination based on their ethnic background, either when trying to enter the labour market or within their organizations. It is within this context that we aim to understand how people experience and deal with discrimination in the workplace. In order to do so, we will focus on the Pathways to Success Project (PSP) interviews with second-generation professionals with a Turkish or

Moroccan background, working in leadership positions. They can be seen as the active "go- getters" the Dutch Prime Minister envisions, as they seem to be successfully climbing the corporate ladder.

The PSP interviews are indeed stories of "success". But they also show that discrimination at work occurs, and is often expressed in ways that leave second-generation professionals wondering if it is discrimination at all. Moreover, discrimination is perpetrated by supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates alike. Our aim is to unravel the ways in which discrimination towards second-generation professionals in leadership positions resonates within different organizational relationships. We therefore pose the following research question*: How do Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals working in leadership positions experience and deal with subtle discrimination in different organizational relationships—such as with supervisors, co-managers and subordinates—within an organization?*

We want to contribute to the body of literature on discrimination in organizations by showing that dis- crimination can still affect people who can be considered to "have fought their way in". Discrimination in the labour market or workplace is not only experienced by job seekers or people occupying subordinate positions, but also by those in leadership positions. We will argue that this is partly due to the characteristics of subtle discrimination, which make it difficult to pinpoint certain behaviour or comments as discrimination. It is also due to characteristics of the Dutch context, whereby organizations may be penetrated by power processes in society at large through which ethnic minorities can be marginalized. This penetration may contribute to an organizational climate in which Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals still face discrimination in the workplace even though they have climbed the corporate ladder into leadership positions.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. We will first explore the concepts of discrimination, boundaries, power and agency. We will then present a

methodological overview of our research, followed by an analysis of our interviews. In the conclusion, we will provide an answer to the central question posed in this chapter.

Theoretical framework

Discrimination and power are intertwined concepts, and both have blatant and hidden ways of manifesting themselves (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2011). When studying how second-generation professionals in leadership positions experience discrimination in organizations, we therefore explore both concepts theoretically. Furthermore, as discrimination can be seen as both an expression of societal boundaries (Lamont, 2002, p. 243), and a mechanism for reinforcing these boundaries (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011; Vasta, 2007), we aim to link how discrimination and boundaries can be connected theoretically. Lastly, we will theoretically connect power and agency, as on the one hand, enabling action is inherent to the concept of power (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 280; cf. Scott, 2008, p. 38), while on the other hand, agency can be limited by organizational structures, such as hierarchy, which are put into place through power.

Discrimination, Subtle Discrimination and Boundaries

Blatant discrimination refers to unequal treatment arising from an explicit belief among individuals that members of certain social groups are inherently inferior (Ellemers & Barreto, 2009, p. 750). This belief translates into negative treatment of individuals based on their alleged group membership instead of their individual merits (Kloek, Peters, & Sijtsma, 2013, p. 407). Blatant discrimination is thus reflected in clearly identifiable unfair treatment, leading to visible structural outcomes, such as denial of employment for ethnic minorities (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, p. 1205). Yet, this open rejection of

individuals based on their group membership is increasingly becoming a thing of the past (Coenders, Scheepers, Sniderman, & Verberk, 2001; Deitch, Barsky, Butz, Chan, Brief, & Bradley, 2003; Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997), as discrimination is legally forbidden in many Western countries and publicly spurned.

The fact that blatant discrimination is forbidden and frowned upon does not, however, mean that unequal treatment based on group membership no longer exists. Discrimination has become more subtle (Zick, Pettigrew, & Wagner, 2008), differing from its blatant predecessor due to its hidden and everyday form. Subtle discrimination can be understood as behaviour "…entrenched in common, everyday interactions, taking the shape of harassment, jokes, incivility, avoidance, and other types of disrespectful treatment" (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, p. 1205). It pervades everyday situations and is characterized by covertness (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997), occurring specifically in situations in which perpetrators can "hide" their intentions, maintaining the image of being non-discriminatory (Ellemers & Barreto, 2009; Deitch et al., 2003; Van Laer & Janssens, 2011). This makes subtle discrimination difficult to recognize and address when on the receiving end of it.

The concealed aspect of subtle discrimination points to its institutionalized nature; it reflects "…the covert expression of socially acceptable anti-minority views" (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997, p. 57). The social acceptability of these views can lead to a perpetuation of societal differences between people of ethnic minority and native-parentage descent, "fix[ing] the barriers preventing a new generation of skilled and educated minorities to escape their weak [starting—IW] position" (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, p.1220).

These barriers can be understood as boundaries, which are social constructs, created in a specific historical, political and social context (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, p. 1206). Boundaries function as mechanisms of inclusion

and exclusion (Barth, 1994), indicating who belongs within the boundary lines and who does not (Alba, 2005). Boundaries can thus act to maintain structural inequalities, while simultaneously hiding them from the public eye, as they are built-in, unquestioned parts of the system (Vasta, 2007, p. 728). These undisputed parts of the system are exacerbated by predominantly negative public debates and media coverage on ethnic minorities (cf. Kloek, Peters, & Sijtsma, 2013, p. 406; Van Reekum & Duyvendak, 2012; Vasta, 2007, p. 71) and fear of societal changes caused by supposedly unbridgeable cultural differences inherent to the "other" (Ghorashi, 2014a).

The hidden and institutionalized way in which subtle discrimination operates doesn't necessarily lead to subtle outcomes (Deitch et al., 2003, p. 1317; Van Laer & Janssens, 2011; Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, & Esquilin, 2007). Moreover, the outcomes of subtle discrimination are more detrimental for some groups than for others (Verkuyten, 2002). Muslims throughout Europe run the greatest risk regarding stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and social exclusion (Allen & Nielsen, 2002; Kloek et al., 2013; Van Laer & Janssens, 2011; Vasta, 2007; Verkuyten, 2002; Zick, Pettigrew, & Wagner, 2008). This could concern their religion, culture or social position (Foner & Alba, 2008; Kloek et al., 2013; Vasta, 2007; Verkuyten, 2002).

Subtle discrimination thus results in nearly invisible boundaries being drawn in all layers of society around a specifically targeted group of people, while impeding recognition of these boundaries. This can easily turn in- to a situation in which people experiencing subtle discrimination—for instance in the workplace—are rendered disempowered to act upon it.

Power, Subtle Power and Agency in Organizations

Power is ubiquitous in organizations (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 285). And power, just like discrimination, has both blatant and subtle manifestations, resulting in more and less visible expressions of it (cf. Lukes, 1986). Power can

be understood as the ability of a person to intentionally influence the behaviour of other people in line with what is deemed necessary by the person wielding the power (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 239; Scott, 2008, p. 29). This open power play "…rel[ies] upon identifiable acts that shape the behaviour of others" (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 240) and results from hierarchy and uneven power distribution (Wilson & Thompson, 2001, p. 65). Yet, this idea of power only provides a partial explanation when looking at how power in organizations works. Exercising power cannot be solely equated to holding a position of authority. Other, more structural and therefore more concealed and subtle, aspects also play a role (Scott, 2008, p. 29; Fleming & Spicer, 2014).

Subtle forms of power share a common feature in that they are considered to be structural. This implies that subtle power reaches into the way people think about and reflect upon power dynamics, accepting them not only as a given, but even as constituting the natural order (Foldy, 2002, p. 97). And this "natural order" suggests that for a more complete picture of power, societal structures must also be taken into account (cf. Lukes, 1986; Scott, 2008; Van Laer & Janssens, 2011). Societal structures, bearing hegemonic beliefs and opinions from larger society, penetrate organizations (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, pp. 1206-1207), making one's societal background relevant in addition to one's organizational function. Organizations can therefore be seen as reflections of broader society, reproducing inequality rather than inventing it (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 150).

Van Laer and Janssens (2011) show that societal background indeed reaches into organizations. Their study portrays ethnic-minority professionals who are faced with "…subtle discrimination in the workplace [that] can be understood as micro-expressions of macro-level power dynamics that operate in ambiguous ways and are based on processes of subtle power" (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, p. 1219). Their respondents experienced so-called "racial micro-aggressions" (Sue et al., 2007, pp. 275-277), reflecting negative images

about the ethnic group with which the professionals are associated, but so subtly that the negative images remain unchallenged and are reproduced (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, p. 1214). Moreover, racial micro-aggressions aren't limited to class and can thus equally affect upper-middle class professionals (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011).

However, employees experiencing subtle power and subtle discrimination in the workplace aren't mere passive recipients (Wilson & Thompson, 2001, p. 75; cf. Ghorashi & Ponzoni, 2014). People reflect on their circumstances, weighing their ability for successful action, as power not only constrains, but also enables actions (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 280; Scott, 2008, p. 38). These actions may vary, but their commonality is that when employees decide to act, they are likely to do this by complying with company rules that cannot be bent, while acting as change-agents whenever they see possibilities to do so (Foldy, 2002, p. 97; Zanoni & Janssens, 2007, p. 1389). This agency can be understood as deliberate action or deliberate inactivity, and it points to employees' ability to "function as…definers, interpreters, and appliers of institutional elements" (Scott, 2008, p. 223).

As opposed to grand forms of social change which have been the kind of agency envisaged in relation to blatant expressions of power, agency vis-à-vis subtle power and subtle discrimination in organizations will not lead directly to large-scale changes. The type of agency which is increasingly utilized against hegemonic normalized structures is "micro-emancipation" (Zanoni & Janssens, 2007, p. 1377). This type of agency is "fragmentary and temporary" (Zanoni & Janssens, 2007, p. 1395) rather than containing "successive moves towards a predetermined state of liberation" (Alvesson and Willmott in Zanoni & Janssens, 2007, p. 1377). As such it is akin to the idea of "tempered radicals" (Meyerson and Scully in Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 275), a term used for employees who "slowly and patiently change the way leaders understand themselves in relation to important social justice issues within the firm" (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p.

275). Micro-emancipation enables resisting power, for instance through creating awareness. By exposing the subtleness of power and discrimination in an organization, even if it's only on an individual level, micro-emancipation might amount to questioning organizational structures. And this could potentially lead to changes beyond the individual level (Zanoni & Janssens, 2011, pp. 1394-1395), reviewing and reshaping the hegemonic negotiated order (Wilson & Thompson, 2001, p. 76).

Pathways to Success Project Methodology

The Pathways to Success Project

The Pathways to Success Project (PSP) is a qualitative study that was conducted in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the Netherlands. The study was initiated because of earlier findings from TIES[7], showing that a quarter of the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second generation is in or has finished higher education. This finding not only opposes the societal tendency to view this group as problematic, it also inspires us to understand how these people have managed to get where they are, taking into account their school trajectories, labour market experiences, and social activities.

We selected respondents on the basis of one of the three criteria we used for defining "success":

1. Having finished higher education (BA and/or MA), or
2. Managing at least five people in a professional occupation, or
3. Earning more than €2000 net/month.

Through this definition we have tried to objectify the concept of success. Yet,

[7] TIES stands for The Integration of the European Second gen- eration, a large-scale international study on the second genera- tion in Europe, conducted in eight countries encompassing 15 European cities, during 2007 and 2008.

we are aware that success can mean different things to different people, allowing for a different setup of the same study, embedded in a different way of defining the concept. Furthermore, we are aware that by selecting people based on how successful we deem them to be, we are selecting on our dependent variable.

We chose semi-structured interviews for data collection. Because we employed multiple interviewers to cover our sample-size, we needed a fixed questionnaire ensuring that all respondents would be asked the same topics, while simultaneously allowing interviewers the liberty to probe, and interviewees the liberty to address issues beyond the questionnaire (Gomm, 2008, p. 229; Gilbert, 2008, p. 247).

Analyzing Discrimination

We interviewed 40 Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions. The interviews took 60 to 90 minutes, and were voice-recorded and transcribed by the interviewers. The transcripts were subsequently coded by the PSP research team, using the qualitative computer program “Kwalitan”.

The coding and analysis of discrimination was sometimes challenging. Respondents seemed reluctant to label their experiences in the workplace as “discrimination”. This could have its origin in the specific Dutch context in which talking about discrimination can be seen as claiming the mantle of victimhood (cf. Ellemers & Barreto, 2009). But it could also be due to the so-called “achievement narrative” (Konyali, 2014), through which successful second-generation professionals try to avoid victimization by emphasizing their individual skills and accomplishments. Talking about discrimination at work seems to run contrary to this achievement narrative, unless it is framed in terms of overcoming discrimination, for instance through hard work and resilience.

We conducted the analysis using the following steps: firstly, the PSP interview contained one open question on discrimination in organizations in which we stated that discrimination occurs in all organizations and subsequently asked about respondents' experiences. Through this outspoken question we obtained reflections by respondents on work situations in relation to discrimination. These reflections led the majority of the interviewees to talk about situations in which they felt that something wasn't quite right, but they questioned whether these situations could be labelled as "discrimination". Some interviewees explicitly mentioned "subtle discrimination" when talking about these incidents.

Secondly, throughout the interview section on labour market experiences, interviewees referred to work situations in which they felt uneasy about things said or done by others in their organizations. Again, the majority of these examples were accompanied by question marks from the interviewees as to whether it was discrimination they were faced with.

The PSP research team coded the above-mentioned situations as "subtle discrimination", because the descriptions showed commonalities with characteristics of subtle discrimination: often the incidents happened in circumstances which allowed for more than one interpretation of the incident. Moreover, the incidents usually happened during average, seemingly innocent interactions, in which all of a sudden things were said or done that made the interviewees wonder why they felt hurt or unjustly treated.

We consequently grouped these incidents into four categories, as all of the incidents mentioned by the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions fitted into one of them: 1) missed promotions; 2) jokes; 3) comments on and disturbing questions about Muslims and Islam; and

4) questioning of their authority to lead. We are aware that missing out on a promotion or questioning of authority is hardly subtle; however, we labelled

them “subtle discrimination” as interviewees mentioned that they only suspected that they had been surpassed or challenged on their authority to lead because of their ethnic background, but could not be sure that this was the case.

The next step in our analysis ascribed instances of subtle discrimination to either a supervisor, a same-level colleague or a subordinate. This division resulted from the fact that jokes and comments/questions happened at all three levels, but missed promotions were unique to the relationship with supervisors and questioning of authority to lead was unique to the relationship with subordinates. Furthermore, the division also resulted from the fact that the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals showed different responses depending on which organizational level they were dealing with.

The Respondents

The PSP respondents all come from labour migrant families. The majority of their parents worked in low-skilled jobs after arriving in the Netherlands and had little to no knowledge of the Dutch education system. The Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions thus had to pave their own way through school, university and into the labour market, with little instrumental help from their parents (Rezai, Crul, Severiens, & Keskiner, 2015).

The respondents work in both public (education, government, health care, social work) and private (commercial managers in a bank, business, accountancy, IT and consultancy, and lawyers) sectors. Most respondents work in paid employment. A small minority works as self-employed bosses.

The interviewees consisted of 26 men and 14 women with a mean age of 31 years. The youngest respondents, in paid employment and self-employed leadership positions, are 25 years old and both are men. The oldest

respondents in paid employment and self-employed leadership positions are both women, whereby the former is 41 and the latter is 46 years old. We had 20 respondents in leadership positions from Amsterdam and 20 from Rotterdam. Their experiences with subtle discrimination in the workplace will be highlighted in the next section.

Subtle Discrimination in the Workplace

Subtle discrimination in the workplace is a reality for many of our PSP respondents in leadership positions. They experience subtle discrimination in different organizational relationships and consequently have to deal with supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates. These multi-level experiences with subtle discrimination appear to typify the second generation in leadership positions. Their position within the organization goes hand-in-hand with negative opinions in Dutch society about ethnic minorities (Kloek et al., 2013; Van Reekum & Duyvendak, 2012; Vasta, 2007), permeating organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Van Laer & Janssens, p. 2011) and rendering the second generation vulnerable to subtle forms of power (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, pp. 1206-1207).

As these subtle forms of power are not solely linked to organizational hierarchy but also to hegemonic, built-in and undisputed structures in larger society, the second generation in leadership positions experiences subtle discrimination mainly through being associated with a group bearing negative connotations. They seem to serve as “tokens” by being highly visible in the organization as newcomers in positions of power, and having stereotypes attributed to them by the dominant group, as they are often seen as representatives of their (ethnic) group rather than as individuals (Kanter, 1977). This renders tokens vulnerable (Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998), allowing them no room for mistakes. Moreover, in cases where they represent

a group with negative connotations, they have to work hard to reverse this image by presenting a good example. And working hard and presenting a good example are indeed strategies used by the PSP respondents.

Subtle Discrimination and Agency at the Supervisor Level

Although subtle discrimination by supervisors occurs, members of the second generation in leadership positions generally feel valued by their supervisors. The majority states that there is room for their ambitions. They discuss these ambitions with their supervisors, to find out what is needed to meet the functional demands for promotion, and how to obtain financial support for additional courses. However, the second generation in leadership positions is a numerical rarity in most organizations, making them highly visible and prone to the token-role (Kanter, 1977). This heightened visibility might lead to above-average performance pressure, possibly explaining their belief that they need to work harder than colleagues from a native parentage background to get ahead in their career. This belief is rooted in the experience of missing out on promotions. Yet, respondents are careful to label a missed promotion as "discrimination", even if being passed over for advancement can have major consequences for their career. This is to be expected, as such a claim is often hard to sustain:

> No, I've told a colleague that another colleague got promoted and I didn't but I don't have any hard evidence….But like I said, I don't have evidence. In large organizations, these decisions are made behind closed doors. That makes it hard to prove. You can't do anything about it….I had had a very good year [in the organization—IW] but well, what is said is that others were better. You can disagree but there's little point in protesting. (*Turkish-Dutch male, IT consultant, Rotterdam*)

> The only thing I can conclude is that white colleagues get ahead far quicker than coloured colleagues. That's a conclusion I made for myself. (*Moroccan-Dutch male, Chief Information Management, Amsterdam*)

In addition to withholding promotion opportunities, subtle discrimination by supervisors also comes in the form of jokes. Jokes are made within a context where the second generation in leadership positions are newcomers to a field where the rules of the game have already been set (Keskiner, 2013, pp. 21-22). This, combined with coming from an ethnic and religious group about which negative stereotypes are dominant in society, results in them being targets of discriminatory jokes, as their rare numbers and marginalized group status can set them apart:

> I came back from a ski trip. I came back to work after driving for twelve hours and everybody entered the room and one of the partners [in a Law firm— IW] saw me and says: "Hey [name respondent— IW], my car has been stolen, do you know where it is?" Yes, so you enter the room, ok, and my reaction was: "Well, what kind of car is it? A Volvo? Ah, already on its way to Russia then." Everybody laughing. Those are things that could be considered prejudice and I can't and won't change the way people express themselves. Fine. It's not troubling me. I'm still here and it's not such a big deal…. (*Turkish-Dutch male, Lawyer, Amsterdam*)

> I've had comments by some of the partners [from the Law firm—IW]. And…, it makes you wonder if it's just ignorance, or that…should I place it in a context of discrimination? These things you want to forget. But I do think, I'm a pretty open person, so I joke too, and self-mockery is important. But when someone else takes over the mockery, and pushes it to a limit….That has happened, but not too often. (*Moroccan-Dutch male,*

Lawyer, Amsterdam)

In dealing with subtle discrimination by supervisors, our interviewees employ various forms of agency. Their response to missed promotions is of a subtle nature, whereby they work even harder to achieve their goals. This is an active strategy to counter the disempowerment of feeling surpassed for a promotion because of ethnicity or religion, but they do not explicitly communicate this strategy. They simply do it, expecting it to pay off in the future, as they know their qualities are recognized, even if it takes more effort than with colleagues of native parentage background:

> I didn't really notice that I was heavily discriminated….Do other people or ethnic majority people get more chances than I do? Sure. In the beginning, when someone got a promotion and I didn't, then I would think: "why him and not me?" Getting promoted is always [a—IW] subjective [decision—IW]. Perhaps there's only one spot available. You have to work harder, and then you get it. (*Moroccan- Dutch male, Accountant, Rotterdam*)

The interviewees respond to jokes by joking back in some cases, confronting their supervisors in other cases or ignoring the jokes altogether. They weigh whether the jokes pose a career threat. When they do respond, they do so through subtly joking back, thereby turning the tables, making use of the organizational culture in which jokes are acceptable (cf. Foldy, 2002; cf. Zanoni & Janssens, 2007):

> I have a very quick feeling for it and I know how to bend it into something funny from my part, to prevent an embarrassing moment. Not even for myself but for others. I know that if I want to, I can have him, but I also know that that won't get me anywhere. (*Turkish-Dutch male, Lawyer,*

Amsterdam)

Being denied an upward career move, and contemplating if this is connected to subtle discrimination, is uniquely linked to second generation leaders and their supervisors. Jokes are not. The second generation in leadership positions also faces jokes by colleagues working in similar managerial functions. How does subtle discrimination operate at an equal organizational level?

Subtle Discrimination and Agency at the Colleague Level

Subtle discrimination by colleagues working on the same organizational level comes in the form of jokes, but members of the second generation in leadership positions also feel that they need to justify identity aspects, such as their ethnic or religious background. The pressure to adapt and hide certain aspects of one's identity does not necessarily equal discrimination, but uneasiness prevails. There is a sliding scale; at what point does one take negative remarks by colleagues about religious customs like abstaining from alcohol or wearing a veil personally, or after how many times does being asked about Islamic festivities become annoying? The quote below gives an impression of the sort of situations people have to deal with:

> There have been conversations that happened on a personal level. They [co-workers—IW] are talking about something negative and then they start asking you questions, out of the blue. Questions like "do you also have a prayer rug at home?", or "things are done differently in your culture, right?" These are subtle, sometimes insinuating things. I try not to take it too seriously. (*Moroccan-Dutch male, Municipality Manager, Amsterdam*).

Respondents also talked about same-level colleagues asking questions and posing comments that are not without judgment, as they reflect mainstream

negative opinions and debates in the Netherlands concerning Muslims in particular (Van Reekum & Duyvendak, 2012; Vasta, 2007). The second generation, as presumed representatives of their group (Kanter, 1977), need to account for the behaviour of others, to whom they are only connected through ethnicity or religion. They are no longer addressed as individuals but as spokespeople, supposedly capable of explaining the behaviour of strangers, simply because these strangers come from the same ethnic or religious background:

> I remember that there was this ethnic-minority individual who had done something, which became a news item. Then colleagues would ask me "What's the matter with this person?" Then I feel like, I don't know this person, he's not my brother. (*Moroccan-Dutch female, IT Project Manager, Amsterdam*)

> Certain conversations happen and you somehow feel it's about you. I have to say, it doesn't happen that frequently in my job. But, sometimes, things are said…, when something is covered by the news, something concerning Islam….So, it's not even that I'm being discriminated but things are said sometimes that are hurtful to you. (*Moroccan-Dutch female, Head Service Department, Amsterdam*)

The interviewees considered that being held responsible for others' actions on the basis of a shared ethnicity or religious background is a form of discrimination that they cannot really stand up against, since nothing has been said or done against them personally (cf. Verkuyten, 2002). It is in these sort of situations that same- level colleagues omit identity markers that are more salient for the workplace, while it is precisely these professional identity markers that could advance second-generation acceptance within

the organization (Waldring, Crul, & Ghorashi, 2014; Wimmer, 2008a).

Although the nature of the remarks by same-level colleagues make them difficult to respond to, reactions by the second generation are quite explicit. It seems that respondents are less willing to accept these subtle forms of discrimination from their colleagues than from their supervisors. Not only does the second generation joke back harshly when confronted with discriminatory jokes, they also openly confront their colleagues with the stereotypical nature of their comments. They discuss issues, questioning the status quo:

> When I even sense something like that [discrimination—IW], I immediately call their remarks into question. Look, for example, I have double nationality. I have a Dutch and a Turkish passport. And every now and then, during lunch, we have a discussion about this. People tell me I should have only one [passport—IW] blabla. Then I asked them: why?… Why, in God's name can I only have one and why should I have to choose between Dutch and Turkish nationality? How am I supposed to make that choice? And then I just bounce it back. I just ask open questions and then you see that they start to think for themselves instead of following the crowd. (*Turkish-Dutch male, Commercial Project Manager, Rotterdam*)

> When someone makes a nasty comment about veils or something like that, I would be the person to confront them immediately, and not always in the nicest of manners. Because, let's be real, it's mostly the [ethnic—IW] Dutch commenting on the Moroccans. But I retaliate with a range of topics and then it's suddenly quiet. So yes, it is…, of course it's discrimination. And you hear "Muslims this and Muslims that". Then I will be the one stating clearly: "Listen, I'm a Muslim too and I feel addressed [by your comments—IW], and I don't agree with them." (*Moroccan-Dutch male, Chief Bailiff, Amsterdam*)

Members of the second generation push their possibilities as resisting individuals to the limits at this organizational level, refusing to be treated unfairly. Their individual strategy is a textbook case of micro-emancipation, whereby they not only defend what is important to them personally but also aim to change their colleagues' attitudes and behaviours concerning ethnic minorities in general or Islam, more so than when they are dealing with their supervisors (cf. Zanoni & Janssens, 2007).

The negative discourses on ethnic minorities in the Netherlands clearly resonate within organizations. This is not limited to supervisors and same-level colleagues. Second-generation professionals in leadership positions also experience subtle discrimination by subordinates.

Subtle Discrimination and Agency at the Subordinate Level

Questioning of authority to lead plays a prominent role at the level of subordinates. Members of the second generation in leadership positions describe various experiences with subtle discrimination by subordinates. What these cases share is scrutiny by employees of the capabilities of their second-generation supervisors. These supervisors are among the first from their ethnic group to hold positions of power in organizations, and this poses a sharp contrast to the overall division of power in society, where marginalization mostly befalls those of Turkish and Moroccan descent (Kloek et al., 2013; cf. Slay & Smith, 2011; Verkuyten, 2002). The negative stereotypes associated with their ethnic and religious group lead to a situation in which members of the second generation in leadership positions cannot afford any error and permanently have to show they possess leadership skills. They therefore emphasize that their leadership role has to be earned, as their subordinates feel reservations about them. Such reservations are less common if managers are from a native-parentage background:

> The acceptance, they [employees—IW] do accept it. But there is, as a figure of speech, some sort of run-up period, a period in which people simply have to get used to the fact that you're of Moroccan descent, that you've had a certain education and, yes, that you will have to tell them what to do. It takes a while, and I think it takes a while longer than with others. (*Moroccan-Dutch male, Lawyer, Amsterdam*)

> I came across someone whom I had to supervise, well, he was older than me. And he thought: "I'm older, and you're supervising me?" I could tell that he didn't listen to me. On top of that came my Turkish background….He would make jokes. Just a little, not really offensive but always directed towards Turks and Moroccans. (*Turkish-Dutch male, Coordinator Test engineer, Amsterdam*)

When it comes to subordinates, the second generation is most cautious in their dealings with subtle discrimination. They address prejudice and stereotypes by their employees but they try to refrain from getting into an open power play with people who they already surpass in rank. Moreover, they try to gain acceptance by showing their employees that stereotypes and prejudice are not applicable to individuals, thereby circumventing "role entrapment", through which they are "forced…into playing limited and caricatured roles in the system" (Kanter, 1977, p. 980). Their non-conformance to stereotyped roles does not come through distancing themselves from their ethnic group (cf. Konyali, 2014), but through finding common ground with the ethnic-majority group based on their professional identity and their competences as "good managers" (Waldring et al., 2014).

> I think it is very difficult to gain acceptance. Respect is something you have

> to earn, and the way to do this is by setting goals together. Setting goals that are manageable and realistic, and trying to reach them together….When you do this often enough, then you know how the work is going and you're involved with your team at the same time. Just keep on communicating with them. (*Moroccan-Dutch male, IT Consultant, Rotterdam*)
>
> Yes, it's about the skills you possess….Not to brag, but I'm better at communicating than all the other guys here. If I hadn't been, and I had been just a manager and not a salesperson myself, they would have eaten me alive. You have to show them every day that you're better than they are [at the job— IW]. (*Moroccan-Dutch male, Chief Social Worker, Rotterdam*)

This choice of profiling their professional identity shows that identity can be seen as situational. Yet, "how we self-identify is only part of the equation" (Jenkins in Foldy, 2002, p. 98) and self-identification can be limited by how others perceive us (Van Laer & Janssens, 2014). Therefore, validation of our identity by others is required (cf. Wimmer, 2008a, p. 1035). And although this validation sometimes comes over time, when it comes, the second generation in leadership positions runs the risk of merely being seen as "exceptions to the rule", setting them apart from their ethnic group while the negative stereotypes about the entire group remain (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011).

Conclusion

The concept of power is important when considering how Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions experience and deal with subtle discrimination in the workplace. We will firstly

argue that hegemonic, “hidden” power plays a role in understanding how experiences with subtle discrimination continue to be a reality for the second generation in leadership positions from the Pathways to Success Project. Secondly, we will indicate how dealing with these experiences takes into account the more “open”, hierarchic power dynamics that are present in organizational hierarchies.

Subtle Discrimination and Hegemonic Power

The Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions from the PSP are faced with subtle discrimination at various organizational levels. The expressions of subtle discrimination by supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates differ to some extent, but patterns from larger society penetrate organizations at all three levels. The Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions experience missed promotions, jokes, comments, questions and challenges to their authority, not necessarily based on their individual performance or behaviour, but on their ethnic and religious group membership. They have to deal with subtle discrimination because they are seen as part of a group that currently holds a marginal position in Dutch society. This societal marginalization, that is obviously not applicable to the second generation in leadership positions from PSP (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2011), wrongly comes to the fore in organizational interactions, leading to situations and interactions in which their organizational role is sometimes overshadowed by their alleged societal background (cf. DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 150).

These interactions make it clear that hidden, hegemonic power is in operation, leading to the perpetuation of subtle discrimination, even when people manage to reach leadership positions. This hegemonic power is systemic, in the sense that it is part of societal structures and discourses that remain largely unquestioned in daily life (Vasta, 2007). Yet, although this power is

unquestioned, it does not go unnoticed as it causes structural inequalities in society (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011; Deitch et al., 2003) that are reflected in organizational life (Siebers, 2010; Van Laer & Janssens, 2011), so that subtle discrimination remains a reality for the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions.

Agency and Hierarchy

Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions act upon subtle discrimination at all three organizational levels. They do so in a variety of ways. This difference in reactions comes to the fore most clearly in the case of jokes, as supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates alike employ this type of subtle discrimination. The reactions by second-generation professionals to jokes seem to reflect a consideration of the organizational hierarchies, rather than a consideration of the type of subtle discrimination. They appear to weigh up who they are dealing with in order to establish how they should respond to subtle discrimination. Subtle discrimination is confronted most openly when it comes from same-level colleagues. But in the two cases where authority and hierarchy are more obvious, namely supervisors and subordinates, Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions keep their responses subtle. They don't openly challenge either their supervisors, or their subordinates, but rather opt for a subtle joke back, a one-on-one talk or they push their organizational identity to the fore (cf. Waldring et al., 2014; cf. Wimmer, 2008a).

This awareness of and dealing with organizational hierarchies and power in the face of subtle discrimination, shows how Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions reflect on their organizational context. They wield their power in different relationships of authority, employing various forms of agency to fit with the situation and

people they are dealing with. In the case of supervisors and subordinates, they act as “tempered radicals” (Meyerson and Scully in Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 275) who slowly work their way towards changing opinions, even if it’s just on an individual level. With their same-level colleagues, the confrontations are more open, but still on an individual level. These confrontations most likely will not lead to large-scale changes within the organization, but they constitute an example of micro- emancipation through which second-generation professionals attempt to create awareness among their colleagues that judging people based on their group membership is unfair and that certain beliefs about ethnic minorities are based on prejudice.

The Dutch Prime Minister’s principle of “fighting your way in” as the key to overcoming labour market discrimination, can be challenged. We have tried to show in this article that subtle discrimination can still affect second-generation professionals in leadership positions because systemic inequalities permeate various organizational relationships. They are faced with hegemonic power that can lead to situations in which their organizational position is overruled by their marginalized ethnic background, rendering them vulnerable to subtle discrimination despite their position of authority.

How Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions deal with these exclusionary acts involves an awareness of organizational hierarchies. On the one hand, their possibilities to act as change-agents are limited. This is mainly due to the multiple layers of exclusions they are dealing with in their daily professional settings, as well as the organizational hierarchies they have to take into consideration when addressing subtle discrimination. On the other hand, their awareness of organizational power and hierarchies is used for forms of micro-emancipation, through which they deal with subtle discrimination in different ways, depending on whom they are confronted with. This awareness and subsequent custom-made agency cannot be expected to resolve subtle discrimination in the workplace, but it could

possibly hold the key to questioning and challenging hegemonic power structures and relationships in organizations.

Chapter 4

Practices of change in the education sector: Professionals dealing with ethnic school segregation*

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Abstract

This chapter looks at second-generation professionals in the education sector in Sweden, France and the Netherlands, whose parents were born in Turkey. In their stories, ethnic school segregation appears as an important topic that coincides with other inequalities in society and signals educational injustice. This so-called 'wicked problem' is used to understand how second-generation professionals assert influence in their quest for educational change.
The analysis, based on semi-structured interviews, shows that influence and change are conditional. Second-generation professionals are constrained by the structural boundaries of the sector, which seem particularly fixed because of the way in which the education sector is entangled with state policies.
Simultaneously, they are aware of these boundaries, and of the nation-specific change-opportunities existing within them. Using their 'in-betweenness' as second-generation social climbers, with their knowledge of the education system, they apply varying practices of change focused on moderating the negative effects of ethnic school segregation.

Introduction

Due to the immigration and settlement of large flows of international migrants in the past decades, Western Europe has witnessed the "establishment of numerous new ethnic groups" (Alba, 2005, p. 21). One of these new ethnic groups that settled throughout Western-Europe in the 1960s and 1970s were labour migrants from Turkey (Lessard-Phillips & Ross, 2012, pp. 74-77). Their children, when born in the country of settlement, are the so-called second generation. This second generation has come of age and is joining the workforce.

In contrast to dominant opinions, which focus on problems among the second generation with parents from Turkey (Heath, Rothon, & Kilpi, 2008), part of this second-generation group is highly educated (Crul, Schnell, Herzog-Punzenberger, Wilmes, Slootman, & Aparicio Gómez, 2012, p. 149) and constitutes an upcoming body of professionals working in leadership positions (Waldring, Crul, & Ghorashi, 2015). Some of them have opted for a career in education. In the ELITES project we selected people in leading positions in the education sector in Sweden, France and the Netherlands. These professionals occupy varying positions of influence and this article has been constructed around them.

The aim of this article is to understand how second-generation professionals in leading positions assert influence on educational policies that they deem in need of change. The focus revolves around one much-debated and highly-contested educational issue: the existence of schools that are segregated along the lines of ethnic background. Ethnic school segregation is considered a problem in many migration countries (Gramberg, 1998; Karsten, Felix, Ledoux, Meijnen, Roeleveld, & Van Schooten, 2006; Westin, 2003; Beach & Sernhede, 2011; Oberti, 2007), as it is seen as a cause and result of social injustice, with ethnic-minority pupils having the most to gain from its demise (OECD, 2010, p.

198). How second-generation professionals in the educational sector deal with ethnic school segregation is particularly interesting because of their own ethnic-minority background, and how this background influences their views and strategies to counter ethnic school segregation and its effects. This educational issue has proven difficult to solve because it is entangled with other societal issues, such as residential segregation and free school choice (Denton, 1996; Beach & Sernhede, 2011; Oberti, 2007; Gramberg, 1998). These societal issues vary from country to country. Including different national contexts in the analysis allows for a cross-country comparison of how the sector is organized and in what ways these arrangements affect how respondents may deal with ethnic school segregation (Crul & Schneider 2010, p. 1258). This leads to the central question of this chapter: *How are second-generation professionals in the education sector able to shape outcomes concerning ethnic school segregation, taking the different national characteristics of the sector into consideration?*

The chapter will first discuss a theoretical exploration of the concepts of influence and change-making, followed by a discussion of ethnic school segregation and a short outline of ethnic school segregation as a wicked problem. It will then focus on the methodological underpinnings of the research, and continue with an analysis of the interviews. I will show that practices of change regarding ethnic school segregation are focused on improving equal opportunities for ethnic-minority pupils within the boundaries set by the specific national educational policies.

Professionals influencing change

Looking at how professionals influence change in education touches upon the dynamics of structure and agency. On the one hand, professionals are regarded as the primary institutional agents of our time, shaping and changing institutions in modern society (Scott, 2008). This view on professionals is driven by the idea

that professionals are specialists on a given topic, such as education. They therefore possess specific, “value-neutral” scientific knowledge and expertise, providing them with authority, status and legitimacy when dealing with related issues (Fischer, 1993, p. 168). The idea of professionals as change-makers par excellence is furthermore enhanced by the basic assumption that the system in which professionals work encourages knowledge and competition among its members, allowing for “processes promoting change and innovation” (Scott, 2008, p. 223). Professionals’ expert knowledge in combination with a framework that stimulates change, thus amounts to agency translated in their ability to “rightfully” act upon situations in order to make a difference (Zanoni & Janssens, 2007, p. 1376).

Having the ability to act upon a situation does not automatically lead to making a difference. Professionals, despite their agency, can encounter obstacles on an organizational level as organizations are part of complex institutional structures (Greenwood & Meyer, 2008, p. 263). These structures, in part regulated by the state, not only enable actions, but also constrain them (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 265). A change-inhibiting structure may be found in the tendency of organizations and entire organizational fields to resemble each other. This “isomorphism” filters out differences, forcing both institutions and the people within them to act alike (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, pp. 149-152). In this environment, change is directed towards “sameness”, both within organizations and the larger field in which these organizations operate. This sameness among people and organizations creates a “pool of almost interchangeable individuals who occupy similar positions across a range of organizations and possess a similarity of orientation and disposition that may override variations in traditions and control that might otherwise shape organization behavior” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 152). In other words, change and innovation that might originate from a diverse workforce, are curbed because of the tendency to create homogeneity (Ghorashi & Sabelis,

2013). And indeed, professionals have been accused of “perpetuating the social injustices plaguing modern Western societies” (Fischer, 1993, p. 169; Levay, 2010) by holding back change and innovation in defence of the status quo.

The tendency towards sameness in organizations is something second-generation professionals also face due to their ethnic background, which often differs from most of their colleagues. They therefore find themselves juggling various identity aspects at work, striving to maintain their professional identity in order to fit in, without compromising their ethnic identity or religious beliefs (Waldring, Crul, & Ghorashi, 2014). This juggling of sameness and difference is something that seems to come naturally to the second generation. The second generation, simply because of the fact that they have grown up knowing and experiencing different cultures, “are more aware than most people that they have a choice” (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway, 2008, p. 21) when it comes to identity aspects and ways of doing things, and this awareness can be seen as a second-generation advantage as it enables second-generation professionals to draw on multiple frames of reference (Ibid., p. 356). This has made second-generation professionals both aware of the pull of isomorphism in organizations, and skilled at subtly maintaining their difference while still fitting in as competent professionals (Waldring, Crul, & Ghorashi, 2014, p. 84).

Second-generation professionals are part of a larger social system, shaped by organizational and field structures which may not always allow them much room to manoeuvre. Simultaneously, because of their position of expertise and authority within the system, whereby they demonstrate both awareness of the tendency towards sameness and the ability to juggle this tendency with their ethnic or religious difference, they are also the contemporary shapers of societal institutions, able to assert their influence on behalf of change in the various contexts in which they move. This interplay between agency and structure will be central to the analysis of how second-generation professionals in the education sector deal with a specific educational matter: ethnic school

segregation.

Ethnic school segregation

Ethnic school segregation in this article refers to a state of affairs whereby there is an uneven ethnic distribution of pupils across schools. Ethnic school segregation therefore implies that ethnic diversity among pupils in schools is lacking, or more specifically, that schools are imbalanced in terms of the composition of native-parentage pupils and pupils with an ethnic-minority background. However, the presence of this condition of unequal distribution does not solely account for the fact that ethnic school segregation is a recurring issue on many a political agenda, as well as a subject of continuing debate in many new migration countries. What matters is that "[t]he notion of segregation implies negative consequences for individuals clustered in particular schools" (OECD, 2010, p. 195), leading to differences in the quality of schools and opportunities available to pupils (Gramberg, 1998), and mirroring divisions rooted in society (Beach & Sernhede, 2011, p. 259).

One particular societal division effecting ethnic school segregation is residential segregation. Residential and ethnic school segregation are entangled and should be thought of as interrelated processes (Denton, 1996). This entwinement of residential and ethnic school segregation can be found in Sweden, France and – to a lesser extent – in the Netherlands. All three countries have residential segregation with high-density ethnic-minority suburbs. Sweden and France in particular share an educational policy of neighbourhood schools. In Sweden, many ethnic-minority children grow up in the more impoverished and ethnically segregated suburbs of Stockholm, which are "characterize[d] as socially vulnerable" (Beach & Sernhede, 2011, p. 260). In France, residential and school segregation along ethnic lines are strongly related due to the strictly state-organized and regulated system (OECD, 2010, p. 196), benefitting the

upper classes in French society when residential segregation coincides with other divisions, such as that between the rich and the poor in society (Lehman-Frisch, 2009). In the Netherlands, parental choice also leads to ethnic school segregation in mixed neighbourhoods. Schools with a high concentration of immigrant children are automatically perceived as being backward, sparking "white flight" (Gramberg, 1998, p. 547; OECD, 2010, p. 202). Furthermore, the existence of denominational schools which bear a religious (and thereby sometimes ethnic) signature (Maussen & Vermeulen, 2015; Karsten et al., 2006) also enhance ethnic segregation.

The entanglement of residential segregation, parental choice and denominational schools with ethnic school segregation, not only leads to a lack of social interaction between pupils of ethnic-minority and ethnic-majority backgrounds, it also leads to ethnic-minority pupils in the suburbs experiencing "a feeling of being outside of normal society, stigmatized and inside a school system that fails to make a difference" (Beach & Sernhede, 2011, p. 264). Ethnic segregation across schools thus points to power imbalances in society (Denton, 1996), whereby spatial separateness is often associated with "socio-cultural, economic, financial, political and judicial exclusion of the deprived segments of society" (Smets & Salman, 2008, p. 1308). This interplay of multiple social issues is why New and Merry (2014) argue that taking ethnic diversity in schools as a proxy for educational justice, is too much of a simplification. The intricacy of ethnic school segregation makes it a "wicked problem" (Rittel & Webber, 1973). Wicked problems are part of social systems (Southgate, Reynolds, & Howley, 2013, p. 15) and demonstrate a discrepancy between a factual situation and a desired situation. Typically, they are composed of multiple social issues and characterized by a lack of consensus among various stakeholders about what the desired situation actually looks like. A wicked problem therefore has no solution. It runs in vicious circles as an intractable problem, resulting only in temporary and imperfect outcomes (Fischer, 1993, pp. 172-173).

The wicked problem of ethnic school segregation means that professionals are not only dealing with ethnic school segregation, but are facing more large-scale, embedded inequalities that might stretch beyond their professional expertise and authority. Their ability to act is therefore limited because of the multiple and complex structures within which they have to manoeuvre.

Methodology of the ELITES project

The ELITES project

The ELITES[8] project is a comparative qualitative study among highly-educated second-generation people with parents from Turkey. For the purpose of this chapter, I focused on second-generation professionals working in the education sector in Sweden (Stockholm), France (Paris) and the Netherlands (Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague).

The respondents

In this chapter, I will focus on 25 respondents (13 men and 12 women) working in the education sector. The study consists of interviews, of which 6 were conducted in Stockholm, 6 in Paris and 13 in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague in 2013. As the interviews were carried out simultaneously in all three countries by different interviewers, a semi-structured questionnaire was used. This allowed the interviewers to stick to the topics that needed to be addressed, while leaving space for the respondents to elaborate on topics or introduce new themes that had not yet been included in the questionnaire (Gomm 2008, p. 229; Gilbert 2008, p. 247).

The respondents had either been born in the migration country, or raised there from early childhood: therefore, they had all gone through the migration

[8] For a thorough discussion of the ELITES project, as well as for more information on the respondents, the reader is referred to the Introduction of this thesis.

country school system from primary level onward. All respondents have parents that came from Turkey. To meet the objectives of the ELITES project, that is to focus on upward mobility processes of the second generation across different national contexts, I selected respondents with predominantly low-educated parents.

Sampling

The respondents occupied divergent functions within the education sector. I aimed to obtain occupational variation in the sample in order to explore the sector as broadly as possible. However, there are differences in professional variation per country. In Sweden and the Netherlands, there is ample diversity among the respondents. There are respondents who work with pupils on a daily basis as teachers, school principals, and directors of homework organizations or self-organizations related to education. But there are also respondents who are not in direct or daily contact with pupils. These respondents work as school board members in an advisory role, local or national civil servants, or as trade union professionals.

There was less variation in occupational status among the French respondents, most of whom were teachers. This touches upon issues of sampling and finding respondents holding influential positions in the sector. The fact that it proved difficult in the Paris region to find respondents other than teachers, might point to the fact that in France the second generation has not climbed the career ladder to the extent of the respondents in the other countries. Another reason might be − as one of the French respondents pointed out − that advancing beyond the teaching profession, for instance to becoming a teacher inspector, a principal or director may actually limit opportunities to exert influence and implement change.

Most respondents were initially found by searching the internet, using keywords related to ‘education’, ‘second generation’, ‘Turkish’, ‘Turkish

education organization', and combinations of these keywords. In addition to searching the internet, snowballing was also used to find respondents.

The analysis of influence and change

An issue-focused analysis was employed in this article, whereby respondents conveyed information and the researcher learnt about specific issues (Weiss, 1994, p. 154). The issues that form the basis of the analysis in this article are influence and change in the education sector. Although 25 interviews were initially used for the analysis, some respondents contributed more to the analysis, others less, as the focus of the article shifted towards ethnic school segregation in relation to influence and change.

An issue-focused analysis runs through four stages (Weiss, 1994, pp. 158-62). The first stage consists of coding the interviews. This was done on the basis of a codebook, and designed according to the topics listed in the questionnaire and themes that came up during the interviews. The qualitative computer programme 'Atlas.ti' was used for coding. The second step was sorting the data. For the purpose of this chapter, all codes that were linked to respondents talking about influence and change were selected and read several times, in an attempt to distil possible patterns in answers among the respondents. Thirdly, there was 'local integration'. I tried to gain a broad picture of what the interviews were portraying in general, and more specifically in terms of influence and change. This broad picture was consequently narrowed down during the fourth and final stage of the analysis, resulting in an 'inclusive integration' of the material, focusing influence and change around one specific theme that had come up during the interviews in all three countries: ethnic school segregation. This topic turned out to be an important motive for change. Consequently, the analysis section below deals with ethnic school segregation as the topic around which influence and change in the education sector are centred.

Analysis

Some of the structural features of the education sector in Sweden, France and the Netherlands − such as residential segregation in combination with a policy that obliges children to attend neighbourhood schools; the policy of free school choice (resulting in "white flight") and the existence of denominational schools − all lead to different forms of ethnic school segregation. Moreover, ethnic school segregation runs as an important theme throughout the interviews conducted in Sweden, France and the Netherlands. In all three countries ethnic school segregation is considered to cause the most disadvantage to ethnic-minority children (OECD, 2010), and is therefore viewed as a negative aspect of the sector, signalling educational inequalities that counter the meritocratic ideal. Second-generation professionals employ various opportunities for change regarding ethnic school segregation. In the analysis, I will focus on how second-generation professionals working in the education sector in Sweden, France and the Netherlands deal with ethnic school segregation and the consequences thereof on an individual (micro) level, an organizational (meso) level, and sometimes even on a societal (macro) level.

Macro level practices of change

Opportunities for change at the societal (macro) level, which would lead to the abolition of ethnic school segregation, seem out of reach for most of the second-generation professionals. Even one of the respondents in Sweden, who occupied the position of Minister of Schools and was fully aware of the problem of ethnic school segregation, focussed his attempts to implement change on the negative effects of ethnic school segregation in the suburbs instead of targeting the phenomenon of ethnic school segregation directly:

> When I became Minister of Schools, I saw that we had

> schools where a lot of the pupils came from homes with no tradition of education. I introduced a programme that targeted 100 schools in the country. Husby [ethnic-minority suburb in Stockholm – IW] school was one of them. We used government funds to try to reduce the inequality of education (…). (*President of government education committee, male, Stockholm*)

This quote shows that instead of focussing on changes aimed at making schools more mixed, policies were directed towards giving highly-segregated schools more funding. This choice highlights the political boundaries that limit the possibility to effect change regarding ethnic school segregation, even when one is working within the administration. Ethnically mixed schools require a political solution to the relationship between neighbourhood schools and residential segregation, for which political consensus is hard to obtain. This turns ethnic school segregation into a wicked problem for which a more fundamental solution seems out of reach (Rittel & Webber, 1973). At the same time, providing extra funding for ethnically-segregated schools in the suburbs is a macro-level attempt to counter educational injustices related to ethnic school segregation (Beach & Sernhede, 2011). This approach circumvents the wicked problem by not taking the mixing of ethnic-minority and native-parentage pupils as the only proxy for countering the negative effects of ethnic school segregation (New & Merry, 2014).

Meso level and micro level practices of change

Similar to Sweden, where the political support is lacking to mix schools through state policies, most emphasis in the Netherlands is placed on improving the performance of ethnically-segregated schools. One particular feature of the Dutch education sector − the existence of denominational schools − not only

causes ethnic school segregation (Maussen & Vermeulen, 2015; Karsten et al., 2006), but also provides special opportunities. Denominational schools can be founded by citizens who share a specific educational objective. This unique option to establish a denominational school allows parents and education professionals to rally together to set up a school that meets the specific needs of their children.

> This school was founded through a collaboration between [school board] and [foundation] here in Rotterdam. The foundation arose out of a national university student organization which had been established in 1995 by Turkish students who were providing homework classes and doing mentoring projects with Turkish school kids. (…) The foundation was mostly active in the big cities. Therefore you could find our foundation in every city with a university. This went on for a couple of years. At one point, sometime around the year 2000, parents started asking whether the foundation could set up a school. We started examining the possibilities, but it's difficult to start a school from scratch. We talked to the then Minister of Education and she advised us to collaborate with an existing school board. This collaboration started in 2006. Because the foundation was so well known among Turkish parents, most of the kids who enrolled were of Turkish origin. (*Principal High School, male, Rotterdam*)

Establishing a school can result in a predominantly ethnic-minority school, thereby perpetuating ethnic school segregation. However, it also offers the opportunity to take the school's quality of education into one's own hands and

to provide a tailor-made curriculum that can improve the performance of ethnic-minority pupils, thereby facilitating educational change and countering the negative effects of ethnic school segregation. Aiming to provide a tailor-made curriculum could also counter the assumption that equates ethnically-segregated schools with poor performance and help to overcome the societal stigma that now plagues and therefore perpetuates the existence of ethnically-segregated schools (Gramberg, 1998, p. 563).

The same principal highlights how his position of influence within the school allowed him to adjust the school curriculum when the majority of the pupils were lagging behind in a certain subject:

> In terms of 'black' and 'white' schools, we are a black school. (…) And looking at the composition, most of the pupils are of Turkish descent. This is slowly changing, but in the past, we had almost only pupils of Turkish descent. (…) We deal with pupils who lag behind in Dutch language skills. Their primary school test scores for maths are good, but language scores are poor. (…) So, for instance, looking at their Dutch language skills, we test our pupils when they enter the first year. In September or October, we test them. Then it becomes obvious that our pupils are lagging behind in the Dutch language, especially their vocabulary. (…) In the end we manage, through an adjusted policy, to improve their Dutch language skills (…). We've adjusted our curriculum to this. Pupils get five hours of Dutch language classes in their first year here. That's a lot. (…) Ordinarily, pupils get only three hours. But these extra hours are necessary for our pupils. (*Principal of High School, male, Rotterdam*)

What appears to set this second-generation professional apart regarding his practice of change, is his ability to navigate the Dutch education system. He knows where the opportunities and difficulties lie, and which network contacts to seek out. At the same time, he is also aware of what extra attention is necessary to give the children the education they need. This awareness comes partly from the close connection that he has with Turkish-Dutch parents and their children.

Different organizational (meso) level practices of change come from homework organizations operating outside the school system. Such organizations are active in the Netherlands, France and Sweden. In all three countries, homework organizations recognize that the regular education system does not always provide the best opportunities for ethnic-minority students, leaving gaps for homework organizations to fill:

> In fact, we fulfil an additional function. People come to us to provide activities instead of going to mainstream institutions. Sometimes this causes some friction with mainstream institutions, as we're closing a gap that should really be closed by the regular education sector. In that way we sometimes make a statement by saying: 'look, this is what you should be doing'. (…) But we have seen and noticed this gap, and we're closing it now. *(President of a network of a homework organization, male, Amsterdam)*

> There are so many ethnic-minority children, but where are they? They have chosen to work instead of studying. After school, they immediately start work. When you ask them what they do, they either work at the airport, in

> construction or they are electricians. I'm not saying this because there is anything wrong with these jobs. They can become electricians, but why not electrical engineers instead? Why not construction engineers? It is not because they don't have the potential. It is only because these children aren't given proper advice. Since this is the situation, I became involved [with the homework organization – IW]. (…) There was a need. (…) It's about setting an example, motivating them and helping them to achieve a good place in society, to become someone beneficial for society, no matter whether they are Turks, French, or Arabs. *(President of a homework organization, male, Paris)*

Both quotes demonstrate an ambition to contribute to the advancement of ethnic-minority children in society. The activities employed by the homework organizations are mostly aimed at the individual (micro) level, empowering students by helping them with their homework and keeping them off the streets and occupied with their school work. Yet, the open critique of the sector by the Dutch second-generation professional shows an attempt to engage the sector on an organizational (meso) level to join him in his efforts to close the educational gap that ethnic-minority pupils experience.

In Sweden, a homework organization was founded by a respondent who recognized that many ethnic-minority youth grow up segregated in the suburbs in an environment that is generally lacking any 'culture of education'. Consequently, they may have little self-confidence regarding their abilities and potential when it comes to education (Beach & Sernhede, 2011). He tries to teach these children about the importance of education, not only by organizing help with homework, but also by spending time with them outside school, trying

to enlarge and enrich their environment:

> In every suburb I see a lot of things that you maybe would not see here in the city and downtown. (…) A lot of suburb kids don't go out and see how Stockholm is, for example. (…) They think their suburb is the only place, for example. And that is a problem that I and the other volunteers will change. (…) The mentoring is not only about education mentoring, but also about spare-time mentoring (…). (*Founder and president of a homework organization, male, Stockholm)*

This quote shows that ethnic school segregation is only one part of a bigger and more complex situation, whereby children growing up in impoverished suburbs are faced with multiple issues and problems that stretch beyond the school environment. By establishing a homework organization, the respondent is trying to counteract the effects of ethnic school segregation by exposing the students to a different environment. This can be seen as an individual (micro) level attempt to effect change. However, as self-organizations in Swedish society participate in public life as legitimate stakeholders (Soysal, 1994), this might lead to opportunities to exert influence beyond the children who attend this homework organization. It may, for example, be possible to act at the organizational (meso) level by striking up alliances with other self-organizations and through becoming a discussion partner at the local political level.

It is in France − with its centralized and highly-regulated school system − that it seems most difficult for professionals in the education sector to influence or change ethnic school segregation and the negative effects thereof at either the societal (macro) or organizational (meso) level (Greenwood & Meyer, 2009; Fleming & Spicer, 2014). Residential segregation and the national policy of

neighbourhood schools are all but impossible to tackle, while setting up a state-funded school is not an option and self-organizations do not hold the same legitimate positions that they occupy in Sweden. Although the strict French system is mostly a limiting factor for change, it does enable a clear pathway up the career ladder through a system of exams. One of our respondents plays by the rules of the game by sitting these exams in order to reach a higher position within the sector as this would give him more scope to motivate students to do well in school:

> Let me tell you about my project for the future: I would like to either advance to the position of a director or an inspector. (…) I can motivate the students who I am in touch with to succeed, but what about the other teachers and the other students? Therefore, in the coming years I will work in that direction. (…) And after a while I will definitely climb to that step. I will prepare and advance, prepare and advance. This is the goal. (*Vocational teacher/team leader, male, Paris*)

Having grown up in France, he knows the requirements for career advancement in the education sector, and he not only applies this knowledge to better his own career, he deliberately makes use of the established system of exams to broaden his scope of influence so that he can target some of the negative aspects of ethnic school segregation, such as a lack of motivation among students because they feel that their ethnically-segregated schools are not providing them with the best opportunities for learning (OECD, 2010). By using the possibilities offered by the French education system, he manages to employ an organizational (meso) level practice of change to mitigate the negative effects of ethnic school segregation.

Advancing through the system as a way to counter the negative effects of ethnic school segregation is a very individual strategy and offers only limited possibilities for exerting influence. This limitation is recognized by most of the French second-generation professionals. They are predominantly teachers, and they actually perceive climbing the career ladder as a way of reducing their influence. Although this may seem paradoxical, this stance is related to the strict structures that make up the French education system, curbing influence even at higher levels within the system.

> Actually, I think the teachers are at the key positions, and only after them, come the directors and inspectors. When a teacher takes good care of the class, then the whole school is managed well. *(Teacher-inspector, female, Paris)*

> Sometimes the Ministry decides: 'Let's introduce this lesson'. But they have absolutely no idea, or only a vague idea of whether it's possible or how it would be taught. In other words, they impose things without consulting the sector. *(Teacher-inspector, female, Paris)*

The majority of the teachers therefore try to find ways within their present position to bring about change, stating that their influence is greatest in the classroom, dealing with children. Moreover, they use the presence of ethnic school segregation in French society to optimize their opportunities to effect change. They do this through deliberately teaching in public, suburban schools with many ethnic-minority pupils. They use their time in these schools to counteract the negative outcomes of ethnic school segregation by serving the pupils as much as they can, unlike some other teachers who see working in a suburban school merely as a stepping stone in their career:

> I want to stay in the 93 [Parisian suburb – IW], because I want to help this student population. (…) Because what happens in this educational environment is that because you can obtain points by working with difficult youth, many young professors just want to get these points and then leave. Once they have obtained their points, they are gone. (*Vocational teacher, female, Paris*)

> I work in a school situated in a suburb. There are Turks, Kurds, Arabs and Africans, as well as many young people from India and Pakistan. (…) Our school is viewed, both by directors and teachers, only as a bridge that allows them to switch to another school. When you think about that… staying here actually is… Some of my pupils from seven years ago, they still write to me, we became friends and we're still in touch. (…) When I think about my pupils, I tell myself that I have to contribute. If not, I would be running away, escaping. *(Teacher, female, Paris)*

Second-generation professionals are attempting to make a difference for their pupils by staying in these suburban schools. This difference is mostly on an individual (micro) level, aimed at the empowerment and emancipation of pupils, as the rigid structures of the sector offer little scope for more. But as Beach and Sernhede (2011, pp. 269-270) argue, schools should at least challenge the situation in which ethnic-minority pupils feel marginalized in schools. If schools fail to develop a critical attitude towards the system that forces teachers out of the suburban schools, they are at least partly responsible for not providing the same educational opportunities for their ethnic-minority pupils as the

opportunities that are present in schools outside of the suburbs, thereby producing and reproducing inequalities in society (Ibid., p. 259) and perpetuating social injustices (Fischer, 1993). The second-generation professionals seem aware of this responsibility. Not only do they manage to avoid the pull of isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), which makes other education professionals act alike by treating their time in a suburban school as a phase. Instead, the second-generation professionals deliberately stay on as teachers in ethnically-segregated schools, attempting to make the most of their time in front of the classroom to mitigate the negative effects of ethnic school segregation.

Conclusion

Second-generation professionals working in influential positions in the education sector in Sweden, France and the Netherlands see ethnic school segregation as problematic because it bears a social stigma (Gramberg, 1998) and can lead to different (and sometimes poorer) school experiences for children attending predominantly ethnically-segregated schools (OECD, 2010; Beach & Sernhede, 2011). They therefore want to make a change. But as ethnic school segregation in all three countries is entangled with other structural inequalities in society, such as residential segregation in combination with neighbourhood schools in Sweden and France (and to some extent in the Netherlands); parental choice leading to “white flight”, and the existence of denominational schools in the Netherlands (Denton, 1996; Beach & Sernhede, 2011; Oberti, 2007; Gramberg, 1998), it can be seen as a wicked problem (Rittel & Webber, 1973), which requires political power and unanimity to resolve. As the second-generation education professionals in this article are not politicians, finding a solution to tackle ethnic school segregation is difficult.

The influence that professionals can assert in the matter of ethnic school

segregation is thus curbed in all three countries by the entanglement of politics and education, which creates fixed and hard-to-change structures within the sector (Greenwood & Meyer, 2008; Fleming & Spicer, 2014). Moreover, the multiple layers of societal inequalities, which together make up the wicked problem of ethnic school segregation, also limit the second-generation professionals working in education. They are faced with issues that are an obvious and prominent part of why ethnic school segregation exists (Denton, 1996; Southgate, Reynolds, & Howley, 2013), but that are simultaneously beyond their professional reach.

Partly because these second-generation professionals are familiar with different social systems (Kasinitz et al., 2008, p. 354) they are building bridges between the specific needs of ethnic-minority pupils and school organizations. Sensitive to the needs of pupils, they refuse to accept ethnic school segregation as a given. Despite structural challenges, second-generation professionals in the education sector employ various strategies vis-à-vis ethnic school segregation. These strategies are based on these professionals' awareness of opportunities for influencing change within the structures of their respective education sector, in combination with their specific knowledge of and connection to the challenges that are faced by pupils in ethnically-segregated schools.

The practices of change of second-generation professionals in Sweden, France and the Netherlands are predominantly aimed at the individual (micro) level and sometimes, where possible, at the organizational (meso) level. At both levels, professionals do not directly target ethnic school segregation, but focus on countering negative outcomes for pupils in ethnically-segregated schools by empowering them on an individual basis and via organizations. These countering strategies are partially shaped by the national-specific structural limitations and opportunities posed by the sector in the different countries, and by the interlocking mechanisms that make ethnic school segregation a wicked problem in all three countries.

Strategies at the individual (micro) level show the least variation between the countries, as they are mainly directed towards giving the best education possible and ensuring that pupils in ethnically-segregated schools experience a sense of empowerment and emancipation. These practices are especially salient in France, where the education sector is most strictly organized and regulated and where most respondents feel that their best shot at change is at the individual (micro) level. But individual (micro) level strategies are also the most common practice in Sweden and the Netherlands, followed in both countries by different organization (meso) level strategies. These organization-level approaches vary as they are directly bound to differing structural aspects within the countries. In Sweden, the establishment of a self-organization, such as a homework organization, is a viable way to not only reach pupils, but to participate in civil society as a legitimate stakeholder (Soysal, 1994). Whereas in the Netherlands, the opportunity to establish a school not only provides possibilities to create a tailor-made curriculum, but also widens the scope of influence by potentially changing the assumption that an ethnically-segregated school is synonymous with poor performance (Gramberg, 1998). Strategies at the societal (macro) level are virtually absent in all three countries, as professionals realize that going beyond the structures is not a realistic and feasible option without political power and support.

The wicked problem of ethnic school segregation is not being resolved by the second-generation professionals working in the education sector. However, their strategies on the micro and meso level are leading to small-scale, but focused and targeted practices of change. These practices of change are guided by the specific opportunities offered by the national context, and they form attempts to moderate the negative effects of ethnic school segregation for pupils in ethnically-segregated schools. As such, these second-generation professionals manage to resist the pull of isomorphism by refusing to see ethnic school segregation as an unsolvable problem requiring radical solutions that will

only lead to legal and practical problems for which no stakeholder wishes to take responsibility (Karsten et al., 2006, p. 242). Instead, second-generation professionals are using their knowledge of the field in combination with their dedication to ethnic-minority pupils to push for changes which are less radical, but which aim to counter inequalities in ethnically segregated schools.

Chapter 5

The ability to deal with difference: Turkish-Dutch professionals as go-betweens in the education sector*

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Abstract

Based on 16 semi-structured interviews, this chapter examines how second-generation Turkish-Dutch education professionals experience their professional position in the ethnically-homogeneous upper echelons of the Dutch education sector. The analysis shows that second-generation education professionals, being newcomers to higher-level positions in the sector, have to engage with diverse cultural repertoires at work. Instead of being stuck in-between these repertoires, second-generation education professionals actively "go-between" repertoires, employing their ability to deal with difference. In the increasingly superdiverse Dutch classrooms, this "go-between" attitude functions as a second-generation advantage and is conceptually better suited than in-betweenness to describe the position of second-generation professionals.

Introduction

The upward social mobility of the Turkish-Dutch "second generation" - descendants of migrants from Turkey, born and raised in the Netherlands- is receiving academic attention (e.g., Crul, Pasztor, & Lelie, 2008; Keskiner, 2013; Slootman, 2014), directed towards trajectories through the education system (Crul, 2013; Schnell, Keskiner, & Crul, 2013; Rezai, Crul, Severiens, & Keskiner, 2015), and transitions from education to employment (Waldring, Crul, & Ghorashi, 2014; Crul, 2015; Keskiner, 2016).

Building upon this work, this chapter focuses on second-generation Turkish-Dutch education professionals. As descendants of low-educated migrants, these second-generation education professionals move in professional circles new to them (Schneider & Lang, 2014). Similarly, their presence in professional circles is also a novelty to the field (Crul, Keskiner, & Lelie, 2017). As "newcomers" to the field, second-generation education professionals can experience "in-betweenness", a state of being located between social worlds and considered as a characteristic of the second generation (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway, 2008).

In-betweenness has been discussed as a negative state in which the second generation is stuck between cultures, therefore prone to occupy a marginal position in the migration society (Gans, 1992; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Heath, Rothon, & Kilpi, 2008). But in-betweenness can have advantages too (Said, 1994; Kasinitz et al., 2008; Levitt, 2009), especially in a context characterized by "unprecedented diversity" (Kasinitz et al., 2008, p. 357), as are the classrooms in the large cities in the Netherlands.

The aim of this chapter is to understand how in-betweenness is experienced by second-generation education professionals, and how they use their experiences with in-betweenness in the educational context of the super-diverse cities in the Netherlands, resulting in the central question: *How do*

second-generation Turkish-Dutch education professionals experience in-betweenness at work, and how do they act upon these experiences?

Through aiming to understand how second-generation education professionals experience and use in-betweenness in the context of the education sector, this chapter contributes to the literature on social boundaries and agency by showing that these second-generation education professionals aren't in a static state in-between cultures, but actively switch and go between the diverse cultural repertoires available to them. This go-between attitude is used as an individual career advantage, and as a broader advantage. In a super-diverse educational context, the ability of second-generation education professionals to go-between diverse cultural repertoires allows them to bridge multiple worlds, form important cultural partnerships with pupils, parents, and other education professionals, and thereby mediate the educational challenges which particularly immigrant-background pupils face (Cooper, 2014; OECD, 2012).

In-betweenness

"In-betweenness" describes a state in which individuals are situated between cultural worlds, for instance because they have migrated from one country to another (Said, 1994), or because they have transitioned to a higher social status as social climbers (Blau, 1956; Schneider, Crul, & Van Praag, 2014), or because they are second generation and grow up between the cultures of the parental home and the migration country (Levitt, 2009). For migrants and social climbers, in-betweenness entails being unfamiliar with the rules and behaviours of the new group and therefore facing difficulties with acceptance (Said, 1994; Byrom & Lightfoot, 2012), whereas in-betweenness for the second generation can jeopardize the feeling of belonging to any group (e.g. Gans, 1992).

Being situated “in-between” confronts individuals with the social boundaries that create and separate their various cultural worlds (Barth, 1969, 1994). These social boundaries, moreover, are considered to be “bright” in Dutch society (Waldring et al., 2014; Slootman & Duyvendak, 2015), which entails that they clearly delineate who belongs to a certain cultural world and who doesn’t, and they ask for a zero-sum choice between cultural worlds in order to belong to any cultural world (Alba, 2005; Vasta, 2007). This enforced choice between cultural worlds that is inherent to a societal context dominated by bright boundaries, can emphasize the dual boundaries of in-betweenness for the second generation, who would have to forfeit the connection with the social group from which they come in order to become accepted in the cultural world of the migration country (Alba, 2005). This emphasis on the dual boundaries of in-betweenness is exacerbated for the second-generation of Turkish-Dutch descent, since the ethnic group from which they hail is considered the most marginalized throughout Europe (Heath et al., 2008), and the absolute and inferior “other” (Ghorashi, 2014a).

The bright social boundaries that characterize Dutch society can be reflected in the workplace, since organizations are seen as extensions of society (Holvino & Kamp, 2009; Slay & Smith, 2011). This implies that second-generation Turkish-Dutch education professionals, who are considered to be part of a stigmatized ethnic group and are newcomers in their professional field, can experience a stigmatized professional identity (Slay & Smith, 2011, p. 86; Van Laer & Janssens, 2014), with co-workers attributing more relevance to their ethnic identity than to their professional identity (Ibid.; Ossenkop, Vinkenburg, Jansen, & Ghorashi, 2015). This focus on ethnic identity by co-workers can cause second-generation professionals to experience in-betweenness in the workplace, since to become accepted as knowledgeable professionals, they cannot be both professionals and second generation, but they have to

emphasize their professional identity over their ethnic identity (Siebers, 2009a; Waldring et al., 2014; Slootman, 2014).

Second-Generation Advantage

Recent studies on second-generation professionals in the workplace (e.g., Konyali, 2014; Schneider & Lang, 2014; Slootman, 2014; Waldring et al., 2014; Rezai, 2017) show that "the second generation is situated between a variety of different and often competing generational, ideological and moral reference points" (Levitt, 2009, p. 1238). This situatedness between reference points appears to signal that second-generation professionals experience the dual boundaries of in-betweenness in the workplace. Concurrently, second-generation professionals do not necessarily experience their in-between positionality as a negative state in which they are caught between the dual boundaries of in-betweenness, and they don't make a zero-sum choice between competing reference points but strike a balance (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013; Van Laer & Janssens, 2014; Waldring et al., 2014; Slootman, 2014).

The ability of second-generation professionals to strike a balance between reference points shows that in-betweenness allows for the creation of a new set of practices (Levitt, 2009). This is in line with how Said (1994) conceptualized in-betweenness. He argued that individuals who are "in-between" don't have the privilege to take any cultural world, and the accompanying cultural repertoires, for granted. In-between individuals are therefore required to constantly question their presumptions and position. What this constant questioning can give back, is the advantage to understand the world from multiple perspectives, and move beyond the status quo to bring about creativity and change (Larruina & Ghorashi, 2016). Kasinitz et al. argue alike, stating that what they call the "second-generation advantage" results from being located "between two different social systems allowing for creative

and selective combinations of the two that can be highly conducive to success" (2008, p. 354), especially in a context in which diversity has become the norm. Second-generation advantage thus follows from the second generation drawing on resources that come from being familiar with multiple cultural repertoires, and being equipped with the necessary skills to select the best of both worlds (Crul, Schneider, Keskiner, & Lelie, 2017, p. 325). This selection shows that instead of being stuck in-between the dual boundaries and not belonging anywhere, second-generation professionals are familiar with and able to switch and go-between multiple worlds. This go-between ability can be understood as a form of capital through which second-generation professionals introduce "new mixtures and hybrid positioning" (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013, p. 84) in organizations faced with an increasingly diverse professional workforce and clientele (Crul, Schneider, & Lelie, 2013).

Methodology

Sampling and data collection

This study involves 16 respondents who were interviewed as part of the ELITES project, which aimed to understand how second-generation professionals with labour migrant parents from Turkey had managed to become successful professionals (Crul et al., 2017). This focus on a select group within the second generation (Crul et al., 2017, p. 322), prompted the use of purposive sampling for this study, since this type of sampling is employed when a small number of respondents that is information-rich and therefore highly suitable for meeting the objectives of the research question, are considered more important than statistical representativeness (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2016). The 16 respondents were partly found through "vouching figures" (Weiss, 1994) who introduced us to second-generation Turkish-Dutch education professionals, and partly through internet searches.

We used qualitative semi-structured interviews, since these allowed the interviewees, as occupational experts, the freedom to address points beyond the questionnaire (Gilbert, 2008). Simultaneously, having a topic list to fall back upon, offered the interviewer the opportunity to (re)connect a response to the questionnaire objectives (Ibid.).

The interviewees are 6 female and 10 male second-generation Turkish-Dutch education professionals[9] within the age range of 35 to 55 years who occupy diverse leadership functions. We chose to interview second-generation professionals who work in the education sector, because the structural features of this sector "can either prevent or help children of immigrants to succeed" (Crul et al. 2017, p. 211), and it therefore poses an interesting context for understanding how second-generation professionals experience their position in the sector.

Coding and analysis

All interviews were voice-recorded and transcribed with respondents' permission. The transcripts were coded using the data analysis program Atlas.ti. For the analysis of the interviews, we used thematic analysis, which is "a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). This entailed that the transcripts were (re)read and initial codes were then derived from the transcripts. These initial codes were mainly theory-driven, meaning that they were linked to existing theory and related interview questions. The initial codes were analyzed in order to understand "the relationship between codes, between themes, and between different levels of themes" (Ibid., pp. 89-90).

Thematic analysis elucidates how the analysis should be understood (Ibid., p. 82). For this chapter, the analysis was conducted by the interviewer (first author). And although she undertook "constant comparison" by rereading

[9] In the analysis, we refer to second-generation Turkish-Dutch education professionals as 'respondents'.

and recoding the interviews to ensure consistency in coding and analysis, the analysis isn't an objective reflection of reality but rather a "translation", based on the interests of the interviewer, of the stories told by the interviewees.

In-betweenness in the education sector

The ethnic homogeneity in the upper echelons of the Dutch education sector forms the backdrop against which respondents try to establish themselves. Respondents are aware that they occupy a solitary position in a homogeneous work environment dominated by ethnic-Dutch co-workers[10] and that they are frontrunners because of their limited numbers:

> It's not common to find a Turkish-Dutch high school principal. When I'm in a meeting with other principals from this city, I'm the only one of immigrant descent. (principal high school, male)

> It's difficult to become a principal when you're an ethnic minority. And it's a rare sight, even in this diverse neighbourhood. I'm one of very few. (principal primary school, male)

On top of being new to the professional field, respondents feel that their ethnic and religious background, carrying connotations of backwardness and problems in Dutch society (Vasta, 2007; Heath et al., 2008), causes uneasiness among ethnic-Dutch co-workers.

> I noticed other principals were reserved towards me, for instance in the way they communicated with me. I was the new and different guy. It took them some years to accept me. Being there

[10] Ethnic-Dutch stands for individuals who are of native Dutch descent.

> never felt strange to me, but it felt strange to them. They had questions, about whether our school was secretly an Islamic school, but they wouldn't ask. I invited them to our school, so they could see for themselves. (principal high school, male)

Ethnic-Dutch co-workers seem to struggle with generally-accepted negative connotations about ethnic minorities and Islam in Dutch society (Vasta, 2007; Ghorashi, 2014a), in combination with a Turkish-Dutch professional in their midst, sometimes leading a co-worker to focus on a respondent's personal background instead of his professional position (Van Laer & Janssens, 2014; Ossenkop et al., 2015):

> I had a female colleague with certain ideas about me being a Muslim and how Muslim men perceive women. She told me that these ideas were inhibiting her behaviour at work. (school board director, male)

This focus on a respondent's ethnic background, combined with a general uneasiness vis-à-vis this ethnic background by ethnic-Dutch co-workers, can increase the likelihood of negative experiences with in-betweenness for respondents. This particular respondent was required to defend himself, not because of his behaviours but because of his background. Simultaneously, the situation also asked that this respondent distanced himself from alleged behaviours deemed characteristic for the men of his ethnic and religious group. Both demands, however "subtle", expose the dual boundaries of in-betweenness in which the respondent can experience that he doesn't belong or isn't accepted as a professional, while simultaneously having to denounce his ethnic and religious group membership.

One way in which respondents negotiate the dual boundaries of in-betweenness in the workplace, is by knowing and joining the rules of the game within their organizations and the education sector (Puwar, 2004; Konyali, 2014; Ossenkop et al., 2015; Waldring, 2017).

> I know networks in the education sector are important. Professors network by having dinner at the academic club, by being on the same boards. I realized that it's useful when I network with people with large amounts of social capital. So, I join these dinners and learn a lot. (assistant professor, male)

> In education, there's this grey and masculine culture, especially among the board of directors. Despite the fact that there is diversity policy, there are prejudices. No, not prejudices. It's more that you have to know this world and go along with the lobbying and networking. (principal high school, male)

By co-operating with the rules, respondents meet the demands of many organizations in which assimilation to written and unwritten rules is often an unspoken requirement (Puwar, 2004; Holvino & Kamp, 2009). And despite being professional newcomers in the educational field, this cooperation with the rules of the game isn't a difficult task for second-generation professionals; they have been socialized in Dutch society and therefore aren't completely new to norms and codes in the workplace (Waldring et al., 2014). Moreover, our respondents are apt learners in unfamiliar situations (Rezai, 2017). This aptness comes from them being familiar with the role of the newcomer due to their second-generation background: they are used to negotiating situations, as it could be argued that "they have practiced for this for their entire lives" (Schneider et al., 2014, p. 5). This active negotiation of situations implies that respondents do not

feel stuck in-between cultures, but negotiate the dual boundaries of in-betweenness through switching between the cultural repertoires available to them.

Second-generation advantage in the education sector

Switching between the dual boundaries of in-betweenness appears in most of the interviews. Second-generation education professionals don't make a zero-sum choice between cultural repertoires. They know what is expected of them professionally, without giving up links to their ethnic background (Waldring et al., 2014):

> I worked hard to get somewhere as a second-generation woman. I involved my network to move up, but I also needed my family for my social and emotional roots. I didn't want to sacrifice this for my career. Combining the two took time and effort, but it paid off for me over time. (trainer education advisory boards, female)

Moreover, respondents view their second-generation background primarily as an advantage. From an early age, they were triggered to move between and combine different cultures. As professionals, combining cultures has helped them to seize opportunities for a successful career (Kasinitz et al., 2008; Levitt, 2009).

> This bi-cultural thing, it makes me versatile. I was a trendsetter in setting up a business like this. Before I started, this type of business wasn't an issue. After I had set this up, they started to appear everywhere. (director education organization, female)

Beyond a successful career, combining cultural repertoires is also used by respondents as a bridging function in the education sector:

> We have our roots in both countries. That's our bridging function. I know both cultures so well. It's only natural to bring these two worlds together, to get the most out of both. I can make that connection. I understand western society, how things work, what the rules are, how to seize opportunities. And I understand my eastern culture, departing from my identity, from my childhood and the country from which I originate. To me, it has always been a win-win situation to combine these two. (director school board, male)

Another way in which bridging happens is when respondents apply their knowledge of religion, culture and language to bridge information gaps with pupils and parents:

> My pupils are primarily of ethnic-minority descent. My background makes me a role model. I don't just teach Economics, but norms and values too. Things pupils can use throughout their lives. One of the first questions new pupils ask concerns calculating interest. They say: Miss, isn't interest haram [forbidden by Islamic law – IW]? To me, as an Economist, interest isn't haram and you have be able to calculate. (teacher/team leader secondary school, female)

> Many of my pupils have parents with a Turkish background. When I talk to these parents about their children's development, I switch to Turkish, if this is necessary for effective communication. I don't

> even notice that I switch, but it enables a richer experience between the parents and me. (principal primary school, male)

Growing up with two cultures has enabled respondents to switch between situations, making them flexible in dealing with different viewpoints and able to create their own set of practices (Levitt, 2009) towards pupils and parents. This diversity sensitivity is translated into an ability to deal with difference on a personal level with pupils and parents, but also in adjusting the curriculum to meet the needs of ethnic-minority pupils and in the way respondents think about the ethnic composition of staff and pupils at school:

> The pupils are mostly of Turkish descent and some lag behind in Dutch language skills, so we've adjusted our curriculum. Pupils get five hours of Dutch language classes instead of the usual three. These extra hours are necessary. (principal high school, male)

> I am a world citizen and I see this as an enrichment. This enrichment is what I try to convey here at school. Diversity among my teachers, my pupils, and in the way we treat each other. (principal secondary school, male)

The type of agency employed by respondents towards their professional position and environment requires a combination of individual interests and the will for social improvement (Ghorashi, 2014b). This link between self and others, that Stall (2010) calls "relational self-interest", is a balancing act whereby respondents perceive themselves as responsible for their own well-being, and as active citizens taking responsibility for the well-being of others. As second-generation education professionals, respondents acknowledge the ways

in which educating ethnic-minority children is related to their own experiences. These respondents once faced the challenges of going through an education system unfamiliar to their parents and they had to bridge multiple cultural worlds. They understand the importance of acting as "cultural brokers" for new generations of vulnerable pupils by "providing resources for youth in bridging across their cultural worlds in ways that reduce educational inequities (…)" (Cooper, 2014, p. 172).

Relational self-interest could be a general feature of education professionals (De Cooman, De Gieter, Pepermans, Du Bois, Caers, & Jegers, 2007) and not a specific second-generation attribute. Yet, the ability to deal with difference and bridge across cultural worlds is considered a characteristic of the second generation in this study. Moreover, respondents feel that their agility towards dealing with differences is precisely what is missing among ethnic-Dutch co-workers:

> The intellectual elite at the university are primarily ethnic-Dutch, male and middle-aged, and generally, they have an inability to deal with difference. (assistant professor, male)

Especially in superdiverse Dutch cities, where pupils are increasingly of ethnic-minority descent (Crul et al., 2013), but teachers and school leaders remain predominantly of ethnic-Dutch descent, being unable to deal with difference is considered a problem. One respondent is providing diversity sensitivity trainings for teachers in order to address forms of shyness experienced by some teachers, mainly when dealing with Muslim pupils, as they are not sure when they accidentally come across as discriminatory. This is a shyness not shared by respondents in this study, because of their ability to deal with difference.

Conclusions

In the ethnically homogeneous upper echelons of the Dutch education sector, experiences with in-betweenness among second-generation education professionals appear to be produced by ethnic-Dutch co-workers and their inability to connect the people from different cultures and the cultural images they bring to the workplace with a changing professional landscape.

Second-generation education professionals act upon in-betweenness experiences at work through following the professional rules of the game (Van Laer & Janssens, 2014; Waldring et al., 2014; Ossenkop et al., 2015) and their ability to understand diverse cultural repertoires. This ability to deal with difference is employed by second-generation education professionals to manage co-workers' preconceived opinions about them. Moreover, second-generation education professionals use the multiple cultural repertoires as an asset to advance their professional positions in the workplace (Konyali, 2014). Because second-generation education professionals can access diverse cultural repertoires, and have grown up practicing them (Schneider et al., 2014), they are capable of employing these repertoires. They are not in a trapped state "in-between", but pursue a dynamic attitude of "go-between", whereby they intentionally move between and use cultural repertoires at work.

The go-between attitude of second-generation education professionals isn't limited to managing their professional position. The empirical examples show that, through relational self-interest (Stall, 2010), being a go-between leads to cultural brokering (Cooper, 2014) and cultural partnerships (Cooper, 2011) through connecting people from different ethnic backgrounds and at different levels in education organizations. It is visible in teacher-student interactions because of second-generation education professionals' ability to understand pupils of immigrant descent, and because pupils of immigrant descent can identify with the teacher. It also plays a role in the interaction with

immigrant parents in understanding their difficulties raising children within diverse cultural repertoires. But it is also important at the institutional level in the interactions with co-workers, bringing in expertise how to handle diversity issues in a professional context. Finally, second-generation education professionals can act as a go-between between organizations, bringing new knowledge into networks and diversifying the world of decision-makers in the education sector.

Looking at the term we coined for their position, a “go-between”, as an important form of capital in the education sector flips the often dominant negative connotation of being stuck in-between structures or cultures. Contrary to Said (1994), who approached in-betweenness as a dynamic process that incorporates multiple viewpoints and thereby allows for a critical view of cultural worlds that would otherwise be seen as natural and therefore inevitable, the current connotation of being in-between in some theoretical discussions and societal discourses on migration, is that it represents a static state in which one does not belong in either world. Our findings show that these second-generation education professionals are strongly engaged in both worlds. Their engagement with both worlds, moreover, is an advantage in a professional situation in which diversity has become the norm. Second-generation education professionals’ ability to draw from multiple cultural repertoires and their relational self-interest, makes them cultural brokers who strengthen “the fragile bridges through multicultural nations’ academic pipelines” (Cooper, 2014, p. 175).

A next step would be to research how second-generation education professionals transfer their knowledge and abilities to other education professionals. The ability to “go-between” requires constant switching between repertoires and this can be enervating, even for the second generation who have been doing it throughout their lives. Nevertheless, if the ability to be a go-between becomes an increasingly important form of capital in dealing with the

challenges of super-diverse classrooms, being able to move between diverse cultural repertoires isn't only a second-generation advantage, but a requirement for all education professionals.

Chapter 6

Discussion and conclusion

"Successful" professionals of second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch descent[11] play a central role throughout the chapters in this thesis. These professionals are labeled "successful" because they occupy high-status jobs and because they have obtained steep social mobility when compared to their low-educated, working-class parents (see also Crul, Keskiner & Lelie, 2017, p. 215). However, being successful through occupying a high-level professional position in an organization doesn't automatically mean that second-generation professionals always feel included or are overall accepted in the workplace (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017). In spite of their success, second-generation professionals experience exclusionary practices and instances of "Othering" in the workplace (see also Slootman, 2014; Ossenkop, 2015; Van der Raad, 2015). The social boundaries in organizations that lead to these exclusionary practices and instances of "Othering" are important to identify and understand as they are taken for granted in organizational processes by all organizational members (Ossenkop 2015, p. 279) and therefore often remain unchallenged despite the presence of second-generation professionals in organizations (cf. Puwar, 2004; Van der Raad, 2015, p. 283). And indeed, as succinctly described by the second-generation Turkish-Dutch female lawyer at the beginning of the introductory chapter of this thesis, she has found a way around or reluctantly accepts barriers that she clearly sees in her organization. Nevertheless, the same lawyer continues by stating that she only accepts things to a certain extent. She and many other interviewees in this thesis have found ways to actively engage with and possibly change the social boundaries they experience in the workplace.

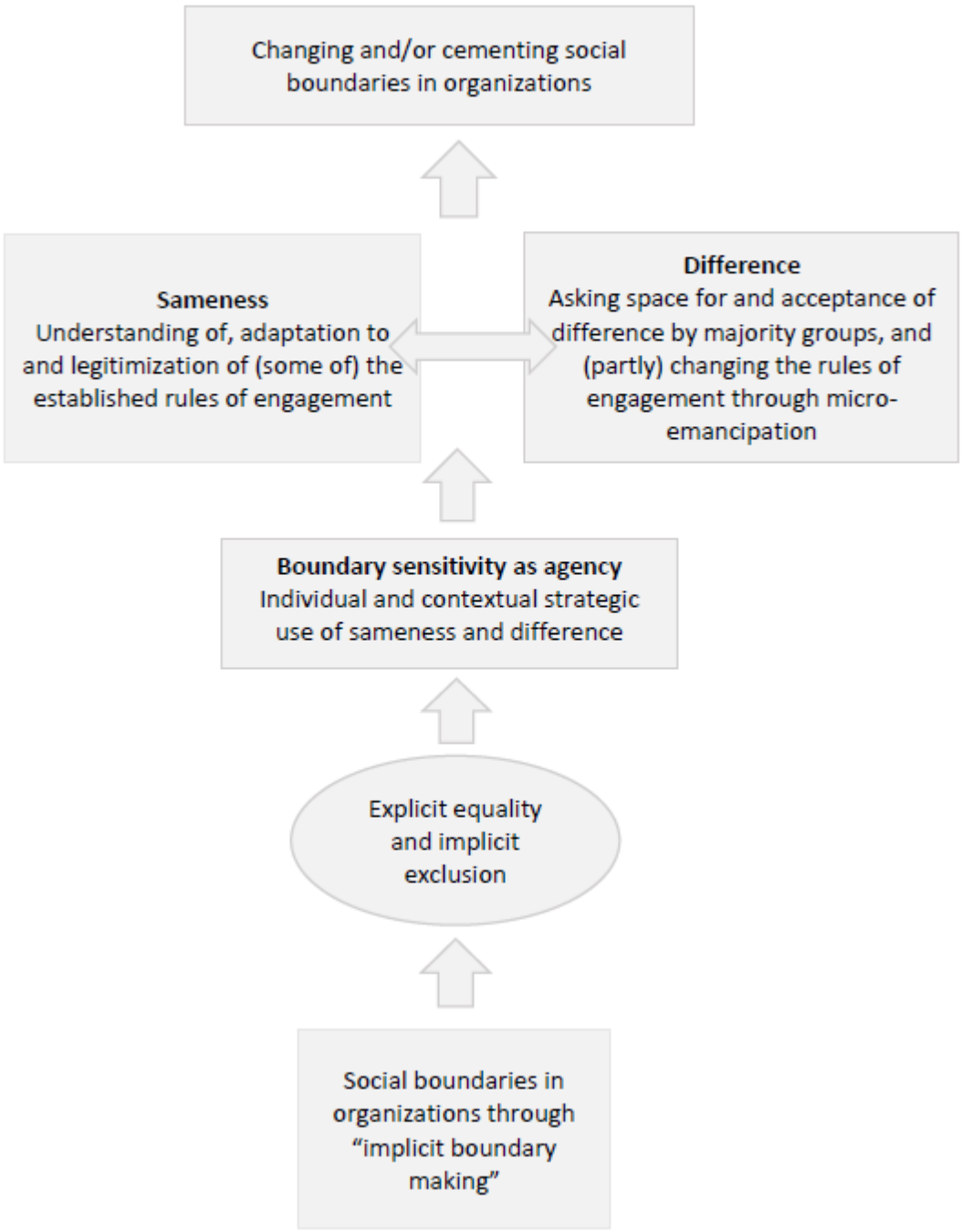
In this concluding chapter, I will discuss and tie together the workplace experiences of second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals with social boundaries on the one hand, and their agency on the other hand through the Boundary Sensitivity Model, which I have constructed in order to answer the main research question of this thesis: *How are social*

[11] Professionals of second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch descent will be called second-generation professionals for the remainder of this chapter.

boundaries in the workplace opening up for and being opened up by second-generation professionals?

The Upward Mobility Boundary Sensitivity Model, as shown in figure 1, portrays both the impact of and the strategies towards social boundaries in the workplace on/by second-generation professionals.

Figure 1. Upward Mobility Boundary Sensitivity Model



Based on the empirical findings in chapters 2 to 5 and starting from the bottom of the model, I will focus on how second-generation professionals experience social boundaries in their organization. Going one step up in the model, I will subsequently reflect on the status and the newcomer position of these professionals. It is through their status that I will then explore the upper parts of

the model. In these upper parts, I will concentrate on how being positioned as the descendants of migrants gives these second-generation professionals a high level of sensitivity of boundaries. This boundary sensitivity enables second-generation professionals to concurrently use various boundary strategies to establish their own position in the organization, as well as to advocate for the interests of other stakeholders (e.g. migrant children or parents in the education sector) in their professional field, in order to strategically open up social boundaries in the workplace.

After connecting the empirical findings, I will answer the main research question and discuss the theoretical framework of this thesis. This chapter ends with recommendations for research to come.

Boundary making in organizations: explicit equality, implicit exclusion

An important feature of the way in which social boundaries in organizations are experienced by second-generation professionals, is that they are seldom explicit. What these social boundaries have in common is that they appear to be built-in parts of organizational systems, meaning that they are based on normalized organizational rules, codes and behaviours which are explicitly equal for all employees. However, implicitly, they can act to exclude second-generation professionals in various ways, during various stages in their careers and in various organizational relationships.

We found implicit exclusion, as the empirical findings in chapter 2 show, when second-generation professionals enter the labour market for the first time after finishing their education. They experience more difficulties in finding their first professional job than do professionals of ethnic-Dutch descent. The reasons for this strained transition from education to the labour market could almost never be exactly pinned down to their ethnicity by the second-generation professionals themselves in this study, because they were never explicitly

rejected on the basis of their ethnic or religious background. However, the second-generation professionals do speculate in the interviews that the negative public images in the Netherlands that surround ethnic minorities -and those with a Muslim background in particular-, and the bright and impermeable social boundaries that have been drawn in Dutch society between the ethnic-majority and ethnic minorities, could have percolated into opinions of people in these organizations. This seeping through and reproduction of societal boundaries into organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 150) could have played a role in the (sometimes many) rejections they have had to face and the strenuous transition from education to work these rejections resulted in.

Having tackled the critical moment of gaining entrance to organizations, second-generation professionals encounter further social boundaries in organizations on their way up the career ladder. In chapters 2 and 3 the empirical findings show that many of the second-generation professionals in this study have obtained promotions, but they have also missed out on promotions that they felt entitled to, either based on their performance or on their career trajectory. As with entering the labour market for the first time, obtaining promotions explicitly entails a trajectory equal to all employees. Simultaneously, it is also frequently a fuzzy trajectory in which the parameters aren't always clear, decisions about who gets promoted and who doesn't are made behind closed doors and ethnic-Dutch co-workers seem more likely to become promoted. These aspects leave second-generation professionals wondering whether the missed promotions had anything to do with their ethnic background. These doubts are fueled by the fact that most of the second-generation professionals, whether missing out on a promotion or not, feel that they have to work twice as hard as co-workers of ethnic-Dutch descent to be awarded the same esteem and opportunities within their organizations (cf. Siebers, 2009, p. 78). They feel that climbing the organizational ladder is more difficult and takes more time for them to accomplish than for ethnic-Dutch co-

workers. Ossenkop, Vinkenburg, Jansen & Ghorashi indicate that ethnic-minority professionals can indeed experience barriers in their career development because of the fact that they deviate from, and in line with this deviation are considered inferior to, taken-for-granted and implicit organizational norms and corresponding behaviours that are modelled on the "dominant ethnic (masculine) image" (2015, p. 519). Yet, because this normative modelling is based on an implicit hierarchy, whereas career trajectories are explicitly the same for all employees, it is difficult to substantiate a complaint about a missed promotion.

Getting in an organization and going up the organizational ladder involves questions for second-generation professionals about the importance of their ethnic background. Other experiences in the workplace by second-generation professionals, including day-to-day contact with co-workers, can bring up the same type of uncertainties about implicit exclusion. In chapters 2, 3 and 5, second-generation professionals reflect on their acceptance in the workplace. This acceptance by supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates isn't a given for second-generation professionals as they come across situations in which their ethnic or religious background receives more attention than their professional position by co-workers in the form of questions, challenges and mockery. It is in these situations that second-generation professionals experience implicit exclusion in the workplace in particular: when their professional position is overruled by co-workers and they are set apart as ethnically and religiously different. Moreover, the "subtle" ways in which second-generation professionals are set apart, meaning that the questions, comments and jokes aren't explicit rejections and are sometimes even brought to the fore as compliments (see also Van Laer & Janssens, 2011), makes it difficult for second-generation professionals to openly confront co-workers about their exclusive and hurtful effects. These "subtle" instances of "Othering" expose the implicit and built-in nature of social boundaries in organizations:

jokes, questions or comments can be directed towards all organizational members and are therefore explicitly part of normal, day-to-day organizational life. However, implicitly, these jokes, questions and comments appear to befall second-generation professionals in a particular way: that is pointing to certain parts of their identity which make them different from, and often seen as inferior to, other organizational members (cf. Ghorashi, 2014; Ossenkop et al. 2015).

Second-generation professionals as "newcomers"

That social boundaries in organizations are experienced by many second-generation professionals can be linked to their "newcomer" status. In chapter 5, this "newcomer" status is mainly related to the fact that the second-generation professionals featured in this thesis, hail from ethnic groups that are new to higher-level professional settings in the Netherlands (Crul, Keskiner, & Lelie, 2017). Moreover, the ethnic -and in its slipstream religious- groups they are associated with, are among the most marginalized throughout Europe (Heath, Rothon & Kilpi, 2008; Foner & Alba, 2008) and experience stigmatization based on their Muslim faith (cf. Eijberts & Roggeband, 2016). This association with a stigmatized group can lead to a stigmatized professional identity for the second generation (Slay & Smith, 2011, p. 86; Van Laer & Janssens, 2014), which also comes to the fore in chapters 2 and 3. Chapters 2, 3 and 5 show that the ethnic and religious stereotypes that are persistent in Dutch society and that revolve around ethnic minorities with an Islamic background especially (Vasta, 2007), reverberate in conversations and interactions in the workplace (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2011) between second-generation professionals and co-workers of ethnic-Dutch descent from all organizational levels. The sharp and impermeable boundary lines that are thus drawn in the Netherlands between the ethnic majority and ethnic minorities (Alba, 2005) are reflected in social boundaries in

organizations. What's more, the ways in which ethnic stereotypes oftentimes penetrate organizations is also a reflection of how stereotypes are presented in many Western societies, including the Dutch one, and that is mostly in a "subtle" and implicit way (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997; Coenders, Scheepers, Sniderman & Verberk, 2001; Deitch, Barsky, Butz, Chan, Brief & Bradley, 2003), leading to implicit boundary making in organizations as described in the previous paragraph.

On top of being confronted with social boundaries in organizations on the basis of their ethnic and religious background, the second-generation professionals we interviewed all come from a lower working-class background with parents who were low-educated when they came to the Netherlands to do lower-level labour. This lower-class background intersects with their experiences as ethnic and religious newcomers in organizations. This is in line with findings of Van der Raad, who states that "class background appears to be inseparably linked with the experiences of minority professionals who are not being considered a full-fledged professional" (2015, p. 273). Second-generation professionals have thus, on the one hand, experienced steep upward mobility in terms of their education level and their professional position in the labour market and are in that sense prototypical social climbers. On the other hand, due to this steep upward mobility these second-generation professionals are among the first from their ethnic group in the Netherlands to hold professional positions. This also implies that they are among the first second-generation professionals in organizations. And consequently, they are often solitary frontrunners in the predominantly ethnic-majority upper echelons of Dutch organizations. Being solitary frontrunners can make second-generation professionals vulnerable in terms of experiencing forms of social boundaries, because their lower-class background can easily place them in the position as "different from the rest" in the organization (see also Schneider, Crul & Van Praag, 2014). And being considered "different from the rest" is what these

second-generation professionals already experience in terms of their ethnic and religious backgrounds. As is shown in chapters 2, 3 and 5, being considered "different" is predominantly related to ethnicity. However, class -and sometimes also gender and age- plays a role too, making the second-generation professionals newcomers in multiple ways who oftentimes have to adapt and develop various forms of social and cultural capital (cf. Keskiner & Crul, 2017, p. 297) in order to resemble the so-called "ideal" employee, or norm employee, who is still oftentimes ethnic-Dutch, male, middle-aged and from a middle class or upper class background (Acker, 1992; Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998; Gowricharn, 2002; Van der Raad, 2015).

The "newcomer" position of these second-generation upwardly mobile professionals can thus cause them to experience social boundaries in organizations. However, socially mobile second-generation professionals have found ways to engage with these social boundaries in organizations (see also Keskiner & Crul, 2017; Van Laer & Janssens, 2017). Moreover, when engaging with social boundaries, second-generation professionals, as all empirical chapters show, actually make use of their positionality as second generation. Growing up in the Netherlands in an ethnic-minority family has given these second-generation professionals access to multiple and divergent cultural repertoires: throughout their educational trajectory and in everyday life they have been socialized in the Dutch context, while they also have cultural knowledge of their parental countries. Juggling these diverse cultural repertoires can be, and sometimes has been, a challenge for these second-generation professionals. Yet, in return, as chapters 4 and 5 show, these cultural repertoires offer second-generation professionals the advantage of knowing their way around various settings (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters and Holdaway, 2008; Levitt, 2009), enabling them to successfully engage with diverse stakeholders (ranging from pupils to parents, and from co-workers to educational networks in the specific context of the education sector around

which these chapters revolve) in the workplace. Moreover, having multiple cultural repertoires at their disposal, also offers second-generation professionals the ability to deal with different –and sometimes even competing- roles within the workplace. These different and competing roles come to the fore in chapter 3 in which second-generation professionals in leadership positions are faced with subtle discrimination in the workplace. The chapter shows how second-generation professionals simultaneously take into consideration and deal with hegemonic, "hidden" power, which is at the root of subtle discrimination in organizations, and with "open" power which is reflected in organizational hierarchies. Second-generation professionals are capable of juggling these competing forms of power because they are quick to discover, understand and adapt to the "rules of the game" in organizations (Keskiner & Crul, 2017; Rezai, 2017), allowing them to deal with forms of implicit social boundaries by portraying various constellations of "sameness" and "difference".

"Sameness": circumventing and playing along with implicit boundaries

The ways in which second-generation professionals show an understanding of and adapt to the organizational rules of the game, comes to the fore in various ways when they face the consequences of implicit boundary making in organizations. In the case of the strenuous transition from education to work, as shown in chapter 2, second-generation professionals acted upon the speculation that their ethnic and religious background could have played a role in their numerous rejections by actively engaging their social capital, in the form of a network contact putting in a good word for them. Or they used the same cover letter that failed to land them a job, to obtain an extra and unpaid internship. These alternative routes are approved and more generally used professional strategies, whereby organizations rely on vouching figures or the provisional, temporary nature of internships, and they offered a way into

organizations for second-generation professionals. These evasive maneuvers are based on knowledge of how to act as a starting professional, and they are therefore valuable individual boundary strategies. But in actuality, these evasive maneuvers based on circumventing social boundaries, leave the social boundaries in organizations intact (cf. Boogaard & Roggeband, 2010; Van der Raad, 2015).

Knowing how to act as a professional and using this as a strategy to circumvent implicit social boundaries in organizations also comes to the fore when second-generation professionals are engaged in their trajectory up the organizational ladder. Second-generation professionals have doubts about whether their chances of getting promoted are equal to those of ethnic-Dutch colleagues. They feel that that they have to work twice as hard to get the same chances in their organizations as ethnic-majority co-workers (Siebers, 2009a, p. 78). However, because this is just a feeling, and because the explicit rules of the game are that organizations offer the same career options for all employees, it can be difficult to openly discuss, let alone substantiate. In chapters 2 and 3 second-generation professionals describe their strategy towards this implicit social boundary: knowing that they have to work twice as hard for the same chances as their ethnic-Dutch co-workers, they indeed just work twice as hard. And they thereby indeed obtain promotions. Again, knowing what is expected of them, both explicitly and implicitly, second-generation professionals use a suitable individual boundary strategy to climb the career ladder. And again, by employing this strategy, the implicit underlying mechanisms leading to social boundaries in the workplace are kept in place.

The successful individual strategies of second-generation professionals to gain entrance to organizations and high-level positions by circumventing and playing along with social boundaries, are based on portraying “sameness”. “Sameness” can be seen as a strategy through which second-generation professionals present themselves as knowledgeable professionals and good

colleagues (Ibid.). And although “sameness” is a strategy, second-generation professionals actually in many ways feel the same as their co-workers of ethnic-Dutch descent because of their sense and sensibility of how things work in organizations. Through emphasizing “sameness”, second-generation professionals accentuate the common ground instead of the differences with co-workers of ethnic-Dutch descent. However, portraying “sameness” doesn’t necessarily lead to acceptance in organizations for second-generation professionals as the implicit social boundaries in organizations are left intact. In fact, second-generation professionals oftentimes face “subtle” lack of acceptance in the workplace on all organizational levels, ranging from their supervisors to same-level colleagues and their subordinates. This lack of acceptance runs contrary to what second-generation professionals are trying to accomplish by portraying “sameness”, which is to secure recognition by ethnic-Dutch co-workers in an organizational context dominated by the frame of reference and practices of the ethnic-Dutch majority (Siebers, 2009a, p. 83).

Comparable contradictions with “sameness” and lack of acceptance are found among ethnic-minority professionals in Flanders (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017). The authors argue that the strategies employed by ethnic-minority professionals “do not simply disrupt relations of power but are simultaneously reproducing them” (Ibid., p. 210; cf. Boogaard & Roggeband, 2010, p. 63). Van Laer and Janssens (2017) furthermore state that the strategies themselves are inherently contradictory and filled with tensions, because ethnic-minority professionals employ these strategies - sometimes simultaneously - on three levels. These levels are related to identity, career and social change motives, and because the levels are intertwined, to engage with one level is to sometimes make a trade-off with another one.

Employing “sameness”, as described above, can be seen as a career-level strategy by second-generation professionals, revolving around the question how second-generation professionals might “advance their careers in the face of

processes of power denying them access to labour market rewards such as jobs or promotions" (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017, p. 212). Yet, once second-generation professionals have gained entrance to and have established themselves in their organization, their "socially advanced position (…) creates the opportunity to more 'safely' assert one's ethnicity" (Slootman, 2014, p. 200). Second-generation professionals can hereby opt to engage with implicit boundary making in organizations on the identity-level through the use of "difference".

"Difference": staying true by questioning implicit boundaries

Opting for "difference" on the identity-level by second-generation professionals can be a hazardous strategy, since they are already seen as different by ethnic-Dutch co-workers and it therefore confirms this viewpoint. Still, it is occasionally, yet actively used by second-generation professionals featured in this thesis. In certain situations and under certain conditions taking into consideration power relations, second-generation professionals portray their "difference" on the individual identity-level in order to "construct, maintain and display a specific sense of self at work in the face of processes of subjectification and power tying them to a particular identity in a constraining way" (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017, p. 212). Chapters 2 and 3 show that second-generation professionals highlight their "difference" in situations in which they feel that co-workers cross a line with their lack of acceptance of second-generation professionals. One of these situations concerns ethnic-Dutch co-workers commenting on and criticizing the ethnic or religious background of second-generation professionals in the form of jokes.

Jokes are tricky things to deal with, as they are explicitly considered innocent and fun, while they implicitly can hurt and exclude. Understanding that implicit exclusion is a part of normalized organizational life, second-generation

professionals act upon the fact that jokes are tied up with organizational power structures. In cases where these power structures are explicit, that is with supervisors and subordinates, second-generation professionals mostly avoid an open power play and refrain from explicitly portraying their "difference". They therefore often decide to deal with jokes, even with those that cross the line, based on "sameness". This requires second-generation professionals to react upon jokes as normal organizational behaviour that can either be ignored or reciprocated by "subtly" joking back. In both instances, the social boundaries underlying the "subtle" and implicit exclusion remain undiscussed and intact, and thus a part of organizational life.

However, second-generation professionals sometimes opt for "difference" when dealing with jokes that cross the line, despite the fact that this can make them look overly sensitive, thin-skinned and even unprofessional. This decision is made when second-generation professionals deal with same-level colleagues and organizational power is much less of an issue than with supervisors or subordinates. Jokes that cross the line are jokes that make second-generation professionals feel that if they wouldn't respond to the implicit exclusion packaged in the joke, they wouldn't be staying true to themselves. In other words, second-generation professionals feel that under these circumstances in which a co-worker with an equal power relationship crosses the line, it is more important for them emotionally to explicitly defend and protect their ethnic and religious background than emphasizing "sameness" through being a good professional and colleagues.

Displaying "difference" in order to stay true to oneself emotionally reveals that second-generation professionals make calculated decisions about whether and how to act upon implicit boundary making in organizations. When these calculated decisions amount to showing "difference", second-generation professionals attempt to defend and protect their ethnic and religious identity, which is exactly the identity regulation that makes up "micro-emancipation", a

term coined by Alvesson & Willmott (1992). Micro-emancipation entails “partial, temporal movements breaking away from diverse forms of oppression” (Ibid., p. 447) and it is an individual identity-level strategy of resistance for second-generation professionals against the isomorphic pull of and in organizations that encourages assimilation and adjustment (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013).

This individual strategy of resistance on an identity-level can have broader consequences, as chapter 3 shows. Through “difference”, second-generation professionals explicitly discuss taken-for-granted assumptions and exclusionary behaviours by and with same-level colleagues. They hereby attempt to create more awareness about and understanding for their experiences with implicit exclusion. Moreover, they also attempt to show how their experiences are embedded in the broader context of stereotypes in society and how these stereotypes soak through the organization and organizational relationships, and can consequently affect others in the workplace who might be considered “different”.

Through exposing the structural and embedded nature of implicit boundary making in organizations, second-generation professionals could potentially stretch the individual identity effects of micro-emancipation by setting in motion a broader realization and questioning of implicit boundaries in organizations (cf. Zanoni & Janssens, 2007, pp. 1394-1395). This setting in motion relates to the social change-level, whereby “processes of power underlying societal, structural forms of inequality and ethnic domination are challenged” (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017, p. 213) with a collective focus instead of an individual one. This collective focus does not entail a large-scale organizational transformation whereby social boundaries are eliminated. Yet, is does implicate a more tempered, long-term effort (cf. Meyerson & Scully, 1995) by second-generation professionals to “advance the interests of the group of ethnic minorities and promoting their ability to participate in society on a more

equal footing" (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017, p. 212) through making the social boundaries underlying the implicit exclusion more visible and open for debate and possibly -in time- obsolete.

"Sameness and difference": switching between playing along and questioning implicit boundaries

The ability of second-generation professionals to set in motion small-scale social change in organizations by drawing on identity-level "difference" when confronted with social boundaries, points to the importance of the "difference" strategy. Several studies over the past few years have also started to focus on the ways in which second-generation professionals strategically add "difference" to their professional roles. Second-generation professionals thereby actively turn their deviant and disadvantaged ethnic group position into a career-level advantage in the labour market, for instance by attracting new groups of clients who were previously difficult to reach because of language or cultural lacunas in the organization (Konyali, 2014; Van der Raad, 2015). Or in the case of reaching out to individuals from certain groups in society by claiming less distance and easier access to these groups (Boogaard & Roggeband, 2010; Van Laer & Janssens, 2017). In other words, second-generation professionals manage to capitalize on "difference" in organizations.

The above-mentioned studies not only show how second-generation professionals manage to capitalize on "difference", but they also concentrate on the potential backlash of drawing on "difference" as a career-level strategy. Similar to drawing on "difference" at the identity-level, opting for "difference" on the career-level can confirm and reproduce the already existing image of second-generation professionals as the "other", since they actually position themselves as different (see also Van der Raad, 2015). And this positionality can

perpetuate and reinforce the existing social boundaries in organizations between the ethnic-Dutch majority and second-generation professionals.

The strategies of “sameness” and “difference” can have contradictory effects on social boundaries in organizations by both perpetuating and reinforcing them on the one hand, while also discussing and potentially changing them on the other. These inherent tensions and contradictions require second-generation professionals to switch between the strategies of “sameness” and “difference” in an “attempt to balance the different advantages and disadvantages each strategy implies” (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017, p. 211). And it is precisely this switching between the strategies of “sameness” and “difference” in order to engage with implicit boundary making in organizations, for which second-generation professionals possess the necessary positionality which enables them to flexibly navigate between diverse contexts and cultures.

Second-generation professionals have the capability to switch between “sameness and difference” because they have grown up learning and understanding diverse cultural repertoires (cf. Schneider et al., 2014, p. 5). Second-generation professionals are therefore capable of assessing a difficult situation which oftentimes involves “subtle”, implicit social boundaries on the one hand, and organizational power relations on the other, and they consequently decide how to act in terms of which strategy to choose. When choosing a strategy to engage with social boundaries, second-generation professionals steadily rely on “sameness”, since the Dutch (organizational) context of bright, impermeable boundaries requires the professional identity on which “sameness” in organizations is based, to predominate. And they add “difference” when it either serves the protection of their ethnic and religious identity, the development of their career, and/or their willingness and ability to bring about social change.

“Sameness and difference” in the education sector

The interplay between second-generation professionals employing the strategy of “sameness and difference” vis-à-vis implicit social boundaries in organizations, has been studied in a specific professional context in chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis, and that is the education sector. The chapters show that the education sector is characterized by an ethnic homogeneity among education professionals on the one hand, and on the other hand an ever-increasing ethnic diversity among pupils and students in the large cities in the Netherlands (and in several other European large cities as well). This homogeneity among education professionals is visible in the upper echelons of the sector in which the second-generation professionals work. These upper echelons, where organizational decisions are made, are characterized by a predominantly ethnic-Dutch, middle-class and middle-aged male workforce (cf. Van der Raad, 2015). But the homogeneity is also visible at the level of teachers who, in the large cities in the Netherlands, have to deal with a growing ethnic diversity among pupils in primary and secondary education, as well as with students in tertiary education (cf. Crul, Pasztor & Lelie, 2008).

When juxtaposing these increasingly super-diverse classrooms with the homogeneous composition in the upper echelons of the sector, as well as with the perpetual lack of ethnic diversity among teachers in the Netherlands, the ability of second-generation education professionals to switch between “sameness and difference” allows them to create links between social worlds. Through this bridging position, second-generation professionals can act as “cultural brokers” by “providing resources for youth in bridging across their cultural worlds in ways that reduce educational inequities (…)” (Cooper, 2014, p. 172). These educational inequities run contrary to the sector’s generally presupposed meritocratic nature that explicitly offers the same chances to all pupils and students.

Yet, despite its meritocratic premise, “subtle” organizational norms, behaviours and power relations that point to the existence of implicit social boundaries in the sector are recognized by second-generation education professionals. And these implicit social boundaries can affect pupils and students, but also the position of second-generation professionals themselves.

Second-generation professionals engage with the various implicit social boundaries in their organization and in the sector by using the “sameness and difference” strategy. They hereby rely on “sameness” by taking the sector’s characteristics and (limited) possibilities for change into consideration, while “difference” is used on the identity- career-, and social change-level to bridge the experiences and life worlds of the various stakeholders involved.

Chapter 5 shows how second-generation professionals are confronted with implicit social boundaries on the identity-level by ethnic-Dutch co-workers who occasionally attribute more importance to the ethnic or religious background of second-generation professionals than to their professional position in the organization. These instances of “othering” often place second-generation professionals in a position of “in-betweenness”, which can be described as a state in which second-generation professionals become stuck between cultures (Gans, 1992; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Heath et al., 2008), and are therefore required to make zero-sum choice in order to belong in the workplace (cf. Byrom & Lightfoot, 2012). However, many of the second-generation education professionals featured in chapter 5, do not make this zero-sum choice between their ethnic or religious identity on the one hand, and their professional identity on the other. Instead, second-generation professionals try to normalize their own presence in the upper echelons of the Dutch education sector by being a good professional and without taking up the position of “exceptional sameness” (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017, p. 210). This “exceptional sameness” implies that these professionals can only be understood as deviant from the rest of their ethnic and religious groups (cf. Konyali, 2014), and thus

the exception to the rule. By actively denouncing the position of “exceptional sameness”, second-generation professionals refrain from making a zero-sum choice that could hold the ideas about and the social boundaries towards their ethnic and religious groups intact.

Implicit social boundaries towards the ethnic and religious groups from which the second-generation professionals hail, also come to the fore at the career-level, as chapters 4 and 5 show. Second-generation principals, for example, experience social distance and a “subtle” lack of trust from other principals -who are overwhelmingly of ethnic-Dutch descent- about their motives for setting up a school, whereas this freedom to found, direct and internally organize a school is one of the pillars on which the Dutch education system is built (Maussen & Vermeulen, 2015, p. 90). However, second-generation professionals know how the Dutch education system works, and what is (implicitly) expected of them, and they use this knowledge to engage with these feelings of social distance and distrust. Second-generation principals, for instance, invite other principals over to visit their schools in an attempt to be transparent but also to show these other principals that their schools are not so very different. Simultaneously, second-generation professionals see and use their ethnic and religious backgrounds as valuable additions in their organizations and in the education sector in general. Because of their second-generation positionality, second-generation professionals are able to tap into and switch between multiple cultural repertoires. And this switching between multiple cultural repertoires has turned from an individual competence into an important form of capital in the increasingly super-diverse context of the Dutch big cities (cf. Kasinitz et al., 2008; Levitt, 2009). Second-generation professionals, as chapters 4 and 5 shows, capitalize on the career-level by bringing in expertise on diversity issues at the institutional level. But they also form “cultural partnerships” (Cooper, 2011) through forging network contacts

with other education organizations and by bringing new knowledge into networks and diversifying the world of decision-makers in the education sector.

The ability of second-generation professionals to form cultural partnerships through "sameness and difference" is also an important feature for bringing about social change in the education sector. This social change is directed towards providing more equal chances in education for all pupils and students. In chapter 4, ethnic school segregation features as the main social boundary through which divisions rooted in society are mirrored in differences in the quality of schools and opportunities available to pupils (Gramberg, 1998; Beach & Sernhede, 2011). The chapter shows how second-generation professionals' strive for more equality is related to their will to combine their interests (and the advantages they have as second-generation social climbers) with those of the people they work for. This "relational self-interest" (Stall, 2010) comes to the fore when second-generation professionals use "sameness" in the form of their knowledge of the Dutch school system and the related possibility of setting up one's own school, in combination with their knowledge about and experiences with the specific needs of ethnic-minority pupils. In catering to the specific needs of ethnic-minority pupils, second-generation education professionals employ their multiple cultural, religious and language repertoires to better connect with the thoughts and life worlds of these pupils, and thereby provide better education (cf. Cooper, 2014). But they also use their ability to switch between " sameness and difference" to better relate to parents who want to be involved in their children's school trajectories, but who do not always exactly know their way around the system or who are not always fluent in Dutch.

Second-generation education professionals have the capability to switch between "sameness and difference" because they have grown up learning and understanding diverse cultural repertoires. In the super-diverse work environment of the Dutch large cities, and the changing educational context

that goes along with it, second-generation education professionals are not only motivated but also equipped because of their ability to switch between "sameness and difference" to engage with the various social boundaries in their organizations and in the sector. Their capability to switch between "sameness and difference" in order to engage with implicit social boundaries, therefore has the potential to open up social boundaries on the identity-, career- and social change-level. It is wise to keep in mind, however, that this potential for change is limited by the characteristics of the organization and the sector, as well as by the contradictions that accompany each strategy (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2017). These contradictions are visible, for instance, when second-generation professionals engage with the negative effects of ethnic school segregation through the foundation of schools that are attuned to certain specific needs of ethnic-minority pupils. Yet, because these schools were originally founded by Turkish-Dutch second-generation professionals, they have attracted mostly pupils with a Turkish background. And they thereby, inadvertently, perpetuate the social boundary of ethnic school segregation. Hence, the interplay of "sameness and difference" allows second-generation professionals to successfully engage with a specific social boundary in the education sector, while this engagement can simultaneously and unwittingly affirm the social boundary.

Despite the limitations and contradictions, second-generation education professionals are using their capability to switch between cultural repertoires through "sameness and difference" as a bridging function to, formally and informally, advise colleagues and other education professionals how to deal with super-diversity in education. If this bridging function proves to be fruitful, it could lead to more education professionals becoming sensitive to the existence of implicit social boundaries in education and to more education professionals being willing and able to engage with these implicit social boundaries in the

hope of opening them up to include “difference” in whatever shape or form, both for their pupils and students and for their colleagues.

The Fine Art of Boundary Sensitivity

How social boundaries are opening up for and are being opened up by second-generation professionals in the workplace can be answered by looking at how the strategies of “sameness” and “difference” are employed by second-generation professionals on the career-, identity- and social change-level (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2017).

The involvement of second-generation professionals with social boundaries in organizations starts as an individual career-level boundary strategy. Second-generation professionals encounter implicit social boundaries when they attempt to enter organizations, climb the organizational ladder, and gain acceptance by co-workers, and they act upon these social boundaries by portraying “sameness”. Having grown up and been socialized in the Dutch context, second-generation professionals employ “sameness” in the form of knowing and using alternative and professionally approved routes to gain access to organizations and higher level positions, and to find the necessary common ground with co-workers of ethnic-Dutch descent in order to become accepted.

When looking at “sameness” as a career-level strategy to find common ground, it entails elements of boundary blurring (Wimmer, 2008a; Wimmer, 2008b, p. 989). Boundary blurring is a boundary modifying strategy (Wimmer, 2008a, p. 1044) whereby second-generation professionals seek to change the meaning of the boundary by “making the social profile of a boundary less distinct” (Alba, 2005, p. 23) through de-emphasizing their ethnicity and promoting their shared professional identity with co-workers of ethnic-Dutch descent. On the one hand it could be argued that boundary blurring through “sameness” works, because second-generation professionals are allowed in

organizations and manage to climb the organizational ladder, which could point to a diminished and blurred clarity about who belongs within the organizational boundary lines. On the other hand, the fact that second-generation professionals are **allowed** in, points to the power of those on the other side of the boundary line. The continuous encounters of second-generation professionals with implicit boundaries show how "subtle" power is used in organizations by co-workers from all organizational echelons to create and maintain social distance on the identity-level towards second-generation professionals (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2017). Therefore, the strategy of professional "sameness" may blur boundaries on the career-level by giving second-generation professionals access to high-level positions in organizations. However, professional "sameness" fails to blur social boundaries on the identity-level, since the ethnic and religious distinctions between the second generation and ethnic-Dutch co-workers that form the boundary, remain intact.

Because second-generation professionals know the rules of the game and use this knowledge in the form of seeking alternative and approved routes to circumvent social boundaries in organizations, "sameness" as a career-level strategy also entails elements of boundary crossing (Alba, 2005; Wimmer, 2008a). Boundary crossing is a different boundary modifying strategy, whereby membership within the boundary is acquired by second-generation professionals through moving from one group to another through assimilation (Wimmer, 2008a, p. 1044). This assimilation happens when second-generation professionals not only know but also adhere to the rules of the game that are –implicitly- excluding them by using different routes to enter organizations and climb the organizational ladder. Boundary crossing is a viable strategy in the Dutch context of sharp and impermeable bright boundaries, since it doesn't challenge boundaries but actually "reinforces [their] empirical significance and normative legitimacy" (Ibid., p. 1039). As such, boundary crossing protects the existence of social boundaries, and it could therefore be argued that second-

generation professionals perpetuate social boundaries by using “sameness” on the individual career-level as a means to establish themselves professionally in organizations.

When second-generation professionals opt for the “difference” strategy vis-à-vis implicit social boundaries in organizations, they do so in an effort to stay true to themselves emotionally by questioning implicit boundaries. This “staying true” relates to the identity-level through which second-generation professionals “attempt to express who they ‘really’ are” in the workplace (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017, p. 212). Or rather, I would argue that staying true is an attempt by second-generation professionals to express who they ‘also’ are, next to being good professionals (cf. Slootman, 2014). This open portrayal of “difference” in an organizational context of bright social boundaries can make second-generation professionals (even more) vulnerable to instances of “othering”. This is because bright social boundaries clearly demarcate who belongs within the boundary lines and who doesn’t, and they require “a breaking of many ties to the group of origin” (Alba, 2005, p. 26). By showing who second-generation professionals ‘also’ are, they emphasize the presence of origin group ties. Showing “difference” on the identity-level therefore cannot be seen as a viable modifying boundary strategy in the context of bright and impermeable social boundaries in organizations (cf. Wimmer, 2008a). Firstly, “difference” openly portrays that assimilation hasn’t occurred among second-generation professionals and boundary crossing is therefore no option as an identity-level boundary strategy. While secondly, “difference” on the identity-level cannot lead to boundary blurring since bright boundaries do not offer the required porousness and openness to make the social profile of the boundary less distinct (Alba, 2005).

Despite the fact that showing “difference” on the identity-level isn’t a viable modifying boundary strategy in a context of bright social boundaries, the “difference” strategy has the potential to transition into a boundary strategy on

the social change-level through the wider implications that may come about when second-generation professionals choose to stay true to themselves.

When second-generation professionals choose to stay true to themselves on the identity-level, they do so through openly discussing with co-workers their experiences with implicit social boundaries in the organization, and how these boundaries affect them. This attempt to protect and defend their ethnic and religious background within their professional context can be seen as a form of micro-emancipation (Alvesson & Wilmott, 1992). And this micro-emancipation can lead to micro-change (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2017, p. 213) when second-generation professionals widen their discussions with co-workers about their experiences with social boundaries in organizations to include more general patterns of exclusion in society. By making the combination between the organization and society, and between their individual experiences and the mostly negative perceptions and ideas about ethnic minorities in general (Vasta, 2007; Ghorashi, 2014a), second-generation professionals' open portrayal of "difference" challenges ethnic-Dutch co-workers to consider their remarks and behaviours towards second-generation professionals in a broader context of exclusion, in which "difference" is positioned on the outside of the boundary lines because it is considered deviant from the "ideal" or norm employee (cf. Acker, 1992; Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998; Gowricharn, 2002; Van der Raad, 2015).

Through positioning "difference" in a broader context, second-generation professionals transfer the "difference" strategy from the identity-level to the level of social change. In this context of the social change-level, "difference" entails elements of boundary shifting (Alba, 2005; cf. Wimmer, 2008a). Boundary shifting "involves the relocation of a boundary so that populations once situated on one side are now included on the other: former outsiders are thereby transformed into insiders" (Alba, 2005, p. 23). Second-generation professionals hereby attempt to change the topography of the boundary (cf.

Wimmer, 2008a) in order for them to no longer be merely accepted in organizations because of their "exceptional sameness" (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017, p. 210), which implies that they are accepted despite their "difference", and because they are exceptions to the rule. The shift entails that through "difference", second-generation professionals challenge the implicit rules about who belongs -and who is therefore fully accepted, with the inclusion of their different ethnic or religious background- within the organizational boundary lines.

Understanding "sameness" and "difference" as boundary strategies that entail elements of boundary crossing, blurring and shifting offers an explanation for how the second-generation professionals featured in this thesis manage to successfully engage with implicit boundary making in an organizational context of impermeable, bright boundaries. Using "sameness" as a strategy to cross and blur social boundaries in organizations can be seen as a vital career-level strategy for second-generation professionals operating in a context of impermeable, bright boundaries in which their ethnic and religious backgrounds are deemed the complete and inferior "other" (Vasta, 2007; Ghorashi, 2014b; Ossenkop et al. 2015). Second-generation professionals use elements of boundary crossing to adhere to the rules of the game that are implicitly exclusive, and blurring to emphasize their professionals identity over their ethnic and religious one. "Sameness" thereby allows entry into organizations and up the career ladder, not despite but because it leaves the implicit social boundaries intact.

But "sameness" also allows second-generation professionals to bring their "difference" into organizations, when they regard their position in the organization established enough in terms of time and accomplishment (cf. Slootman, 2014, p. 200). Subsequently, once second-generation professionals are firmly settled within the organization through "sameness", bringing in "difference" as an identity-level strategy to stay true to oneself, can cascade

into a strategy on the social change-level (cf. Zanoni & Janssens, 2007; Van Laer & Janssens, 2017) which offers the potential to shift the topography of social boundaries in organizations by questioning the terms under which belonging and acceptance in the organization come about.

The opening up of social boundaries by second-generation professionals can thus not exclusively be explained by the collective re-positioning of second-generation professionals through crossing (Wimmer 2008a, p. 1044), or by the blurring of boundaries by second-generation professionals through their emphasis on a shared professional identity (Ibid., p. 1044), nor solely by second-generation professionals bringing about large scale organizational boundary shifts through forcing their ethnic or religious "difference" to become an accepted part of the organizational in-group (Ibid., p. 1044).

The opening up of social boundaries in organizations by second-generation professionals comes from them switching between "sameness" and "difference", and hereby turning "sameness" from being solely a career-level strategy crucial for individual success and status change, into a means to also bring in and use the identity-level and social change-level strategy of "difference" in organizations. This ability to switch between and flexibly engage with "sameness and difference" is a result of the newcomer position of upwardly mobile second-generation professionals. Growing up in the Netherlands in an ethnic-minority family, where they were among the first to go through higher education and attain high-level professionals positions, second-generation professionals are frontrunners in their families and in organizations when it comes to achieving high-level positions, and they have had to pave their own way to get there. Second-generation professionals thus have had the challenges of learning, reading and combining diverse and sometimes competing cultural repertoires, such as that of the family home, the education system, and the labour market (cf. Portes & Zhou, 1993; Heath et al., 2008). But the flip side of these challenges are the benefits that second-generation

professionals reap by having grown up practicing these various cultural repertoires (Schneider et al., 2014), and consequently becoming able to deal with and combine these repertoires in order to create the best of both "sameness" and "difference" (cf. Kasinitz et al., 2008; Levitt, 2009).

Second-generation professionals' ability to deal with and combine various cultural repertoires in the form of employing "sameness and difference" vis-à-vis social boundaries in organizations, amounts to -what I have coined- the strategy of "boundary sensitivity". Boundary sensitivity is an individual and contextual strategy that incorporates elements of boundary crossing, blurring and shifting in the form of second-generation professionals switching between "sameness and difference". Boundary sensitivity offers a viable strategy towards the sharp and bright boundary lines that continue to affect second-generation professionals in the form of implicit boundary making in organizations because it leaves room for second-generation professionals to switch between "sameness and difference", depending on what the situation requires. Boundary sensitivity therefore becomes a flexible and useful boundary strategy for the opening up of social boundaries, since it incorporates the three mechanisms of boundary change, as listed by Wimmer (2008b, pp. 1004 - 1007): 1) boundary sensitivity makes room for the introduction of second-generation professional "newcomers" in organizational positions of influence and power through second-generation professionals showing "sameness" on the career-level by using elements from boundary crossing and blurring (exogenous shift); 2) boundary sensitivity simultaneously allows for the possibility of small identity-level changes in the form of micro-emancipation, pursued by second-generation professionals through "difference", to cascade into boundary shifts in the form of second-generation professionals problematizing matters of belonging and acceptance on a more general social change-level in organizations (endogenous shift); and 3) boundary sensitivity has the potential to redefine "existing hierarchies of power, institutional order, and networks of alliance" (ibid, p.

1006) through second-generation professionals switching between “sameness and difference” to take up the role of “cultural brokers” (Cooper, 2014) and form “cultural partnerships” (Cooper, 2011) in professional contexts, such as the education sector, in which super-diversity is becoming the norm and the ability to switch between and link various life worlds is becoming a professionals necessity (endogenous drift).

The strategy of boundary sensitivity has the potential to open up social boundaries in the workplace because second-generation professionals do not make a zero-sum choice between “sameness” and “difference” (cf. Slootman & Duyvendak, 2015), but because they actively and intentionally switch between and thereby employ both “sameness and difference” in order to engage with social boundaries on the career-, identity- and social change-level. This employment of “sameness and difference” on three levels does not result in a straightforward process of social boundaries being opened up in the workplace by second-generation professionals. Rather, the ways in which second-generation professionals employ “sameness” and “difference”, that is through including elements of boundary crossing, blurring and shifting (Alba, 2005; Wimmer, 2008a) when they engage with impermeable, bright boundaries in the workplace, can amount to both a perpetuation and an opening up of social boundaries in organizations (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2017).

Second-generation professionals show a high level of strategic thinking when they act on the career-level through “sameness”, whereby they – inadvertently- perpetuate the existence of social boundaries, but manage to gain entrance to organizations and high-level positions in these organizations. Through their presence in organizations, they weigh the costs and benefits of acting on their own behalf on the career-level through “sameness” or on the identity-level through “difference” through which they might, as tempered radicals (Meyerson & Scully, 1995), “contribute to incremental, small-scale change which might ultimately lead to broader more structural changes” (Van

Laer & Janssens, 2017, p. 213). In both cases of perpetuation and opening up of social boundaries, second-generation professionals show that their rootedness in the Dutch professional context is strong enough to successfully employ "sameness" by taking into the equation the characteristics of their organization and of the entire sector, whereas their links with their ethnic and religious backgrounds offer them the potential to open up the implicit social boundaries that are still prevalent in many Dutch organizations through strategically showing and making use of their "difference".

Theoretical implications

The focus of this thesis on how the boundary sensitivity strategy can open up social boundaries in the workplace, builds upon a number of studies that deal with the "sameness" and "difference" positionality of ethnic minorities in a professional setting (e.g. Siebers, 2009a, 2009b; Holvino & Kamp, 2009; De Jong, 2012; Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013; Van Laer & Janssens, 2014; Slootman, 2014), as well as with studies that have centered around the mechanisms of boundary making and changing (e.g. Barth, 1969, 1994; Alba, 2005, Foner & Alba, 2008; Wimmer, 2008a; Wimmer, 2008b). In line with the studies on "sameness" and "difference", the chapters in this thesis show that second-generation professionals alternate between their use of "sameness" and "difference" in the workplace. And in line with the studies on social boundaries, the chapters in this thesis also show that second-generation professionals make use of the traditional boundary strategies of crossing, blurring and shifting when dealing with the bright but implicit social boundaries in the workplace. The way in which the chapters of this thesis contribute to the theoretical debates around "sameness" and "difference" and social boundaries is twofold.

Firstly, understanding "sameness" and "difference" as strategies, points to the notion that they can be activated to serve a certain purpose, and this

activation in turn points to the concept of agency. Agency is the capacity to act (Giddens, 1979), albeit in a limited way as agency comes in degrees (Kockelman, 2007, p. 387) and can have intended and unintended consequences (Van Laer & Janssens, 2017). Still, the agency that second-generation professionals show when they employ "sameness" and "difference" is one in which they manage to switch between two seemingly opposite strategies. The chapters in this thesis show how second-generation professionals, as "newcomers", are pre-eminently capable to employ both "sameness and difference" because they have grown up with multiple and sometimes competing cultural repertoires, such as that of the family home in which the Muslim religion often played an important role, and the Dutch society in which Islam is usually viewed as backward and problematic (e.g. Vasta, 2007; Foner & Alba, 2008), and in terms of coming from a lower-class background and to become among the first to enter higher education and obtain a professional position. These experiences of having to deal with different cultural repertoires have made second-generation professionals capable to switch between "sameness and difference". They do not make a zero-sum choice between the two by consistently choosing one strategy over the other, although "sameness" is a constant in their career trajectories in the context of bright social boundaries. Second-generation professionals thus manage to take the best of "sameness and difference" by switching between them and they use the combination to their own advantage (cf. Kasinitz et al., 2008; Levitt, 2009) and to the advantage of other stakeholders in their professional field. This ability to successfully switch between the seemingly opposite strategies of "sameness and difference", instead of having to make a zero-sum choice between the two or becoming stuck between the two, flips the often negative thinking about the second generation. In some current theoretical discussions and societal discourses, the second generation is represented in a static state "in-between" cultures or life worlds, and therefore unable to reach their full potential (cf. Gans, 1992; Heath et al., 2008). The

theoretical connotation of “in-between” in these discussions is that the second generation doesn’t belong in either world. The contribution of this thesis is that it shows, through the use of “sameness and difference”, that second-generation professionals are not in-between cultures. Rather, they are –as I have coined- “go-betweens” who are capable of switching between cultures because they belong in multiple worlds. This belonging in multiple worlds allows second-generation professionals to incorporate multiple viewpoints and a critical view of cultural worlds that would otherwise be seen as natural and inevitable (Said, 1994). Second-generation professionals use these multiple and critical viewpoints to fulfil their go-between role actively and consciously, for instance vis-à-vis social boundaries in organizations, both on their own behalf and on that of others.

Secondly, although Wimmer (2008a) concludes that he sees no other possible strategies of boundary change that one could pursue -beside his elaborate classification which is based on either crossing, blurring or shifting-, this thesis shows that boundary crossing, blurring and shifting (Alba, 2005; Wimmer 2008a) do not solely have to be understood as separate boundary strategies. Instead, by employing “sameness” and “difference”, second-generation professionals switch between crossing, blurring and shifting when they engage with implicit bright boundaries in the workplace, depending on whether they prioritize the career-, identity-, or social change-level (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2017). Therefore, and in line with the call made by Wimmer (2008a, p. 1046) “to develop an agency-based model of ethnic boundary making”, I would argue that the strategy of boundary sensitivity, which is the result of the upward mobility boundary sensitivity model (see figure 1), is an addition to the classification of boundary strategies since it incorporates elements of all three strategies. Boundary sensitivity’s use of these various elements requires us to include in our analysis of boundary strategies what the underlying motives are of people engaging with social boundaries. Boundary strategies have so far been

theorized as ways in which, on a societal level, people engage with boundaries in order to either alter their respective position towards the boundary, or to change the location of the boundary itself (Alba, 2005). Yet, if we include the subdivision of levels, that is the career-, identity- and social change-level (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2017), we gain a much more intricate understanding of how people engage with social boundaries, as well as an explanation of how the perpetuation and opening up of social boundaries can go hand-in-hand.

Directions for future research

The findings from this thesis shed light on how the engagement of second-generation professionals with social boundaries in the workplace is influenced by their ability to switch between "sameness" and "difference", and how this ability to switch enables them to make use of various elements of different boundary strategies. These findings trigger new questions for future research to pay attention to. Such as the question of whether the upward mobility boundary sensitivity model (see figure 1) is also applicable to second-generation employees who have not gone through higher education and do not work as professionals. To what extent are they capable of and willing to switch between repertoires in the workplace in order to engage with social boundaries? In other words, how important is the upward mobility aspect in the model, and what role does the second-generation positionality play? This question is especially relevant in the context of boundary making and changing, since social boundaries are abstract entities, and engaging with them therefore also requires a level of abstract and strategic thinking for which highly-educated professionals might be quintessentially equipped.

Another question is whether the second-generation professionals' ability to switch and "go-between" various repertoires is gaining relevance in other sectors, beside the education sector, that are dealing with increasing

superdiversity. The ELITES study has already focused on the law and business sector (Rezai, 2017; Konyali, 2017), and although interesting similarities and differences have been explored (Keskiner & Crul, 2017), the ethnic distinction between education professionals on the one hand, and pupils and students on the other, doesn't present itself quite as pronounced in the law and business sectors with professionals and clients as it does in the education sector.

An interesting sector to explore the "go-between" role would be the medical sector. Current research on physicians of ethnic-minority descent working in a hospital in the largest city in the Netherlands, Amsterdam, shows how they can easily experience instances of in-betweenness at work, since they are seen by ethnic-majority physicians as lagging behind, and having to do extra work to meet normal quality standards. Simultaneously, ethnic-minority physicians are also seen by their ethnic-majority colleagues as unable to compensate for their presumed "lack", "because their social identity remains non-Dutch" (Leyerzapf, Abma, Steenwijk, Croiset & Verdonk, 2015, p. 1005). In this context, moreover, the medical sector is dealing with similar issues as the education sector: an overwhelming majority of ethnic-Dutch medical professionals and an ever-increasing super-diverse group of patients or care seekers. Do second-generation professionals in this sector experience similar forms of "relational self-interest" (Stall, 2010), as has been attributed to the education professionals in this thesis? And if so, does this combination of firstly second-generation positionality, secondly the uneven ethnic distribution of professionals compared to the patients, and thirdly relational self-interest also lead to the ability and willingness of second-generation medical professionals to switch between cultural repertoires to bridge the life worlds of medical professionals and patients?

A final question for future research that I would like to address, is that of the "go-between" role of second-generation professionals. As it is argued in this thesis that the concept of "go-between" is better suited for this group of highly-

educated professionals of second-generation descent than the concept of "in-betweenness", future research should explore how this belonging in multiple worlds is translated into various practices, besides the engagement with social boundaries. In other words, does the capability to switch between cultural repertoires, and to select the best of both or multiple worlds (Kasinitz et al., 2008; Levitt, 2009), always result in a second-generation advantage? And if so, in what ways? I would like to call for research to provide us with a deeper understanding of the "go-between" role. Especially in a world in which diversity in every way imaginable is increasingly becoming a reality, the ability of the second generation to switch and go-between and connect life worlds can hold relevant information for diversity researchers -and practitioners- about the ways in which we approach, theorize and handle diversity in organizations.

Some final thoughts

In the introduction of this thesis, I refer to the notion of "success", and what it entails in the two studies on which the chapters in this thesis are based. I explain that with both the Pathways to Success project and the ELITES project, we aimed to objectify the notion of success by defining it based on job position and job status criteria, which in turn were used to select our respondents.

This strategy of defining "success" and consequently selecting respondents who we deemed successful to explain how they became successful, means that we selected on the dependent variable. This was done to "turn the usual research perspective in the field of migration and ethnic studies inside out" (Crul et al., 2017, p. 212), whereby we opted to not focus on explaining certain negative aspects commonly associated with the second generation (such as early school leaving or unemployment), but rather aimed to understand how these second-generation professionals had succeeded against all odds.

This aim included a focus on the pathways of these second-generation professionals through the education system and in the labour market. This focus on pathways allowed us to "see more precisely how people manage institutional challenges and find a way around blockades in order to succeed" (Ibid., p. 213). And this focus also showed how looking at "success" as a process instead of a fixed moment in time, places the notion of success not on the opposite side of failure, but rather as a remarkable positive outcome for this group of second-generation professionals who have had to overcome numerous difficulties to get to where they are (Crul et al., 2017, p. 322).

Selecting on the dependent variable hasn't resulted in a one-sided view of "success", but has rather exposed the various ways in which second-generation professionals engage with social boundaries during the course of their professional careers in order to become successful. Studying the pathways to success of second-generation professionals thus offers insights into successful strategies by second-generation professionals, but it also offers insights into the societal mechanisms which, through social boundaries in the education system and the labour market, can frustrate the upward mobility chances of the second generation and of other "newcomers" in Dutch society.

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Summary

Understanding the pathways to success of Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation[12] professionals is what lies at the heart of this thesis. These pathways to success are, throughout the chapters of this thesis, analyzed at the intersection of various social boundaries in Dutch society and organizations on the one hand, and boundary strategies employed by second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals in the workplace on the other. This analysis at the intersection of social boundaries in the workplace and boundary strategies employed by second-generation professionals is reflected in the main research question, which is posed in the introduction of this thesis:

How are social boundaries opening up for and being opened up by second-generation professionals in the workplace?

The relevance of this question is embedded in a societal context in which the integration -meaning the process of increasing participation of the second generation on all levels of Dutch society (CBS, 2012), of the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second generation is, in general, regarded as failed (cf. Slootman & Duyvendak, 2015). The resulting discourse of failed integration has led to an increased call for assimilation whereby the second generation is required to make a zero-sum choice between ethnic identities in order to be able to fully incorporate the norms and values of the Netherlands, and in turn, to become incorporated in Dutch society (cf. Vasta, 2007, p. 734).

The call for assimilation, and its enforced choice between ethnic identities, is a reflection of the impermeable, bright social boundaries that are in place between ethnic groups in Dutch society. Social boundaries are socially constructed group lines, created to demarcate social and cultural differences between groups in society based on certain characteristics, such as ethnic background (Barth, 1994; Wimmer, 2008a). These social and cultural differences

[12] Dutch-born descendants of labour migrants from Turkey and Morocco.

serve to canalize social life in terms of who belongs within the boundary lines and who doesn't (Barth, 1969).

The canalization of social life through social boundaries takes place in multiple and varying social fields (Wimmer, 2008b, p. 992). In this thesis, the focus lies on one specific social field: the workplace. The workplace is a highly applicable field to study social boundaries, since organizations can be seen as extensions of society and social boundaries that exist in society are therefore oftentimes reflected in organizations (Holvino & Kamp, 2009, p. 400; Slay & Smith, 2011, p. 86).

Looking at how social boundaries in Dutch society are reflected in the workplace requires us to take into consideration that the character of social boundaries varies. This variation in how social boundaries are constructed makes certain social boundaries more flexible and inclusive, while others are more impermeable and therefore excluding. The latter are called "bright boundaries" (Alba, 2005), and the chapters in this thesis depart from the premise that social boundaries in the Netherlands vis-à-vis the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second generation are bright. This brightness of social boundaries in the Netherlands implies that in Dutch society a clear distinction is made about who belongs within the boundary lines and who doesn't. Bright boundaries can therefore easily act to exclude and negatively affect "the processes by which individuals gain access to the opportunities afforded the majority" (Ibid., p. 22), or at least drive the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second generation to make a zero-sum choice to become either someone on the inside of the boundary line, or outside of it.

The zero-sum choice that the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation is required to make in the Dutch context of bright social boundaries touches upon the fact that one can engage with social boundaries, since social boundaries do not have to be taken for granted as fixed, natural entities but instead are created structures (Wimmer, 2008b, p. 995). This

engagement can be done in several ways. Alba (2005) and Wimmer (2008a) use a typology of boundary-related strategies which is made up of three options: boundary crossing, boundary shifting and boundary blurring. Boundary crossing refers to an individual membership changing strategy (Ibid., p. 1044), whereby a person is allowed within the boundary lines at the expense of leaving behind the membership of the group on the outside of the boundary. Boundary crossing is usually linked to bright boundaries, where the zero-sum choice has to be made by the individual, and the characteristics of the boundary lines, in terms of being impermeable and exclusive, do not change.

In the case of boundary shifting, the character of the boundary line doesn't necessarily change either, but the topography of the boundary does, meaning that the boundary lines can either expand to include new groups within the boundary, or contract to exclude groups that previously belonged within the boundary (Ibid.). In either case, boundary shifting addresses boundary alterations on a group-level and therefore, as a strategy, appears to be unsuitable for individuals to undertake.

Boundary blurring seems to be the option where the character of the boundary lines is altered, not just to include certain people or certain groups, but on the level of the boundary itself. Wimmer (Ibid.) classifies boundary blurring as the strategy that changes the meaning of the boundary instead of just its location or memberships. As with boundary shifting, boundary blurring addresses boundary alterations on a group level. But other than boundary shifting, boundary blurring takes away the "brightness" of a boundary and allows for people to be both on the inside and on the outside of the boundary lines. "This could mean that individuals are seen as simultaneously members of the groups on both sides of the boundary or that sometimes they appear to be members of one and at other times members of the other" (Alba, 2005, p. 25).

At first sight, the most obvious strategy for second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals to engage with bright social

boundaries in the workplace would seem to be the strategy of boundary crossing. Both because it fits best in the context of bright boundaries, and because shifting and blurring, as they have been theorized, refer to large-scale group-processes and they therefore appear unsuitable for individuals to undertake. However, boundary crossing "requires a breaking of many ties to the group of origin and the assumption of a high degree of risk of failure [makes] it unlikely to be undertaken by large numbers, even in the second generation" (Alba, 2005, p. 26). The high degree of risk of failure pertains to the fact that even when one decides to cross a social boundary, one can still remain some sort of outsider within the new group (Ibid.), and this risk could be especially salient for second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals, as they are considered to come from, and are therefore associated with, the most disadvantaged ethnic groups in the Netherlands (cf. Heath, Rothon & Kilpi, 2008). Boundary crossing therefore doesn't appear to be an attractive option for second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals to engage with bright social boundaries in the workplace.

In the four empirical chapters of the thesis, of which the first two are based on the qualitative Dutch study 'Pathways to Success Project' and the second two on the qualitative international-comparative 'ELITES project', it is explored, given the premise that boundary crossing is indeed an unattractive and therefore an unlikely strategy to choose, what boundary strategy has been employed by second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals in order to become successful in engaging with bright social boundaries in the workplace.

The chapter 'The fine art of boundary sensitivity' revolves around the central question of *what strategies highly-educated Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals apply to gain entrance to and succeed in the Dutch labour market*. The chapter shows, based on 114 semi-structured interviews with second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch

professionals working in a variety of professional fields in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, how social boundaries are particularly bright during the transition from higher education to the labour market, and how second-generation professionals develop several coping strategies to gain access to organizations. The chapter furthermore explores how social boundaries remain bright for second-generation professionals once they have gained access to organizations, for instance in the form of experiencing subtle discrimination, and how their coping strategies turn into a distinct boundary strategy, which has been labelled 'boundary sensitivity'. This strategy of boundary sensitivity points to an awareness by the second generation that boundaries exist, and it is an individual strategy, like boundary crossing. Yet, the distinguishing aspect of boundary sensitivity, in relation to boundary crossing, is that the highly-educated second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals do not make a zero-sum choice between ethnic identifications, but rather emphasize their "sameness" (Siebers, 2009a) through their professional identification at work to cross boundary lines, while keeping their ethnic and religious "difference" (Ibid.) mostly private but intact to avoid assimilation.

In the chapter 'Discrimination of second-generation professionals in leadership positions', which is based on a subsample from the Pathways to Success Project consisting of 40 second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals that work in leadership positions in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the focus lies on one particular social boundary that was generally addressed in the previous chapter: subtle discrimination. The central question in this chapter is *how second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals working in leadership positions experience and deal with subtle discrimination in different organizational relationships –such as with supervisors, co-managers and subordinates- within an organization*. The shift in focus to the particular social boundary of subtle discrimination and second-generation professionals working in leadership positions makes this the bridging

chapter between the Pathways to Success Project (containing Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in various positions in the labour market) and the ELITES project (containing the second generation with parents from Turkey in leadership positions). In this chapter it is argued that the bright social boundaries that exist in Dutch society in relation to the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second generation are mirrored in organizations in the form of subtle discrimination at various organizational levels -that of supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates. And that second-generation agency in the form of boundary sensitivity, albeit limited, is used for forms of small-scale boundary changes in organizations.

The focus on small-scale boundary changes is further explored in the chapter 'Practices of change in the education sector'. In this chapter, based on semi-structured interviews with 25 second-generation professionals with parents from Turkey in the Netherlands, Sweden and France, the emphasis lies on changing social boundaries in one particular organizational field: the education sector. I have taken the example of ethnic school segregation as a "wicked problem". This social boundary of ethnic school segregation shows a strong interdependence with other social boundaries, such as residential segregation and free school choice. The exact nature of these social boundaries varies across countries. Therefore, different national contexts are included in the analysis, allowing for a cross-country comparison of how the social boundary of ethnic school segregation is to be understood and *how second-generation professionals working in the education sector are able to shape outcomes concerning ethnic school segregation, taking the different national characteristics of the sector into consideration.* The chapter shows that agency is conditional because of the fixed structural boundaries of the education sector. Simultaneously, second-generation professionals use their awareness of the nation-specific structures of ethnic school segregation, in combination with their professional knowledge of the education system and their positionality as

second-generation social climbers. Through this combination of knowledge of the sector and its possibilities and limitations towards change, and their position as second generation with knowledge of multiple cultural repertoires and a drive for educational change, second-generation education professionals apply in their organization on a group-level small-scale practices of change that are guided by the specific opportunities offered by the national context.

Based on the findings in the previous chapter on how second-generation professionals use their positionality as second-generation professionals to bring about change in the education sector, the chapter 'The ability to deal with difference' further explores this "newcomer" positionality, and how it plays out in the ethnically homogeneous upper echelons of the Dutch education sector, in which second-generation professionals form a very small minority. The chapter, based on 16 semi-structured interviews with second-generation Turkish-Dutch education professionals, revolves around the central question *how second-generation Turkish-Dutch professionals working in the education sector experience in-betweenness at work, and how they act upon these experiences?*, and it departs from the notion that the second generation, based on their ethnic-minority background in the migration country, has long been considered a group "in-between" cultures, and therefore not belonging anywhere or able to reach their full potential. And that this in-between position is exacerbated for these professionals, since they are new to the upper echelons of the education sector and stem from a marginalized ethnic and religious group. The chapter unravels how instead of being stuck in-between ethnic and social cultures, the newcomer position of second-generation education professionals enables them to actively "go-between" cultural repertoires. This ability to "go-between" cultural repertoires is considered to be both an advantage and growing necessity in the increasingly super-diverse Dutch classrooms, and it is conceptually better suited than "in-betweenness" to describe the position of second-generation professionals.

The findings of the four empirical chapters have been tied together in the 'Discussion and Conclusion' through the 'Upward Mobility Boundary Sensitivity Model' in order to provide an answer to the main research question of this thesis. I argue in this final chapter that Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals experience bright social boundaries in the workplace because the ethnic and religious stereotypes that are persistent in Dutch society and that revolve around ethnic minorities with an Islamic background especially (Vasta, 2007), reverberate in conversations and interactions in the workplace (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2011) between second-generation professionals and co-workers of ethnic-Dutch descent from all organizational levels. Simultaneously, I also argue that it is precisely their ethnic and religious and social class background which equips second-generation Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch professionals to successfully engage with bright social boundaries in the workplace. Growing up in the Netherlands in an ethnic-minority family has given these second-generation professionals access to multiple and divergent cultural repertoires: throughout their educational trajectory and in everyday life they have been socialized in the Dutch context ("sameness"), while they also have cultural knowledge of their parental countries ("difference"). Juggling these diverse cultural repertoires can be, and sometimes has been, a challenge for these second-generation professionals. Yet, in return, these cultural repertoires offer second-generation professionals the ability to successfully engage with bright social boundaries in the workplace by allowing them to use various constellations of "sameness" and "difference" strategies.

These various constellations arise from second-generation professionals switching between "sameness" and "difference" strategies when they engage with social boundaries in organizations, depending on whether they engage with social boundaries in the context of the advancement of their career, the protection of their identity in the workplace, or their wish and drive for social

change in their organization or organizational field (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2017).

The involvement of second-generation professionals with social boundaries in organizations starts as an individual career-level boundary strategy. Second-generation professionals encounter social boundaries when they attempt to enter organizations, climb the organizational ladder, and gain acceptance by co-workers, and they act upon these social boundaries by portraying "sameness". "Sameness" as a career-level strategy entails aspects of boundary crossing and boundary blurring since second-generation professionals emphasize their professional identity over their ethnic and religious identities to find the necessary common ground with co-workers of ethnic-Dutch descent and thereby manage to gain entry into organizations. Yet, despite the fact that it grants second-generation professionals access to high-level positions in organizations, "sameness" fails to change the meaning, and therefore the brightness, of social boundaries in organizations.

The fact that "sameness" doesn't alter the brightness of social boundaries in organizations implies that second-generation professionals are faced with continuous lack of acceptance by co-workers of ethnic-Dutch descent on all organizational levels, ranging from supervisors, to same-level colleagues and subordinates alike. This lack of acceptance takes various shapes and forms, but it usually revolves around the ethnic and religious background of second-generation professionals.

When second-generation professionals attempt to protect their ethnic and religious identity in the workplace, they do so through the portrayal of "difference". Through "difference" second-generation professionals explicitly discuss -and thereby resist- stereotypical assumptions concerning their ethnicity and Islamic religion, and exclusionary behaviours by co-workers that follow from these assumptions. Through the discussion of stereotypes, second-generation professionals embed their experiences in the workplace in the broader context

of stereotypes that exist in society in large. By making the combination between the organization and society, and between their individual experiences and the mostly negative perceptions and ideas about ethnic minorities in general (Vasta, 2007; Ghorashi, 2014a), second-generation professionals portrayal of "difference" challenges ethnic-Dutch co-workers to consider their remarks and behaviours towards second-generation professionals in a broader context of exclusion, in which "difference" is positioned on the outside of the boundary lines because it is considered deviant from the "ideal" or norm employee (cf. Acker, 1992; Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998; Gowricharn, 2002; Van der Raad, 2015). Through positioning "difference" in a broader context, second-generation professionals transfer the "difference" strategy from the protection of the identity-level to the level of social change. In this context of the social change-level, "difference" entails elements of boundary shifting (Alba, 2005; cf. Wimmer, 2008a). Second-generation professionals hereby attempt to change the topography of the boundary (cf. Wimmer, 2008a) by challenging the implicit rules about who belongs -and who is therefore fully accepted, with the inclusion of their different ethnic or religious background- within the organizational boundary lines.

This switching between "sameness" and "difference" amounts to -what I have coined- the strategy of "boundary sensitivity", which is an individual and contextual strategy that incorporates elements of boundary crossing, blurring and shifting. The strategy of boundary sensitivity offers a viable strategy towards the sharp and bright boundary lines that continue to affect second-generation professionals in the form of boundary making in organizations. Through "sameness" boundary sensitivity makes room for the introduction of second-generation professional "newcomers" in organizational positions of influence and power. While simultaneously, through "difference", boundary sensitivity can challenge the implicit normalcy of social boundaries in organizations.

The strategy of boundary sensitivity has the potential to open up social boundaries in the workplace because second-generation professionals do not make a zero-sum choice between “sameness” and “difference” (cf. Slootman & Duyvendak, 2015), but because they actively and intentionally switch between and thereby employ both “sameness and difference” in order to engage with social boundaries on the career-, identity- and social change-level. This employment of “sameness and difference” on three levels does not result in a straightforward process of social boundaries being opened up in the workplace by second-generation professionals. Rather, the ways in which second-generation professionals employ “sameness” and “difference”, that is through including elements of boundary crossing, blurring and shifting (Alba, 2005; Wimmer, 2008a) when they engage with impermeable, bright boundaries in the workplace, can amount to both a perpetuation and an opening up of social boundaries in organizations (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2017).

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