

Pride and prejudice in the Netherlands

Treatment of the themes respect,
prejudice, discrimination and racism in
Dutch secondary education

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Abstract

The present study focuses on the treatment of the themes respect, prejudice/stereotyping, discrimination and racism in secondary Dutch education. The Dutch government has established a set of core goals for the education of the social sciences in secondary education, in which these themes are (implicitly) addressed. The aim of this study is to explore the relations between the core goals set by the Dutch government and the understanding of these themes as expressed in (some of) the course-books on the one hand, and the way individual teachers view and handle the themes throughout their lectures on the other. Within this general aim, the ideas and perceptions of some secondary school students with respect to the central themes, were also explored. An intersectional theoretical and methodological framework is used, in addition to a theoretical one that includes elements of everyday racism and (ethnic) minorisation. For this study semi-structured interviews were conducted with six teachers of the course ‘study of society’ in secondary schools (in all three education levels offered in the Netherlands: vmbo, havo, vwo) in different areas of the country. Additionally, the core goals of the government and the content of the used course-books were analysed. Finally, to get an insight into the views and interpretations of pupils themselves, workshops were held in a couple of vmbo, havo and vwo classes.

Key words: ethnic minorities, discrimination/ (everyday) racism, racism, (ethnic) minorisation, education

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A known saying about the process of conducting a final research project states that it is one of the most solitary processes a person can go through. I have found this idea could not be further removed from the truth: without others, there would not have been a single word written on this piece of paper...

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1. Introduction

Henry Ford's: 'History is bunk' vs. a critical reflection of history to learn in the present, from the past and for the future...

In recent years, the Netherlands has seen a flow of increasingly openly pronounced expressions of racism. In media, political and scholarly debates alike, the reasons for this development are seldom sought in self-reflective or critical analysis of the own (European) patterns of thinking (that bear the more or less hidden marks of our colonial past), but instead the minorities in the country are often problematised (Essed and Nimako 2006). As I was laying the last finishing touch on my thesis the issues around (everyday) racism in the Netherlands have suddenly become an enormous national and international matter, with the Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights investigating accusations of racism in the celebration of a children's traditional festivity called 'Sinterklaas'¹ (NOS, 19th October 2013); and the Dutch national Umbudsman declaring that the general climate in Dutch national politics is racist (Volkskrant, 10th October 2013). As several scholars argue the word 'racism' is a great taboo, and very rarely used in the public discourse (Essed and Nimako 2006; Wekker 2009), the recent events have caused a great uproar and much protest in the country.

Essed and Nimako (2006) show that during the past 40 years there has been an astonishing boom in scholarly research (calling it the 'Minority Research Industry') and in policy making around issues of immigration, the vast majority of the mainstream research focusing on the ethnic minorities (instead of the – relations between – the population at large). In the very few cases in the past twenty years that a research targeted the problems of racism, Essed and Nimako (2006: 301) argue, this particular word was avoided – instead using more responsibility evading or mutualising words as stereotyping, prejudices and negative representations – as to protect their (white) respondents from being stigmatised. In these debates the dichotomy between the autochtoon ('autochthonous' or native-white) and the allochtoon (Dutch invented word for non-native, practically always referring to non-white or non-'western') is enforced (Wekker 2009).

The Dutch self-imagery is deeply based on the notion that until recently, when first large numbers of post-colonial migrants, and after that other groups of immigrants, started to arrive in the country from the 1950s onwards, the country was still 'ours' and white. Several scholars have argued that the way Dutch historiography is formulated and taught in schools has influenced this idea by separating the 'national history' ('vaderlandse geschiedenis', literally translated: 'the father's country's history') from the colonial history (Stoler 1995; Wekker 2002; Grever and Ribbens 2007; Legène 2010: 13-16), as if they were two totally different 'communities of knowledge' (Wekker 2002: 12). This has

¹ The tradition of 'Sinterklaas' is a variation of the tradition of 'Saint Nicholas', a bishop who brings presents to the kids around Christmas time. In the Netherlands and Belgium Saint Nicholas comes to the country in the last two weeks of November, with his 'servant' called 'Back Pete' ('Zwarte Piet'). The storyline of 'Back Pete' was added to the 'Sinterklaas' tradition, some 150 years ago, around the time slavery was abolished in the Dutch colonies. Discussions in society around the racist character of the festivity have been recurrent for decades, but in recent years this discussion got into a spurt, because of the involvement of artist Quincy Gario, who questions the role of 'Zwarte Piet', himself being Dutch-Afro-Antillean

fed the notion that the ‘white Dutch cultural identity’ grew entirely autonomously, without being influenced by the colonies.

During the process of becoming an independent and sovereign nation, in the early 17th century, the Netherlands became ‘prosperous’ due to the establishment and exploitation of some prominent colonies, both in South East Asia (the East Indies) and in the Caribbean (the West Indies). Discrimination on the basis of skin colour as well as on a series of other features of culture, religion and general habits was one of the main driving factors for the economic ‘boom’ and ‘success’ of these colonies and a major source for national prosperity, of course obtained at the expense of the local people in these colonies (Stoler 1995; Wekker 2006).

Indonesia has been a Dutch colony from the mid 17th century up until little after the Second World War, the Dutch were diplomatically forced out of this area and out of the war they were conducting by that time in order to recover the colony from the Japanese occupation. Other Dutch colonies were found in the South American Caribbean area: Surinam (or Dutch Guyana) from 1674 (when this territory was exchanged with the British for the area of New Amsterdam, that later became New York) up until 1975, when it became formally independent and the so-called Netherlands Antilles, two groups of three Caribbean islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao close to the Venezuelan coast and Saba, St Maarten and St Eustace further offshore). Dutch enterprises have played a very prominent role in the trade and transport of enslaved people of African origins towards the ‘New World’ colonies in the Caribbean. It is also thus, that the Dutch have had a huge influence on the ethnic diversity of the present-day human population in at least Surinam and, to a lesser extent, the Netherlands Antilles, where, next to the original indigenous ethnicity, also descendents of African, European and even Indonesian (Hindustani) origins still occupy a prominent and recognisable position in society (Wekker 2006).

Theoretically, modern forms of prejudice, discrimination and racism within the present-day Dutch society are likely to be influenced by both the remnants of the colonial past and the perception of this as taught in (secondary) education. On the other hand, education would also seem to be the most promising means of putting these issues in perspective, in order to convey to the next generation all of the negative consequences of discrimination and to try to teach, instead, to show mutual respect for each other regardless of skin colour, ethnic, cultural and/or religious background.

The aim of this study is to explore the relations between the core goals set by the Dutch government and the understanding of the themes respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism as expressed in (some of) the course-books on the one hand, and the way individual teachers view and handle the themes throughout their lectures on the other. Within this general aim, I explored the ideas and perceptions about these themes, as expressed by students, within the context of secondary education. The objective is to get an insight in the possible influence of education on ideas regarding respect,

discrimination and racism. The starting point and theoretical framework from which I addressed the concepts of prejudice, discrimination and racism stemmed from postcolonial- and race critical theories. Within the context of my study I am mostly interested in the present-day notions of school pupils and teachers.

I chose to study how these notions are expressed, shared and discussed within the formal education context for several reasons. First, it is through (compulsory) primary and secondary education that the new generations living in a country are educated to become citizens of that country. Here they are taught in the skills deemed necessary to take part of society in a 'proper/successful' way. Courses that are part of secondary education in the Netherlands are, for example, mathematics, language(s), biology, but also geography, history and a course on the study of society. Within this thesis I will focus mostly on this last course, as it is the course in which the themes of my focus are most clearly addressed and part of the curriculum.

It is interesting to look at the education system because 'this knife cuts in two ways', as it is here that themes such as respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism are very important, both as themes addressed as well as through methods of teaching. Discrimination on whichever ground is not tolerated in schools, and respect for other pupils, teachers and other schoolstaff is the fundamental underlying principle in schools. The other edge of the knife is that 'knowledge bears the fingerprints of those who are or have been in power', as Gloria Wekker expresses, meaning that it is likely that ideas expressed and conveyed through education generally tend to reflect the viewpoints of the ones in power or the dominant group in society. Teachers, like social workers, need to operate on the crossroad between the values of the state, the values of the educational institution/school and their own moral values.

The problem statement and research questions then become:

Problem statement:

To get an insight into the dissemination of knowledge and/or skills regarding the themes respect, prejudice/stereotyping, discrimination and racism, from the core goals as formulated by the state for the 'area of study' person and society, through the course books, to the teaching of the teachers, and finally the perception of the pupils.

Research questions:

1. What message(s), both explicit and implicit, do the Dutch course books transmit regarding the themes respect, prejudice/stereotypes, discrimination and racism – and related topics of influence, such as ethnicity and national identity –?
2. How do teachers define, regard and deal with the themes respect, prejudice/stereotypes, discrimination and racism in secondary education in the Netherlands?
3. How do pupils regard the themes respect prejudice/stereotypes, discrimination and racism?

2. The societal context of the study

2.1 Social settings

2.1.1 Definitions of several relevant terms in the Dutch social context

In the Netherlands the terms culture, ethnicity and nationality/national identity are frequently used in public discourse, daily life and scholarly writings in the social sciences. Moreover, they are taught in secondary schools, as part of the school curriculum. In more academic circles in the Netherlands the term ethnic minority is often used (Bovenkerk 1999, cited in Essed and Nimako 2006: 300). Traditionally, one of the most important aims of history education, Grever and Ribbens (2007:54-55) explain, was the development of a patriotism and sense of national identity, thus, in retrospect, a potentially important source for prolonged concepts of prejudice towards other ethnic communities and cultures and the subsequent discrimination of them. The use of the word 'race' has in the context of the Netherlands practically been erased from common vocabulary after the Second World War (Wekker 2009). The word has become a taboo, as it is now considered to be strongly related to the racist theories and ideologies that were developed/used before and during the Nazi regime, which saw white people as superior to all other 'races'. With the arrival and settlement of the different groups of immigrants in the country, the concepts of (ethnic) minority, guest labourer, and 'allochtoon' were consecutively introduced to refer to the various groups of immigrants (and their offspring).

The term 'allochtoon'

Until 1996 statistics about immigrant minorities in the Netherlands were kept according to nationality, but due to the fact that in the 1990s many immigrants were granted the Dutch nationality, this criterion was no longer considered a good indicator of immigrant minorities (Ministry of Public Health, Welfare and Sports 2012¹). To be able to keep tracking people with an immigrant/ethnic background the term (western- and non-western) 'allochtoon' has replaced the concept of nationality as an indicator. The Ministry of Public Health, Welfare and Sports recognises the fact that an ethnic group and nationality are not (necessarily) the same, but data on ethnic groups in the Netherlands are not tracked as such. To get an insight into the ethnic diversity or distribution in the Netherlands, it is therefore necessary to use the concept(s) of western- and non-western allochtonous, because statistics are kept on the basis of this term.

Even though in 2009 a tentative introduction was made of the term 'new Dutch'² ('*nieuwe Nederlander*') by minister Eberhart van der Laan, presently in the Netherlands the most common denomination in policy papers, statistics and common language for people with an immigrant minority background, is 'allochtoon' or non-western 'allochtoon' (literally: those who are from

1 Checked on website: <http://www.nationaalkompas.nl/bevolking/etniciteit/wat-is-etniciteit/> (last checked: 01-09-2013).

2 A term that received a lot of critique in the media as being 'problem-evasive' as well, see for example: <http://www.elsevier.nl/Algemeen/blogs/2009/11/Nieuwe-Nederlanders-is-nieuwe-onzin-ELSEVIER251211W/> (last checked: 18 August 2013).

elsewhere). This term was introduced in the 1970s next to the term ‘autochtoon’ – which means autochthonous or person from local origin – as a more ‘neutral’ word to replace the use of the words ‘immigrant’ and ‘labour migrant’, which had become rather stigmatising. The word has since that time been in use, both in policy making and in media discourse, as well as in general public and private use. Even though I would rather prefer not to use the term myself, it has become so widely in use in the Netherlands that it is hard to (fully) avoid it, when talking about matters of immigration, discrimination and racism. Therefore I find it important to shed some light on the official (and public) use of the term, the controversies and the discussion(s) around it.

First of all it is important to highlight there is often a difference between the official definition of the concept ‘allochtoon’ (used in statistics and policy papers) and the public and media use of it. In public discourse the term is sensitive to the rhetoric of those who use it. Here I will focus on the official use of the concept (and also question its objectivity). In 1999 the Dutch Central Office for Statistics CBS, the official body that researches and publishes the Dutch (population) statistics, introduced a new definition, which they call the ‘standard definition’ of the word ‘allochtoon’, because until that moment there had been several different definitions in use. According to this definition someone is ‘allochtoon’ if at least one of the parents is born in a foreign country (CBS 2000: 24). With the introduction of this new definition the CBS created a ‘standard classification’ between ‘western’- and ‘non-western’ ‘allochtonen’. The ‘western’ countries in this definition include all European countries (except for Turkey), North-America, Oceania, Japan and Indonesia (ibid.). The ‘non-western’ countries of origin are all countries in Asia (including Turkey, but excluding Japan and Indonesia), Africa and South-America (including the former colonies Surinam and the Dutch Antilles). The reason the CBS gives for this differentiation is ‘the difference in socio-economic and cultural position between western and non-western ‘allochtonen’” (ibid.). They add to that: ‘if a group strongly resembles the Dutch population in socio-economic and cultural respect, this group is considered western allochtoon’ (ibid.).

Considering this way of reasoning, it is remarkable that people from the Antilles and Aruba, islands that are (still) part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and people born in Surinam (even the ones before independence with only a Dutch nationality) and their offspring are regarded as non-western allochtonous, while at the same time Japanese and Indonesian (including Moluccan¹) people are regarded as western allochtonous. These definitions of (western and non-western) allochtonous can simply not be considered to be as objective as was initially and explicitly intended and have therefore been subject to debate within the Netherlands, and become rather controversial.

1 The Moluccas form a geographically coherent archipelago of relatively smaller islands within the enormous archipelago of the entire country of Indonesia (former Dutch East Indies).

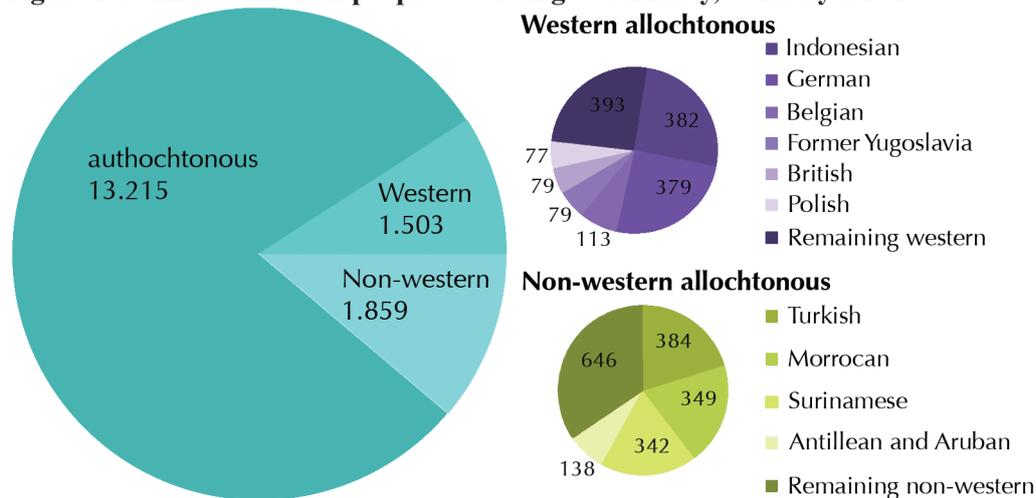
Wekker (2009: 101) furthermore argues that the word ‘allochtonous’ is not an unbiased and ‘objective’ form to speak about ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. Rather, she sees it as a ‘race-evasive’ way to (still) speak about different ‘racial’ and ethnic groups, which would confirm the assumption that certain people are indeed essentially different from ‘the Dutch’. She considers it is in essence a racist terminology, because only certain places of origin are in practice considered ‘allochtoon’ and others not. She argues that most often the people categorised as allochtonous are people with a darker skin colour or people ‘whose combination of facial features and religion’ are regarded as ‘incompatible with Dutch values’ (Wekker 2009: 101).

2.1.2 Ethnic diversity in the Netherlands

While taking into account the definitions and critiques regarding the concepts of western- and non-western allochtonen, mentioned before (paragraph 3.1.3), I will shortly discuss some of the statistics on the various ethnic groups in the Netherlands, and in the areas in which I did my fieldwork. It is important to note that in the statistics, the distinction between western and non-western is indeed initially made, but that in the discussion and the public discourse the largest focus lays on the non-western ethnic groups. No matter how precise definitions are made and statistics are kept, they will never do full justice to the ethnic variety and complexity of reality; they can only be used as an indication.

On a national scale, statistics of the CBS showed that on January 1st 2010 of the total Dutch population consisted of 16.6 million inhabitants. Among these, there were 3.4 million allochtonous people, which is some 20% of the total population of the country (Forum 2010: 2). Of the ‘allochtonous Dutch’ 9% (1.5 million) were considered western allochtonous and 11% (1.9 million) non-western allochtonous (ibid.), taking both western- and non-western allochtonous minorities into account. The largest ethnic minorities in the Netherlands are the Turkish (with 385,000), Indonesian (382,000), Germans (379,000), Moroccan (349,000) and Surinamese (342,000), as can be seen in Figure 1 on the next page. Usually, however, the focus lies on the four largest non-western allochtonous groups, which are the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillians/Arubans (quite a bit smaller with 138,000). Forum (2010) further states that the immigration of non-western people has decreased significantly in recent years, and that between 2004 and 2007 there was even a negative immigration ratio of non-western migrants (more non-western people emigrated from the country than immigrated into it).

Figure 1. Number of Dutch people according to ethnicity, January 1 2010



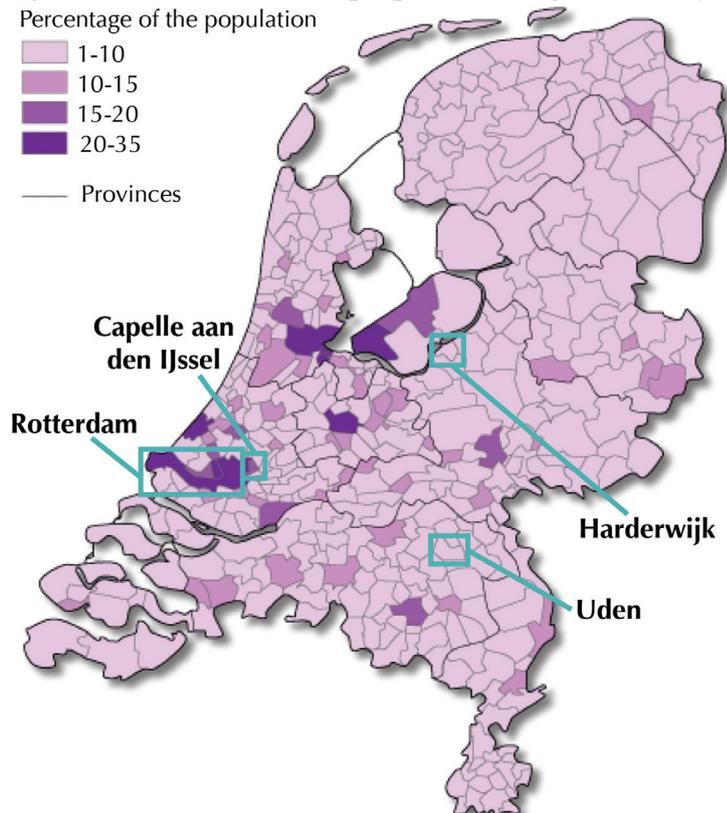
Source: CBS/Statline, in: Forum 2010

Figure 2 clearly shows that the (non-western) ethnic minorities are mostly concentrated in (the surroundings of) the four largest cities of the country: 36.7% of the total population in Rotterdam is of a non-western allochthonous background, 35% of the population in Amsterdam (and also 27.9% in neighbouring Almere), 33.9% in The Hague and 21.4% in Utrecht¹. Counted in a different way, of all the Dutch citizens with a non-western background 35% lives in the three largest cities. The total proportion of pupils from different ethnicities within each of the three educational levels as well as in the different age classes is shown in Figure 3. Differences between autochthonous and western allochthonous pupils are negligible, while Turkish and Moroccan pupils are clearly under-represented in the highest educational levels and over-represented in the lowest. Pupils with backgrounds from Surinam and the Antilles occupy an intermediate position.

I have collected field data (interviews and/or workshops) from three geographically very different locations in the Netherlands. The first one is the municipality of Uden in the central southern province of Noord-Brabant had a total population of 40,405, of which 7.7% was 'western allochthonous' and 7.1% 'non-western allochthonous'. With 2.7% of the total population the Turkish minority is the largest, followed by the Surinamese (with 1.2%), the Moroccans (0.6%) and the Dutch-Antillians and Arubans (0.5%).

¹ <http://www.zorgatlas.nl/beinvloedende-factoren/demografie/etniciteit/niet-westerse-allochtonen-2009/> (last checked: 01 September 2013).

Figure 2. Number of Dutch people according to ethnicity, January 1 2010



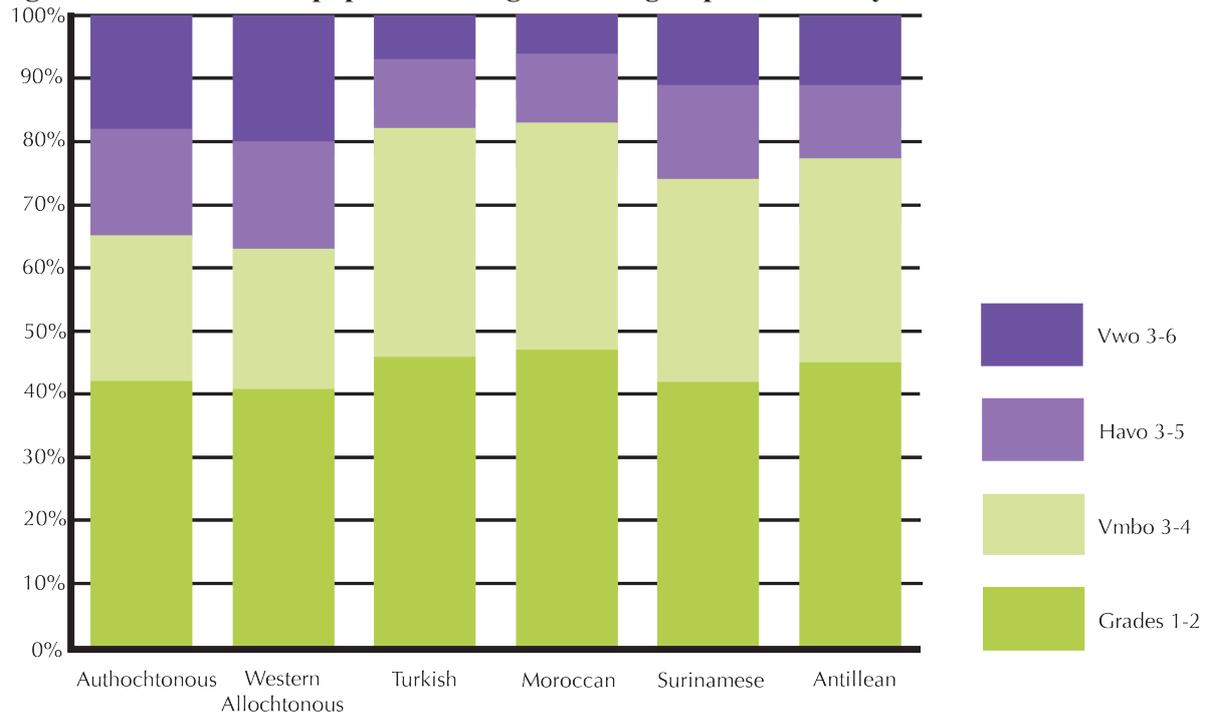
Source: PBL/CBS in: Ministry of Public Health, Welfare and Sports¹

The second location is the municipality of Capelle aan den IJssel, a village (practically) fused with the city of Rotterdam. Of the total population of 66.104 inhabitants, 10.6% is considered western allochtonous and 20.4% non-western allochtonous. The Surinamese inhabitants are, by far, the largest ethnic minority in the municipality, being 4,510 or 6.8% of the residents. This group is followed by the Antillians/ Arubans with 3.3%, the Turkish with 1.5% and the Moroccans with 1.4%.

The third and last location is the municipality of Harderwijk, located in the province of Gelderland, in central Netherlands. With a total population of 44,932 inhabitants, it is a medium-sized city. The percentage of western-allochtonous inhabitants is 6.2% and that of non-western-allochtonous 10.1%. The largest non-western ethnic minority is Turkish, with 4.6%, followed by the Moroccans with 2.5%. The Surinamese and Antillian minorities form a really small part of the population with 0.5% and 0.2% respectively.

¹ Checked on the website of the Ministry of Public Health, Welfare and Sports: <http://www.zorgatlas.nl/beinvloedende-factoren/demografie/etniciteit/niet-westerse-allochtonen-2009/> [last visit: 30-08-2013].

Figure 3. Distribution of pupils according to ethnic group in secondary education



source: CBS 2009, in Nederlands Jeugdinstituut

2.2 Previous research

Since this study consists of two different ‘sets’ of data, namely the discourse analysis of coursebooks, and the empirically collected data among teachers and pupils, I present the previous research in two different sections. In both these sections researchers indicate a lack of research conducted in this area of study (van Dijk 1987; Verkuyten and Thijs 2002; Hogervorst 2004). The first paragraph (2.2.1) presents studies researching the occurrence of discrimination/racism in schools/education and working life in the Netherlands and educational segregation as a form of discrimination.

Verkuyten and Thijs (2002) indicate that in international research there are some good ethnographic studies on the character and impact of racist and discriminatory practices in education (Troyna and Hatcher 1992, Connolly 1998, both cited in Verkuyten and Thijs 2002: 224). They state, however, that, in general, there is a lack of large-scale studies investigating the extent of racist practices in schools, and whether it is a widespread phenomenon or not. In the Dutch case I was unable to find a lot of (scientific) studies conducted in schools regarding the occurrence or experience of discrimination, prejudice, discrimination and racism in education. I found one survey conducted in secondary schools (Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn 1993),

which, unfortunately, I was unable to access. Additionally, I found some surveys conducted in secondary schools (Verkuyten and Thijs 2002). Furthermore, I found a study conducted in (two departments of) a *Hogeschool* or Higher Vocational Education institution (De Beuk 2009). This study was not a social scientific research project, but was commissioned by the Dutch national Commission for Equal Treatment (*Commissie Gelijke Behandeling – CGB*), and performed by an independent research body (De Beuk) to investigate several official complaints that had been made to the CGB.

Finally, I found a journalistic study that discusses socio-economic segregation in education, as a cause for unequal opportunities and discrimination (Vink 2010). And two studies conducted focused on the (acquiring of) intercultural competences among teachers in (new) teacher education projects (Leeman and Ledoux 2003, 2010). Regarding the discourse analysis of course books I found mainly three studies conducted, two on history books (Hogervorst 2004; Aztouti 2012) and one on study of society books (van Dijk 1987), of which this last study was conducted some 25 years ago. I did not find any more recent study on this matter.

2.2.1 The treatment of the themes respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism in Dutch education

A journalistic study conducted by Anja Vink (2010) in the course of ten years shows and questions the segregation in the Dutch education system. Whereas it has become rather commonplace in the Netherlands to use the terms ‘white schools’ (for schools with a majority of ethnic ‘white’ pupils) and ‘black schools’ (schools with a majority of pupils from an ethnic minority), she questions these stigmatising terms. She rather argues that the core of this ‘phenomenon’ is caused by socio-economic segregation of the lower classes in society (which consist of both ethnic majority and minority people) and the character of the Dutch education system (the division into vmbo, havo, vwo, or ‘lower’ vocational, ‘higher’ vocational and preparatory university education), which keeps confirming and reproducing this segregation.

In several survey studies Verkuyten and Thijs (two in 2000, and one in 2002; both reported in their 2002 paper) investigated ‘racist victimisation’ as experienced and perceived by primary school pupils of Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese ethnic backgrounds. In the 2002 study, they focused on (racist) name-calling and (perceived and/or experienced) social exclusion from play, as well as how pupils perceived the discrimination against others of their own ethnic background. Verkuyten and Thijs (2002) concluded that Dutch kids reported less incidences of racist name-calling than kids from the three ethnic minority groups. Turkish kids reported the largest amount of racist name-calling (more than their Moroccan and Surinamese counterparts). The researchers relate this observation to previous research which indicates that the Turkish were the least accepted ethnic minority in the country (Hagendoorn 1995; Verkuyten and Kinket 2000, both cited in Verkuyten and Thijs 2002: 324-325), and that mistreatment was more often

connected to a Turkish background in the Netherlands than to any other ethnic group¹ (Verkuyten 1997, cited in Verkuyten 2002). Another interesting finding was that Dutch children reported being discriminated against more often when they indicated that more attention was given to multicultural issues in class, whereas the amount of attention given in class to these issues did not have an effect on the reported discrimination of minority kids.

What I missed in this study, however, was a more critical distinction between the ethnic majority kids (referred to as the Dutch) and the ethnic minority kids (referred to as Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese). It takes all the claims of racist victimisation in the same way (only indicating that Dutch kids perceive less racist name-calling than the others) without taking into account their dominant position in society as being part of the majority.

A last interesting result that came forth from this study, was that kids (from all ethnic backgrounds) reported less incidences of racist bullying, when they felt that they could count on the support of their teacher. Therefore Verkuyten and Thijs (2002: 326) suggest that the actual practice of (multicultural) education and the informal contacts between pupils and their teacher may be more important or have more impact on (anti-)discrimination/racism, than the official features of education, such as the curriculum. Verkuyten and Thijs (2002: 311) state that in order to study/get an insight into the occurrence and extent of racism in schools, it is also important to consider the issue of school segregation or desegregation and the implementation of forms of multicultural and anti-racist education. They explain that in various countries programmes have been established and incorporated in curricula to counter racism and discrimination, and to encourage positive intergroup relations.

Leeman and Ledoux (2003a) present an evaluation of such a programme/project in the Netherlands. This project aimed at developing new forms of intercultural education in schools in the Netherlands, which would be relevant for teachers in their daily practice, and that would be more inclusive of both minority and majority perspectives. Leeman and Ledoux (2003) conclude that this programme indeed provides more attention to individual differences between pupils (instead of having a standardised notion of ‘the pupil’) and has thus made important improvements, but that according to a ‘critical perspective of multiculturalism’ the project is still lagging behind.

1 This may have changed in the ten years since this research has been conducted. I have no statistical or research data on this assumption, but with the changes in the political and media climate in the country (and the murder of film-maker Theo van Gogh by a Moroccan-Dutch fundamentalist), a larger (often negative) media focus has come to lie on the ethnic minorities often referred to now as ‘the Muslims’ (mostly still Turks and Moroccans) and to Moroccan youths more in general ‘causing trouble in the streets’. Therefore the largest focus of racism may have switched from the Turks to the Moroccans.

In another study Leeman and Ledoux (2003b), state that the developing of ‘intercultural competences’ is still not a fully integrated element of teacher training in the Netherlands. In this study they research the results of another government programme initiated by the Ministry of Education that was aimed at operationalising intercultural education in preservice teacher education in the country. Leeman and Ledoux (2010) conclude that presently this intercultural education is/seems too superficial and does not provide a very critical view. They argue this is related to the character of higher education in the Netherlands currently, which is largely focussed on self-regulated learning processes, and lacks connection with the intercultural practices in schools.

2.2.2 Discourse analysis of Dutch course books regarding the themes

Not many studies have been conducted yet regarding school books in the Netherlands (Hogervorst 2006: 16). Searching for research performing (discourse) analysis in Dutch school books in relation to the themes of this study, I found three studies that did a similar job. One of them focused on the study of society course books and the other two on history course books (one for primary education and one for secondary education). The first was a research published in 1987 by linguist Teun van Dijk (who specialises on (Critical) Discourse Analysis). This study focuses on the ‘reproduction of racism in (all) the school books of the course study of society’ that were available in 1986 (van Dijk 1987: 51). The two other studies are more focused on Dutch historiography in relation to the colonial past. The first of these is a very recent master thesis conducted by cultural historian Warda Aztouti in 2012, which explores the question whether history course books in the lower grades of secondary schools express a post-colonial awareness (Aztouti 2012). The third study is a Ph. D. study performed by Lucia Hogervorst, that analysed history course books for primary schools from 1945 to 2000 to explore how perceptions of the ‘colonial relations’ and ‘colonial other’ have changed over this time.

Analysis of a ‘study of society’ book

Teun van Dijk (1987) offers an extensive and in-depth analysis of the way ethnic minorities are represented in the content of the ‘study of society’ course books available in 1986. This analysis included mainly migration in general, backgrounds and history, position within society, ethnic interrelations and prejudice, discrimination and racism. The aim was to establish to what extent school books in a multi-ethnic society were able to transmit knowledge about ethnic minorities and to transmit inter-ethnic relational skills (van Dijk 1987: 147). Hereby van Dijk (ibid.) (also) examined to what extent stereotypical and prejudiced ideas were reproduced in the course books. In general terms, van Dijk (1987: 60) found that in the course books two main themes (concerning minorities) receive most attention: the (then) current position of ethnic minorities and discrimination. Hereby discrimination was often discussed in quite general terms, and often not concerning the situation of the Netherlands or the political implications.

Finally van Dijk (1987: 147) shows that of the 43 books only half (23) contain passages – mostly short – about minority groups in Dutch society, and the largest focus lies on the labour migrants from Turkey and Morocco (with only very few mentioning of Moluccans and Surinamese, and none regarding Antillians or other ethnic minorities). The perspective used is mostly a ‘we’ perspective, referring to the white Dutch majority. The fact that there may be pupils with a minority background is seldom taken into consideration. Only a few themes are discussed, mainly the presence in the Netherlands, discrimination in general (with mostly references to that term, if at all, regarding the situation in the US or South-Africa), and ‘cultural differences’. These ‘cultural differences’, van Dijk (1987: 148) argues, are treated in a very stereotypical way, in which the large focus is on the characteristics of the ‘foreigners’ and their ‘backwards’ ideas (such as the position of women or arranged marriages). People with a migrant background are often (stereotypically) portrayed in a subordinate position, for example regarding work ‘we [the Dutch] brought them here’ to do the dirty work ‘we’ no longer wanted to perform – without giving attention to the migrants’ contributions to the Dutch culture and economy in the form of other employment, such as teachers, grocery shop owners, doctors, musicians or scientists (van Dijk 1987: 61). In sum, van Dijk (1987: 148) explains, minority groups are often associated with problems, ‘they’ have to adapt to ‘our’ values and norms and discrimination against them is often downplayed.

Analysis of history books

The study conducted by Hogervorst (2004) aimed at getting an insight into what kind of imagery history school books in primary schools conveyed regarding the Dutch colonial past (in the period between 1945-2000), from which perspective this happened, and how this changed in the span of these 55 years. She analysed both the fragments included about the ‘Dutch Indies’ and Surinam. As the material of her research she analysed nine methods from the 1950s, five from the 1970s and five from the 1990s. Hogervorst observed that both in the 1950s and the 1970s very little to no attention was paid to colonialism and slavery. The Dutch missionaries were portrayed as heroes, while the local population and slaves were barely mentioned. Only a few (and often marginal) methods gave a more critical and slightly more extended view on it. When more extensive attention was given to slavery, for example, this was often ‘other people’s’ slavery, such as that of the Portuguese and Spanish, or American slavery, but not so much the Dutch involvement in it. This changed drastically in the course books of the 1990s, where extensive attention was given to slavery in many course books. This attention was often critical and nuanced, offering a critical account of the brutalities done to them; and in several books attention was also given to slaves’ resistance to the oppression, opposing a merely victimised view of them. Hogervorst concludes that much ethnocentrism has been replaced by cultural relativism. She does, however, indicate that in the 2000s a renewed attention has arisen in ‘the Dutch perspective’, with for example a method introduced in 2004, which again conceals the Dutch role in colonialism (Hogervorst 2006).

Aztouti (2012: 4) places her study within the larger contemporary multicultural debate in the Netherlands regarding Dutch national identity. She indicates that the colonial history of the Netherlands has finally obtained a place in the *scientific* history discourse in the Netherlands within the post-colonial theories, although, she argues, (still) only in the periphery (Aztouti 2012: 34). In her thesis, she investigates the question about up to what extent this post-colonial awareness is given a place in common *societal* discourse, as expressed within history course books. For this, she analyses four history course books deemed representative for present-day Dutch history education, including both secular and confessional books from the years 2000 to 2010. She focuses in her analysis on the treatment of the colonial ties between the Netherlands and Indonesia (formerly ‘Dutch East Indies’). She concludes that the colonial past is, indeed, extensively discussed in the books, and that these books try to offer an objective, neutral and nuanced image of the happenings, but that descriptions often (still) are too one-sided, simplistic and offer stereotypical images of the native population of Indonesia. Aztouti (2012: 35) finally argues that the books show little post-colonial awareness, and that the post-colonial discourse has not lead to a self-critical attitude in Dutch history teaching.

2.3 Education in the Netherlands

To understand the Dutch national education system it is important to shortly reflect on the historical development of it and to explain its overall aims and goals.

2.3.1 Roots of the Dutch education system

The foundation of a national and centralised Dutch education system, as it presently exists, was laid during the period of French domination in the Netherlands, with the introduction of primary education on a national scale in 1803 and 1806 (Stellwag 1967: 360). 1806 was the year the first school law was enacted, which aimed at primary education for all¹. State schools for primary education were established, which were ground on a protestant-Christian basis, and aimed at teaching both social and Christian virtues. Other types of schools were allowed, but did not receive government funding. This caused a lot of anger among the Catholic population who thought the so-called ‘public schools’ were too much based on a Protestant-Christian basis, and felt subordinated. The, on a Dutch national level, famous ‘school conflict’ began, in order to achieve equal rights for all possible religious or philosophical bases for education. Apart from these different religious and/or philosophical backgrounds in education, several other types of schools existed or were (privately) established, each catering for a different social group, e.g. ‘Trade School’ (‘Ambachtsschool’), ‘School of Domestic Science’ (‘Huishoudschool’), ‘More Extended Basic Education’ (‘meer uitgebreid lager onderwijs’ (mulo)), etc.

¹ <http://www.multicultureelopleiden.nl/samenleving/onderwijs/het-onderwijssysteem/> (last checked: 22 July 2013).

Secondary education as a general post-primary education was not legally organised until the enactment of the law on secondary education in 1863 (Stellwag 1967: 361). The ‘Hogere Burgerschool’ (HBS), literally meaning ‘Senior Citizen School’, but more correctly translated as ‘Upper-middle-class School’, was then founded to provide a more general education after primary school. However, with the implementation of this law, education was still organised according to the class society as it existed in the Netherlands: HBS and gymnasium (including the ‘classics’) for the high bourgeoisie and intellectual elites, who were being prepared for a university education; the Secondary School for Girls (‘Middelbare Meisjesschool’, MMS), for the middle-class girls who were raised to become ‘well-educated’ wives and mothers; and the vocational schools for trade, industry/manufacturing and the civil services (Dekkers & Evrengun 2002).

The 1963/1968 Law on Secondary Education, popularly called the ‘Mammoth Law’, was an attempt to change the class-based education system in the Netherlands. The different types of education, which were highly segregated until then, were brought together into one education system, in order to provide pupils the possibility to change more easily among the different levels. To better facilitate this process, a ‘bridging year’ that was general for all students, was introduced in the first year of secondary school, after which the ‘adequate level’ for each student could be chosen. The different types of secondary education that existed up till then (HBS, and MMS) were replaced by vwo (Preparatory Academic Education), havo (Higher General Secondary Education), mavo (Intermediate General Secondary Education) and lbo/vbo (Lower Vocational Education/Preparatory Vocational Education) (mavo and lbo/vbo later joined together into vmbo (Preparatory Secondary Vocational Education)).

2.3.2 The Dutch education system today

In the Netherlands the national education system is strictly centralised¹, and practically all primary and secondary education is state-funded². The curriculum for all subjects is formulated by the state, and all schools are obliged to adhere to that, or at least enough as to allow students to take their final central exams (these are the same for all pupils in the Netherlands) at the end of their school career. The state distinguishes mainly four different types of schools (Rijksoverheid 2013³). The first type of school is the *Openbare school*, which could be translated literally as ‘Public school’; these schools are the common state-schools and have no religious background, are open to pupils of all religions and life philosophies and offer general education according

1 Which means that the curricula for all the subjects, the offered hours per subject, the maximum number of pupils per class and the qualifications of teachers, etc. are regulated centrally and equal for all schools in the country.

2 Only a very few private secondary schools exist, mostly on secondary school level, which usually are schools offering vmbo/havo/vwo courses at an accelerated pace and more intense guidance (2 last years within 1 year).

3 See the official website of the government: <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/basisonderwijs/soorten-basisscholen> (last checked: 23 July 2013).

to the curriculum. The second type are the *Bijzondere scholen*, the so-called ‘Special schools’. This term refers to schools which have their basis in a particular religion or life philosophy. Traditionally this was either Roman-Catholic or Protestant-Christian, but presently there are also Islamic and Hindu schools. These schools are usually also open to all pupils. The third category are the *Algemeen bijzondere scholen*, or ‘General special schools’; these schools offer (most often public) education from particular pedagogical perspectives, of which Montessori-, Dalton-, Waldorf- (based on the ideas of Rudolf Steiner) and Jenaplan- schools are the best-known in the Netherlands. The fourth and last category are the Schools for Special Education (*Scholen voor Speciaal onderwijs*), these schools provide more specialised attention for pupils with a handicap or chronic disease (Rijksoverheid 2013).

Previously, all public schools were state-schools and other types of schools had their own boards; this has shifted, and presently all schools fall under foundation boards¹ (‘bestuursstichtingen’). This has diminished the ‘gap’ between independent education forms and state education. All schools that meet the accreditation requirements of the government, regardless of their religious or pedagogical background/conviction, receive government funding (and are considered part of the public education system).

Education in the Netherlands is fully compulsory from the age of 5 until the age of 16. Additionally, since 2007 there is a ‘qualification duty’ until the age of 18². There are separate primary and secondary schools. Primary school generally consists of 8 consecutive years of schooling, from the age of 4 or 5 until the age of 12. After that, pupils start their secondary school attendance. Secondary school in The Netherlands is organised in several separate levels. The level to which a pupil receives access after primary school, is based upon a combination of his or her teacher’s advice and the advice of an ‘independent test’ (‘Cito-toets’³) performed in the 8th grade of primary school.

The first level is called vwo (Preparatory Academic Education), a 6-year’s schooling which gives direct access to university. This type of education has two sub-divisions: Gymnasium, which in addition to the common curriculum, offers education in the classical languages Latin and Greek (and has its roots in Medieval times), and Atheneum, which offers all the same courses as Gymnasium except Greek and Latin. The second is the 5 year education called

1 See Wikipedia: http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bijzonder_onderwijs (last checked: 23 July 2013).

2 A ‘start qualification’ means a diploma on secondary school levels havo or vwo, or on post vbmo-level mbo (Middelbaar beroepsonderwijs).

3 According to the Cito website the exam is a “learning process test” which according to them ‘measures how much a child has learned in 8 years of primary education. The score of the test is a good predictor of the future success in the different types of secondary education. That is because the exam indirectly measures several properties that are of great importance in pupils’ (future) career, such as learning speed, concentration, motivation, perservance, and intelligence.’ Checked on: http://www.cito.nl/Onderwijs/Primair%20onderwijs/eind-toets_basionderwijs/faq.aspx (last checked: 23 July 2013).

havo (Higher General Secondary Education), which gives access to Dutch hbo ('Hoger Beroepsonderwijs') or 'Hogeschool', in translation: 'Higher Vocational Education'. Studies included in this education are, for example, journalism, social work, nursing and physiotherapy. The last type of education is vmbo, or 'Preparatory Intermediate Vocational Education', a four year, mainly vocational-oriented, programme that is sub-divided into 4 levels, the 'lowest' one being almost entirely vocational, and the 'highest' mainly theoretical. This education prepares for mbo ('Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs'), which is 'Intermediate Vocational Education', and can be accessed according to any preparatory level a pupil finished. Mbo is again a four year education; it can be terminated after each grade or level, each giving a more specialised diploma. Finishing up to the second level (or year) gives the compulsory 'start qualification' and finishing up to the fourth access to Higher Vocational Education (hbo).

2.3.3 Area of study 'Person and Society'

In 2006 the state's core aims for secondary education were revised. With this change, the subjects study of society, geography, history and economics were brought together in one general 'area of study' called Person and Society. In havo and vwo education these courses are still offered as separate courses, but in (some) vmbo schools the separate courses have been integrated into one course 'person and society'¹. Within this study I have interviewed teachers of the courses 'study of society' ('maatschappijleer'), 'social sciences' ('maatschappijwetenschappen') and 'person & society' ('mens & maatschappij'), because it is in these courses that the themes of my study would receive the most specialised/ focussed attention. Therefore, I will mainly elaborate further on these three courses here. The course of 'history' will also be treated, although more briefly, because less focus has come to lie there. The subject study of society is compulsory for all three levels: vmbo, havo and vwo. In havo and vwo it is given in 4th grade and in vmbo in 3rd grade. Vmbo, in addition, has the subject, or area of study, person & society in the first two grades. In the fourth and last grade vmbo has the optional course study of society 2. For the highest level of vwo, some schools offer the optional additional course 'social sciences'. This course is offered in 5th and 6th grade, after finishing study of society. History as a course is offered both in primary school (as a short introduction) and in secondary school.

The introduction of history as an optional school-subject happened already in 1806 within the first education law, and in 1857 history became compulsory in primary education (Grever and Ribbens 2007: 54). Until more or less 1965 'national history' ('vaderlandse geschiedenis') as a course remained a central aspect of primary education. With the 1863 law a more independent history education was instituted. In secondary education, on the gymnasia, history of the 'classics' such as Greek and Roman history was important. With the secondary education law of 1876 the 'historic canon' was officially implemented for all secondary education and later also for mulo schools (Grever and Ribbens 2007: 55).

¹ This is also the case for the vmbo school in which I did my fieldwork.

Study of society was established as a part of the Mammoth law in the beginning of the 1970s. In the first concepts as formulated by the government the subject would not have a prescribed content, there would not be a special education for the subject's teachers and there would not be a central final exam. Soon, however, on several universities social scientists and pedagogues started to further elaborate the course. With the introduction of an optional central exam, the subject obtained a more formal(ised) character. As mentioned before, presently, study of society is a compulsory course.

3. Theoretical framework

The central concepts I study in the fieldwork of my thesis are respect, and prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination and racism. Since they are inherently related to the (ideological) construction of the group identities of culture, ethnicity and national identity, it is first of all relevant to go into some of the literature about these concepts and to clarify the definitions or ideas I use in this work. To understand the processes of prejudice/stereotyping, discrimination and racism, however, it is first important to understand the concepts of ethnicity and national identity – as defining concepts of inter-group relations – since discriminatory processes are embedded in inter-group relations. The terms ethnicity and national identity will first be explained in paragraph 3.1. Then, in paragraph 3.2, I will discuss the processes of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination and the interrelations between them. In paragraph 3.3, next to a description of the concept of everyday racism (Essed 1991; 2002), as it is experienced by people – in which the institutional level and all other small expressions are seen as operating together – I discuss the concept of (ethnic) minorisation (Rath 1999).

Respect is a concept that can be the subject of extensive research and philosophical thoughts on its own. For the purpose of this study, however, I am interested in the meaning of the concept for teachers and pupils, and its relation to (countering) prejudice discrimination and racism. Therefore, for the purpose of my study I will stick to a relatively short definition of respect. Respect can be defined on various levels of abstraction, from a more superficial ‘live and let live’ to a full valuing of someone else’s equal humanity¹. Oxford dictionary defines respect, in the following meanings that may be relevant for this study, as 1) ‘a feeling of deep admiration for someone or something elicited by their abilities, qualities, or achievements’, and 2) a ‘due regard for the feelings, wishes, or rights of others’². The word respect stems from the Latin word re-spectare, which means ‘to look again at’ or ‘to observe the other from another angle’, and ‘to keep confronting yourself with the other’.

Discrimination is mentioned in the Dutch constitution, in which article 1 states: ‘Every person that is located in the Netherlands, is treated equally in equal situations. Discrimination on account of religion, belief (philosophy of life), political affiliation, race, sex, or on any other ground, is not permitted.’ (cited in Olgers, Schra & Veldman 2012: 167). Discrimination therefore means: the unequal treatment of a person (or group) according to any ground (not only ethnic or ‘racial’ background). Anyone who deviates from the norm of the majority can be discriminated. At the same time, anyone can be an actor in this process. I believe it is important to stress this, because in the term discrimination the different social categories a person can have in society may intersect with each other.

1 http://www.universele-beschaving.nl/Universele_beschaving__definit/body_universele_beschaving__definit.html (last checked: 16 September 2013).

2 Oxford Dictionaries, checked online: <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/respect> (last checked: 16 September 2013).

Through an intersectional framework, the intersections between the various social categories or identities a person has in society are analysed in relation to each other. Gloria Wekker (2009: 102) uses a simple and to the point definition of intersectionality. According to Wekker, 'intersectionality refers to both a theory and a method which have as central insights that gender and "race" / ethnicity (and other axes of significance such as class, sexuality, age, religion etc.) operate simultaneously as social and symbolic grammars of difference and co-construct each other'. It is a theory and methodology taken from gender studies, and even though the focus of my study is not (directly) focused on gender, I find it a very relevant framework through which to analyse my data. In my study I mostly found the 'social category' of class or education level to intersect significantly with ethnicity and nationality (all being related to discrimination or social exclusion).

3.1 Ethnicity and national identity

3.1.1 Ethnicity or ethnic group

In more academic circles in the Netherlands the term ethnic minority is often used (Bovenkerk 1999, cited in Essed and Nimako 2006: 300). This word is, like many other terms used in the migration discourse, however, not free of value, and several views and definitions of it exist (Eriksen 2002: 4). Eriksen (2002) explains that the word ethnicity has often been used in the past to refer to issues around 'minorities' and 'race relations', and it is often still used this way in contemporary 'everyday language'. This interpretation of the concept has often created negative connotations, as Eriksen (ibid) shows with the example of the use of the term 'ethnics' in the United States during World War 2 to 'politely' refer to people considered inferior to the dominant groups (of mostly British descent), such as Italians, Jews and Irish.

In social anthropology, however, Eriksen (2002: 4) explains that the term ethnicity 'refers to aspects of relationships between groups which consider themselves, and are regarded by others, as being culturally distinctive'. He emphasises the inter-group relational aspect in this: an ethnic group identity is formed in contact/interaction with other groups. Another element important in this definition is that both members of majority groups and of minority groups are considered ethnic groups, not only the minorities in a society. Wekker (2006) in this regard for example criticises the fact that in much psychological and social science research is centred on white middle-class European or American people, and does not take into consideration that these identities are also 'racialised' or ethnicised. Contrastingly, on the other hand, in research done on people with another ethnic (or 'racial') background, the construction or intersection of ethnicity is seen to play an important role. Often results of such psychological or social-scientific research are considered 'objective' and generalised to a larger population, but in this process in a very subtle way the 'white middle-class Euro-American' identity is normalised, while all others are (in a way) exoticised. This example shows how 'race' (or ethnicity) is in

Wekker's (2009: 100) words 'a powerful, but inadvertent organiser'. Therefore, I find Eriksen's definition useful, because it acknowledges that ethnicity is a social construction that belongs to both minorities and majorities. To operationalise the notion of ethnicity I add the definition of Joanne Nagel (2003: 6) that ethnicity refers to 'differences between individuals and groups in skin colour, language, religion, culture, national origin/nationality, or sometimes geographical region'. Any of these 'groupings', or a combination of several of them, can come to form an ethnic group or identity.

3.1.2 National identity

I take on the notion that the colonial model of racism and the model of racism related to the foundation of the nation-state are related to each other. The formation of nation-states in Europe coincided with the imperial and later colonial project(s) of many of the western-European countries and (later) nation-states (Grever and Ribbens 2007). Rather than one European expansion running over the world, the colonial projects of the different rising nation-states in Western-Europe, served (to the outside European world) as a stage on which to show the greatness of their empires and (to the inside national world) to enforce the sense of national identity (Stoler 1995; Grever and Ribbens 2007: 49). In the case of the Netherlands, particularly the annexation of the Indonesian archipelago strengthened the national awareness (especially among the higher classes) (ibid.).

The creation of national unity/identity or the 'imagined community' of the nation was thus a force working in two directions at the same time: to the inner national level and to the outer European level. Another fundamental tool for the creation of a national identity in the different European countries was the reorganisation of collective memories into a canon of national history, and the creation of 'history' as an apparently scientific discipline (Grever and Ribbens 2007: 53).

On a national level, education, and especially history education, served as a tool to 'educate the masses to become virtuous citizens who were willing to put themselves to the service of the nation' (Stuurman 1992: 237-243, cited in Grever & Ribbens 2007: 36, author's translation). Grever and Ribbens (2007: 53) here cite the illustrative phrases of Rousseau (1964: vol. III, 380, cited in Schulze 1996: 86): 'One must force the individual to bring his will in conformity with the state, one must teach the people what they want'. In the Netherlands the education law of 1857 made history into a compulsory course, of which the main objective was 'to create a warm patriotism as a component of the national upbringing [e.g. education]' (Toebes 1976, cited in Grever and Ribbens 2007: 55).

3.2 Prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination

Dovidio *et al.* (2010: 3) relate the theorising around prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination to the understanding of *intergroup* bias in more general terms. Thereby they refer to intergroup bias as a tendency to structurally evaluate members of one's own group in a positive way, while evaluating members of other groups (the 'outgroup') in a less positive or even negative way. They explain that the number of studies around prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination has increased greatly in the course of the 20th century and that these phenomena have not only been studied from sociological and anthropological perspectives, but also from social psychology, political science, and even neuroscience. Also the number of perspectives and approaches has increased significantly. While early studies focused on these processes according to individual differences, in the 1970s and 1980s an interest grew in the cognitive processes that lead to prejudice and stereotyping, but at the same time in other studies how social- and group processes and social identities of people affect prejudice and stereotyping. Both on the (micro) psychological and neurological level of research and on the macro level of societal structures – which permeate social and judicial institutions – the study of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination has established itself as a broad and interdisciplinary body of knowledge (Dovidio *et al.* 2010: 4).

Prejudice and stereotyping are ways in which ethnic or class-based groups define their group boundaries, and their distinctiveness from other (ethnic or class) groups (Eriksen 2002; Dovidio *et al.* 2010). Prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination are closely related to, and mutually influence each other. Many researchers do, however, indicate a distinction between the three phenomena. While prejudice reflects an individual-level *attitude* towards a group, stereotypes are *associations* and *images* that are attributed to (members of) a group as a whole, and discrimination is a biased *behaviour* towards- or *treatment* of others (Dovidio *et al.* 2010: 5). (Social) psychologists point at the psychological functions of prejudice and stereotyping (such as the arranging or organising of people's environment and the boosting of people's self-esteem) and sociologists emphasise the inter-group relational aspects of these processes. Dovidio *et al.* (2010) stress that all three phenomena – although not necessarily consciously – are negative in their impact. In the case of prejudice and stereotyping, these attitudes and ideas may be held both explicitly and implicitly; thus people are not necessarily aware of having these (negative or paternalistic) ideas of certain others.

Prejudice is defined as a phenomenon that operates primarily on the individual level (but of course in relation to (inter-)group dynamics), as an attitude people have, which they may explicitly express or not and which generates or preserves hierarchical relations between groups (Dovidio *et al.* 2010: 7). Dovidio *et al.* explain that most researchers emphasise the negative aspect in prejudice, but that this is not necessarily *clear-cut* negative; it can also be 'disguised'

as a positive message which gives expression to paternalistic ideas. Prejudice organises people's social environment and positions people within it, and it can improve people's self-esteem. Both members of advantaged groups in a society as well as members of disadvantaged groups can feel prejudice; but Dovidio *et al.* stress that this prejudice is often reactionary.

Stereotypes, according to Dovidio *et al.* (2010: 8), are associations and images people have of another group (and its individual members) that are associated with the social role this group has or performs in society, and that systematically shape the way people think about and respond to members of the other group. They continue to explain that some stereotypes stem from specific inter-group relations in history (like in the case of the enslavement of West-African people by European traders or the social positioning of Jews because of their exclusion from other jobs in Europe since the Middle ages). However, in many other cases stereotypes are influenced by systematic attributions given to groups according to the social status of the group and the connection felt to it more generally. Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2002: 23-24) provides another additional definition of stereotyping for analytical purposes: '[stereotyping is] the creation and consistent application of standardised notions of the cultural distinctiveness of a group'. Eriksen (2002) therefore considers generalised (mostly positive) images of the own group also as stereotyping. Just as Dovidio *et al.* explain regarding prejudice, he adds to this that stereotypes can equally be held by dominating groups as by dominated groups; and adds that the occurrence of them is just as common in societies with a large power inequality, as in societies with a greater power balance. Eriksen (2002: 25) mentions three causes and uses for the creation of stereotypes:

1. '[...] Stereotypes help the individual to create order in an otherwise excruciatingly complicated universe. (They make it possible to divide the social world into kinds of people, and they provide simple criteria for such a classification. They give the individual the impression that he or she understands society.);
2. 'Stereotypes can justify privileges and differences in access to a society's resources. (Conversely, negative stereotypes directed towards a ruling group may alleviate feelings of powerlessness and resignation: they can be the symbolic revenge of the downtrodden.);
3. 'Stereotypes are crucial in defining one's own group. [...] in the vast majority of cases stereotypes imply, in some way or other, the superiority of one's own group.'

Stereotypes can thus have a moral character and be related to discrimination, as this can be justified by stereotypes. Dovidio *et al.* (2010: 7) add that 'stereotypes can not only promote discrimination by systematically influencing perceptions, interpretations, and judgements, but they also arise from and are reinforced by discrimination, justifying disparities between groups'. Nevertheless, Eriksen stresses that the most prominent role of stereotypes is the role they play in defining someone's group identity in relation to other groups. Nagel (2003: 9-10) explains that politics of sexuality play an important role in defining and maintaining ethnic boundaries. Hereby she points out that one of the main ways that any ethnic group applies to ensure the maintenance of itself is the social exclusion of sexual relationships between different

ethnic groups. Stereotypes are often sustained (cognitively), because people tend to (choose to) see the ‘others’ through the stereotypical idea they have of them (discounting/ignoring the a-stereotypical behaviour of the other as an incidental thing), while (socially) people often start behaving according to the stereotypes to which they are ascribed, serving as a self-fulfilling prophecy (Dovidio *et al.* 2010: 8).

Discrimination [by an individual] is defined by Dovidio *et al.* (2010: 10) ‘as behaviour that creates, maintains, or reinforces advantage for some groups and their members over other groups and their members’. Hereby they distinguish between behaviour that is actively negatively expressed toward others, and the positive advantaging of the (members of the) own group at the expense of others. Allport (1954, cited in Dovidio *et al.* 2010: 9) indicates that since people grow up in their own [social, class and cultural] group, there is a psychological preference for the in-group, and he argues that this ‘love-prejudice is far more basic to human life than is ... hate-prejudice’. Dovidio *et al.* indicate that a lot of research since this observation has indeed indicated that in-group favouritism frequently happens as a form of inter-group bias, even when outspoken negative responses do not occur. Regarding explicit resentment or rejection of an out-group, they explain that the encounter with an out-group can create negative emotions in the in-group, if the in-group feels in a certain way threatened. These negative emotions can vary from relatively ‘mild’ (such as disgust and avoidance), when the in-group perceives a violation of their norms; to stronger feelings (such as contempt or anger), when the in-group feels the out-group is benefiting from ‘the in-group’s resources’; to even feelings of fear and aggression when the perceived threat increases.

Hereby I have tried to clarify the connections and mutual influence between prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination. There is relative overlap between the three concepts, but by putting them next to each other, the process of inter-group bias is more broadly illustrated. About the connection between discrimination and racism on the individual level and discrimination/racism as it is embedded in the institutional and structural level(s) of society, I will say more in the next paragraph.

3.3 Racism or minorisation?

Racism, I have come to understand, is a very ambiguous concept. It is, contrary to common definitions given in school-books, not easily captured in a one-lined definition, if at all possible to define. A disadvantage of the concept of racism, as I understand it, is that it does not capture all forms of discrimination (like discrimination on the base of gender or sexism, sexuality, a handicap, age, class, education level, etc.). Therefore I find Jan Rath’s concept of (ethnic) minorisation quite useful. However, I also find Philomena Essed’s (1991; 2002) concept of everyday racism useful in its definition and explanation of racism as it is experienced on an

everyday basis. Here I will discuss both Essed's concept of everyday racism and Rath's concept of (ethnic) minorisation.

Racism has an ideological component: an expression of racism is any expression made from the idea or notion of a person's or a group's own superiority (Essed 1991, 2002; Dovidio *et al.* 2010). *Everyday racism*, according to Essed (2002), includes all the small and more structural forms or expressions of racism that people encounter in their daily life. It is interwoven in the tissue of society (Essed 2002: 179). An important aspect of everyday racism experienced by the 'victims' of it is that it includes (a systematic) underestimation, rejection, exclusion and inferiorisation by others in their surroundings (colleagues, shop attendants, teachers, etc.). These racist expressions are thus integrated into the 'victim's' daily life (Essed 1991: 146). The fact that these expressions of underestimation and inferiorisation are systematic does not have to mean that all persons (of the dominant ethnic group) in the social surroundings are necessarily active players in this process. These expressions do, however, give an indication of the unequal power balance that often exists between the people expressing them and the people ('victims') receiving them. The person expressing racism may have felt 'empowered' to do so, because of '[...] the consciously or unconsciously felt security of belonging to the group in power', while feeling backed by the passive consent of his/her group (Essed 2002: 182). Situations in which members of minorities are made to feel inferior or underestimated in their potential (because of their minority background) can finally be brought back to a more general ideological underpinning. In this notion of racism, not only the most blatant expressions of racism – such as being physically harassed or threatened, verbally abused or denied a job – are considered part of racist practices, but also the more invisible forms of oppression encountered in everyday life are included (*ibid.*). Lidia van den Broek (2009) adds to this that processes of everyday racism is kept in motion by both members of the ethnic majority and members of ethnic minorities in their daily life encounters, because on both sides expectations occur of how the other will respond or behave. Van den Broek (2009) adds that (in the context of the Netherlands) patterns of everyday racism are *paradoxically* maintained, through the ideal of 'equality for all' that is very present in Dutch society. This is because a majority of people pursues equality, and does not want to hear about differences, when discrimination then occurs, this is silenced away (both by the majority and the minority), reinforcing the experience of everyday racism.

Jan Rath (1999) opposes the notion that the only real or most important form of racism is that of white people against dark people. In this argument he follows the line of thought of the British sociologist Miles not to (merely) take the colonial model as the frame of reference in the theorising of the concept of racism. Rather, Rath argues that to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of present-day racism, it would be better to take the formation of nation-states as a point of departure. For the formation of the nation-state the creation of the imagined community

of the nation (a concept introduced by Benedict Andersson) has been very important (Rath 1999; Grever and Ribbens 2007). Rath explains that racism is one of the ideologies that is involved in the creation of these sentiments. He argues in line with Miles that this process does not only involve 'racism of the exterior', but also (what Miles calls) 'racism of the interior'. 'Racism of the interior' refers to the problematisation of certain social groups in society whose lifestyle deviates from the norm. In both cases certain groups of people 'are ideologically excluded from the imagined community on the grounds of the negative evaluation of racialized features, while the remaining members of society are ideologically included on the grounds of the positive evaluation of them' (Rath 1999: 10).

At least for the context of the Netherlands, Rath, however, introduces and subsequently prefers to use the concept of (ethnic) minorisation, rather than 'racism', because he considers the ideological representation of the 'other' to be more based on socio-cultural features than on racialised features in this case. He argues for this terminology because the socio-cultural features are not seen as fixed or naturalised, but rather as flexible and changeable and that policies and social work institutions have actually aimed at changing people's behaviour to better fit the normatives.

Although both Essed and Rath emphasise the ideological element in the exclusion of people, I believe here lies the fundamental difference in their argument. What I find important about Rath's argument is that he adds the element of class difference to the discussion around racism. He shows (in his article) that the ideological exclusion of certain segments of the population from the imagined community has not only happened to ethnic or racial others, but has also been applied to people of the lowest classes within society, who in the Netherlands were (and often still are) considered 'anti-social' families, when they refused to adapt themselves to the Dutch upper-middle class norms and way of life (Rath 1999).

4. Research methods

For this study I chose to use a mixed methods approach – although all qualitative – because it suited the purpose of my research best. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009: 116) explain that the use of mixed methods has in recent years become a rather controversial matter, especially when both quantitative and qualitative methods are used, due to assumed paradigmatic differences between quantitative and qualitative methods. Hereby a hierarchy in research methods is often suggested in which quantitative methods are at the top and qualitative methods linger behind. They argue, however, that in earlier scientific research and in, for example, market research, the use of mixed methods is not considered a problem, but an advantage. The choice for mixing methods depends on the type of question(s) a research pretends to answer. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009: 117) explain that when elaborating a mixed method research design, it is important to pay good attention to the practical implications of it, as a ‘forced’ or wrongly constructed mixed methods approach can result in a faulty research according to both quantitative and qualitative standards. When using mixed methods it is important to make the logic of each method function in its own right (ibid. 121).

Since the aim of my study was to get an insight into how the dissemination of knowledge and ideas works regarding the themes of my study from the core aims as formulated by the government, to the used course books, the interpretation and approaches of individual teachers, and what the themes mean for secondary school pupils; different approaches were needed to collect and analyse the data. The data collected for this research consisted of:

1. the core aims of the government for the area of study ‘person and society’ in the lower grades of secondary school (for all levels of education in the Netherlands, vmbo/havo/vwo);
2. the content of three school books used in the courses ‘study of society’ and ‘person and society’ on the levels vmbo and havo/vwo (by the interviewed teachers on the schools of my fieldwork);
3. semi-structured interviews with teachers of the courses ‘study of society’, ‘person and society’ and ‘social sciences’;
4. class workshops with 2 vmbo classes, 4 havo classes and 1 vwo class.

The approaches to data collection-methods used were the following. For the analysis of the core aims and school books, I use discourse analysis of the texts, or text analysis, of the themes relevant to my study. For the data collection among teachers I chose to conduct semi-structured interviews according to a topic list that listed the main points and questions of interest. Finally, for the class workshops in school classes I used two (slightly) different methods of data collection: a (pedagogical) drama methodology in the vmbo classes, and a more general focus-group discussion for the havo and vwo classes.

In paragraph 4.2 I will discuss how I chose and found my research materials and participants. In the same paragraph I will further elaborate and motivate my choices in methods. Subsequently, in paragraph 4.3, I will give an insight into the moral and ethical considerations of this study.

4.1 Research participants and main body of research

The starting point in my search for respondents and the other materials for my data collection, was the fact that I wanted to perform my research in two different schools, located in two different areas of the country, to be able to capture a more representative image of the educational situation, and the treatment of the themes in the Netherlands. The choice of the course books was based on the course books used by the interviewed teachers.

In order to find participants I used several channels. Firstly, I formulated both a general e-mail – that could be sent to school boards or administrators – and several personal e-mails directed to study of society and history teachers. I shortly explained about my master programme, formulated the aim of my final research and asked both study of society and history teachers if they were interested in participating. I sent this (general) e-mail to several schools in the country. However, the most ‘successful’ way ‘into a school’ or contact with participating teachers was finally the use of my own social network. I contacted befriended teachers, and ‘friends whose friends were teachers’ ... etc. asking whether my e-mail could be passed on, or whether I could contact teachers myself directly. Finally, no history teachers responded my request (except for one person and society teacher with a history background), which meant I had to change the scope of my respondents to include only study of society and person and society teachers.

An important part of the ‘quest’ for participants worked according to the ‘snowball-effect’. This was true in both schools where I finally did most of my data collection; and for both the interviewed teachers as for the class workshops with pupils. In the first school, my initial contact was with a befriended drama teacher, who found the proposal for my class workshops and the themes of my research very interesting and was willing to have me perform them in her class, if the school director agreed. The next step was to ask the school director for permission, which was granted, and the workshops could be performed. In the days I spent in the school I was introduced to several other (study of society and person and society) teachers, who were all willing to participate in interviews when I later contacted them by (a personal) email.

In the other school, the snow-ball effect was equally important. A general e-mail was sent to this school (through a friend of a friend) and one of the study of society teachers had responded. On the day of the planned interview, another teacher approached me, saying he was also interested in participating. I gladly accepted. In conversation with the second teacher (who was the coordinator for the study of society department) I further explained the scope and aim of

my study, and he was interested in having me perform the workshops in several classes of his department as well.

The last participating teacher was also contacted with a personal e-mail. His e-mail was given to me by a friend who had done an internship with him. This teacher offered both the courses study of society and social sciences in a school in a mid-size town in the central Netherlands.

Of the participating schools, the first one is located in the very urbanised Rotterdam area (the second largest city in The Netherlands), and the second school is located in a smaller municipality in the central southern province of Noord-Brabant, an area that because of its large industries has been attracting migrant workers for decades. Both the secondary schools I worked at offer education on all the levels provided in the Netherlands, being vmbo, havo, and vwo. In both schools these levels are separated into a separate vmbo section and havo/vwo section, located in separate buildings with separate executive boards. The school in the Rotterdam area has a third separate section for vocational training/education.

4.2 Methods used

4.2.1 Curriculum and school books – discourse and text analysis

In the present study I examined some of the curricula and the official national education aims; as well as the three course books/methods that were used by the ‘study of society’ and ‘person and society’ teachers in the two schools that formed the main body of my data-collection. These books are: 1) ‘Plein M’; 2) ‘Blikopener’; and 3) ‘Thema’s’. I omitted the textbook used by the one teacher interviewed working in the third school (in a third municipality) to safeguard the coherence and clarity of the data by sticking to the data collected in mainly two schools. Two of the text books were for the course ‘study of society’ – one for havo/vwo and one for vmbo –, offered in the 4th and 3rd year respectively; and the third school method was for the course ‘person and society’ offered in the first two years of vmbo. This last method included content of both the subject ‘study and society’, as well as of the subjects history, geography and economics.

Van Dijk (1987: 52) explains that for a first thematic analysis of a text, there are two methods of analysis. The first lets itself be guided by the passages of the book, through which the researcher can determine the (main) themes of the book. The second method analyses the content of a text according to a pre-determined list of themes and sub-themes. The disadvantage of the first method, is that it is more difficult to find what has been *omitted* in a text – which is an important shaper of the content of any discourse, since it determines what is (or can) be said, and what not. The disadvantage of the second method is that it has a *normative* character, since the researcher then has to establish which themes he/she deems important to look for in a text. In my analysis

of the chosen course books I used a combination of both methods. I first checked the methods for their content, and for the mentioning of information related to the themes of my study more in general (the first method). Then, I studied the content on the basis of a (short) list of themes I made.

I examined the core aims and school books for their content and use of language regarding the themes studied: respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism. Due to the fact that the main body of my data collection consists of the interviews with the teachers (and to a lesser extent the workshops with pupils), I have kept this analysis quite short. I have stuck to my observations of the information I found in the book, through an intersectional approach, as operationalised by Fahlgren and Sawyer (2011). I mainly focus on the following concepts:

1. the notions expressed about culture, ethnicity, nationality (national identity);
2. the Dutch self-imagery expressed in comparison to the imagery of ‘others’;
3. the use and explanations of the concepts of prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination and racism.

Since knowledge is not neutral, but a reflection of the perceptions of the ones that have had the power to define what knowledge is (Wekker 2002; 2009), this is also reflected in course-books in school and university (Fahlgren & Sawyer 2011). A textbook is always written from a certain point of view (caused by the mere fact that every individual has a certain position through the culture, place, gender, etc. within which he or she is born), and by presenting this position as ‘normal’, value-free and ‘obvious’, the power of ‘normalisation’ is exercised. The power of normalisation means that a certain notion of ‘the normal’ is created by the way the information is presented, which voices or perspectives are included and how these perspectives are presented, and the examples that are given (Hall 1996, Rätzel 2007, cited in Fahlgren & Sawyer 2011). By considering certain things ‘normal’, either implicitly or explicitly a dichotomy is created, by means of inclusion- and exclusion mechanisms, between ‘us’ and ‘them’, whereby the ‘other’ is also positioned in a social category (Fahlgren & Sawyer 2011). Fahlgren and Sawyer argue that even though ‘this kind of normalisation may seem inevitable’ it is a consequence of the power imbalance (‘an exercise of power’) in society and is therefore always normative (Hacking 1990, Sandell 2001, cited in Fahlgren & Sawyer 2011).

In line with Fahlgren and Sawyer (2011), I argue that analysing the course-books used in public secondary schools according to the language used, may bring to light some of these normalisation processes, and (partly) deconstruct the power structure on which knowledge is based. In line with Eriksen’s (2002) explanation of stereotypes, these can both be used for the in-group, as a means of creating positive self-images, as towards members of other groups, creating more negative images of ‘them’. In the next chapter I shall therefore give a short review of some of

the elements of these course books, that I deem relevant for the themes of my thesis.

4.2.2 Semi-structured interviews – school teachers

Within this study I conducted semi-structured interviews with six different teachers: three men and three women; three teachers of vmbo level and three of havo/vwo level. Years of experience in teaching of the different teachers ranged from 1-2 years to 33 years (1-2, ±6, 10, 19, ±25, 33). On havo/vwo level all teachers gave the subject study of society, and one teacher additionally gave the (optional) subject social sciences. All these teachers had an ethnic majority background (white Dutch), two of them with a sociology background and one from (cultural or social) anthropology (which was also the case for two other study of society teachers I informally spoke with). On the vmbo school one teacher offered the course person and society, one teacher gave the subject study of society, and one teacher had given the subject person and society in the past, but presently gave Dutch language. Of these teachers one had an ethnic majority background (white Dutch), and two were of ethnic minority backgrounds (one Hindu-Surinamese-Dutch and one Dutch-Moroccan). Their backgrounds were in history, Dutch linguistics and social studies & English linguistics respectively. The Dutch language teacher, nevertheless, indicated that the themes of this research were just as relevant (for her) in the language classes as they were in person and society, and that it made no difference to her how she dealt with them in her classes. I also had more informal conversations on these general issues with a seventh teacher.

A semi-structured interview (guide) typically contains an outline of the topics, with (some) suggestions for questions (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009: 130). Up to what extent an interviewer has to hold on strictly to the crafted guide and its order, or can shift away from it with follow-up questions using his/her own judgement, depends on the (aim of) the study. In the interviews with these teachers, I wanted to know how they interpreted the themes and how they dealt with them (for which it is good to ask good follow-up questions where deemed necessary and let the conversation ‘flow’ a little bit); as well as how teachers saw the interrelations between the concepts of respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism (for which it was important to stick to these topics in – more or less – the right order). Also regarding other aspects of the themes, such as a historical or colonial perspective, the perceived influence of education on perceptions or other forms of discrimination, I wanted this both to be guided by the ideas of the teachers, and the themes I wanted to discuss with them, without ‘steering’ the conversation too much into a certain direction. Therefore in the interviews I combined both approaches. Since a combination of these approaches may be difficult to fully balance, sometimes in the interviews I had to grab back to a previously discussed topic to ask for further elaboration of it.

Regarding the openness of purpose, I informed the respondents of the themes and purpose of my research in advance, with the following (short) explanation (in translation to English):

[...] For the completion of my study ‘Social work and Human Rights’ on the University of Gothenburg I am working on a school project around the themes prejudice, discrimination and racism, and how both secondary school pupils and teachers engage in these themes. A part of my research consists of open interviews with teachers [...] about how they give meaning to/interpret these themes in their education practice. [...]’ (extracted from my e-mails to the teachers).

With this short introduction into my research aims, I wanted to provide enough information to comply with the ethics of *informed consent*, since I find it fundamental to be honest and straightforward to the informants on what it exactly is, they are getting involved in. However, I did not want to give away too much information either, that could ‘disturb’ the spontaneity of the interviews. About my aim to also study the curricula, the teachers were not informed in the e-mails, simply because this was an aim that grew out of the conducting of the interviews. I did ask all teachers about the methods they used, and expressed during or after the interview the wish to read through the text books as well.

4.2.3 Class workshops – school pupils

The performing of class workshops had two functions: to get an insight into the perceptions of pupils about the themes of my research, and to ‘(pre-)test’ these workshops as a pedagogical method to discuss (or make discussable) the themes. For this study I did class workshops with school pupils in two first-grade vmbo classes in the school in the Rotterdam area; four workshops in fourth-grade havo classes, and one workshop in a fourth-grade vwo class, the havo and vwo groups both in Noord-Brabant. This was due to the differences between the possibilities and wishes of both schools. The workshops performed in the vmbo classes were during their drama class, which was a ‘double-hour’ (2x 50 minutes) course. The workshops in the havo and vwo classes were held during the pupils’ study of society class, which was a 50 minutes lecture. For the workshops with vmbo classes, I took a methodology that used both pedagogic elements and drama elements. Mostly due to the more limited timeframe, the workshops in the havo and vwo classes were conducted as more regular focus-group discussions. In all class workshops the main themes discussed were respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism, and how the pupils saw these.

I finally decided not to include a lot of the results from the class workshops in the final report. I came to this decision for two main reasons. First of all, I found it was important to safeguard the confidentiality of the school pupils, who had not themselves chosen to participate on a fully voluntary basis (but through the consent of the school and their teachers). Secondly, due to the considerable differences between the workshops on vmbo and havo and vwo – in amount, methodology used, length, and age of the pupils – the comparability of the data was affected, and

it proved to be difficult to draw reliable comparisons between the results.

Drama workshops in vmbo classes

For the development of the drama workshops, I used my own experience as a (voluntary) drama player and teacher in the past, tips from the pupils' teacher, and adaptations of existing role-play formats. The drama workshops consisted of two parts. The first was a 'four-corners exercise', and the second a role-play in which different ethnic- and social class/status roles were given out to the pupils and they were 'free' to create a short performance in smaller groups for the class. The four-corner exercise consisted of a set of questions (regarding the themes), with three closed answers and one open answer, that were assigned to each corner of the class room. To answer the question the pupils would run to the corner/answer of their liking, and then I asked the pupils in each corner to motivate their choice and answer and discuss the topics with each other. Pupils were allowed to change their answers during the entire process. During both class/drama workshops given, the pupils divided themselves among the four different corners quite equally and almost with every question posed there were pupils that chose for the open answer; this suggests that the pupils took the questions seriously and answered according to their own judgement (instead of, for example, a socially accepted answer due to peer/group pressure).

The role-plays, again, consisted of two parts. In the first part I pinned the 'ethnic and/or class/status identities' on the backs of the kids, and they could walk around the classroom asking their classmates questions about themselves, to discover who they were or in what situation they were. After that, when everyone knew their 'new identity', I divided them into smaller groups and gave them the time to improvise a short performance about the themes respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism, which they performed at the end of the workshop. At the final end of the lecture I sat down with the kids again to discuss their experiences during the class, and how they felt about the themes and the exercises.

The drama-format of the workshops and the reflective feedback I asked from both the pupils and the teacher at the end of the workshops, were a good way to get an insight into the experiences, perceptions and ideas of pupils regarding the themes, and proved a good way to open up the discussion among the pupils in a playful and informal way. It also was a good way to test the format for its pedagogical effectiveness. The pupils responded in a positive way, and participated actively and seriously. This was also visible from the feedback pupils in both classes gave me at the end of the workshops. From the feedback I got from them (which I take very seriously), it came out that they found the exercises quite interesting, but a little bit boring at moments (mostly the four-corners exercise), and several of them found it was interesting to switch ethnic identities for a bit, as it made them place themselves in another classmates' position (or in one case clearly show to others the discrimination against her own position), which they found fun. I found this a positive result, including the more critical comments, as it indicated the majority of

the pupils consciously and actively participated and they indicated that it sometimes stimulated them to think differently. With some adaptations based on the comments, the drama workshops could be improved and presented a positive and playful way to discuss these issues. I believe that to reach a greater level of depth and trust, more than one workshop could be given, so that in each new session, the teacher can continue on the results of the previous ones.

Focus-group discussions in havo and vwo classes

The choice for a focus-group discussion format for the workshops in the havo and vwo classes was mostly made because of the shorter time I had in the classes. I searched for a different format that would bring in some variation into the discussion. I followed the themes of my thesis in the mentioned order (respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism), and showed two film fragments and one picture to open the discussion. One film fragment was from an anti-discrimination campaign from 2011/2012 with the slogan: ‘Do you have to hide your real self, to be accepted?’. This film focused on different forms of discrimination, namely on the basis of race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, handicap, or age. It showed images of different social situations in which a person would hold a picture in front of their face with a different, maybe more ‘socially accepted’, identity in front of their face, while asking the question of the slogan. I showed this video with the questions whether they could relate to the campaign, found it relevant, and effective. The second film fragment I showed, was about an incident that had occurred about a year before, in which a Dutch glossy magazine had referred to American singer Rihanna (and the ‘style of clothes and life’ she represented) as ‘nigga-bitch’¹. Here I asked the pupils for their ideas regarding this discussion. Finally the picture I showed was a picture that a Dutch gay man living in Paris had posted on Facebook of himself with a blood-beat face as a form of grass-roots activism, during the large anti-same-sex marriage campaigns in France this past (2013) spring. It was titled: ‘this is the face of homophobia’. Here, again, I asked the pupils what this image did to them, and whether they found this an effective form of activism.

The responses to the focus-group discussions varied greatly from one class to the other. Some classes seemed quite difficult to motivate to open up and share their ideas, while in other classes the topics were discussed into greater depth and pupils seemed to feel much more confident to disclose experiences or their critical opinions regarding discrimination and racism. This may have to do with the chemistry in each class, and the sense of safety the pupils felt within their own class.

¹ This article caused a little turmoil in the Netherlands, which many people including the editors of the magazine tried to play down, but that finally escalated when Rihanna herself got involved in the discussion through Twitter. In her comments she called the main editor a racist that brought disgrace to an entire race with this article. It finally forced the chief-editor to leave her position.

4.3 Teachers' discretion

As Verkuyten and Thijs (2002) indicate, in the perceived occurrence of racist victimisation among pupils, the trust of the teacher seems to have a fundamental role in the pupils' sense of safety in class. One of the most important, but also most difficult aspects studied in this paper is therefore the teachers' discretion. I will first offer a definition of how I see the term in the context of the teachers' role in education. Oxford dictionary defines discretion, in the meaning relevant to the present study, as: 'the freedom to decide what should be done in a particular situation'. Other sources offered an additional explanation of the concept of discretion, defining it as: 'ability or power to decide responsibility; freedom to judge on one's own; freedom or authority to make judgements and to act as one sees fit'.

With the state's curriculum, the methodology or books used, and the views of the school in the background, the teacher is the one standing in front of the school-pupils, and is the one who has to act according to his or her own judgement. Therefore it is relevant to try to get an insight into how teachers' use, or say they use, their discretion. Discretion, in the sense of the definitions mentioned above, contains the elements of freedom, authority, ability, and power to judge a situation by themselves and to act accordingly. This is a very personal consideration, and not easily captured when depending only on a person's own account of it. Since in this study I (almost) entirely depend on the teachers' personal accounts and experiences, this is the data I work with: the teachers' own sense or feeling of discretion and my personal interpretation of the teachers' discretion.

To get an insight into the teachers' discretion, I need to go deeper into every teacher's personal account regarding their views on the topics, how they arrange their classes/lectures and use the methodology. Every teacher spoke in a very different way about his or her teaching (and views), and interpreted my question regarding their sense of freedom (= discretion) with respect to the curriculum in a very different way. The flow of the conversation and the way I asked the question(s) about discretion, as well as the moment in the interview(s) I posed these, may have affected the shape of the answers (profoundly).

4.4 Moral and ethical considerations

When conducting a social scientific research it is fundamental to take into account both the morals and the ethics of the study in which one engages. As the practical part of this thesis consists of both interviews with teachers and group-workshops in school classes, I will discuss these two different parts separately. Kvale and Brinkmann (2008: 61) explain that 'ethical issues [...] are embedded in all [seven] stages of an interview inquiry', which I believe is the case for a social research more in general as well. The primary ethical codes within the field of social

studies are the informed consent of the participants and the protection of the *confidentiality* of the informants.

In the case of the interviewed teachers, which form the main body of my data, all teachers were informed of the purpose and aim of the study in advance, both in the e-mail contact I had with them before agreeing to the interviews, and right before the moment of the interview, when I clarified (again) the four main themes of my research. All teachers participated on a voluntary basis. The interviews were tape-recorded, with the permission of the teachers, and literally transcribed. The themes of the interviews – though inherently moral – were not very private or personal issues for the respondents. Regarding the protection of the interviewees' confidentiality, it is therefore mostly important to note the public function they have as teachers in secondary schools. The names of the teachers have been left out, and I have numbered them 1 to 6.

In case of the group workshops with the school classes, informed consent was not arranged with the pupils, but with the schools. In each school this process was handled in a different way. In the school in Capelle aan den IJssel (Rotterdam area) I asked the school director of the vmbo department an official permission to perform a class workshop in the two first-year classes. Since the pupils were under age this was necessary. This permission was granted under the condition that the drama teacher would be present during the workshops. I visited both these classes during their drama class some weeks before performing the workshop with them, to present myself and explain the aim and purpose of the workshop. This way the pupils and I had the opportunity to get acquainted with each other before the actual workshop. The teacher in whose class I performed the workshops, informed her pupils, again, the week before the workshops. Before the workshop, I explained my purpose and aim again and asked the pupils' permission to tape-record the workshops for personal use.

In the school in Uden (Noord-Brabant) the permission for the performing of the workshops was arranged in a completely different way. In this school, all communication regarding the performance of the class workshops went through one of the interviewed study of society teachers, who was the coordinator of the course in the school. Permission from the board was not needed. The workshop fitted exactly with the treatment of the themes in class. To the pupils the workshop was both presented as a part of my data-collection about pupils' perceptions of the themes, and as a guest-lecture at the same time. Before each workshop I presented myself and my aims and purposes and asked the pupils consent to tape-record the workshops for personal use.

The class workshops could both be seen as a pedagogical method and a data-collection method. Moral and ethical reflections should also take the pedagogical aspect into consideration, since

I do not have a teacher's degree or licence. For both the schools, the fact I was not a licensed teacher was not a problem, and in all cases the teachers were present in the class throughout the workshops. For the two workshop given during a drama-class, I made use of some drama methodologies, within which I made use of my own expertise as an amateur drama performer and organiser, and was supported by the teacher where needed.

The most important aim of the performance of the class workshops in both the schools, was to get an insight into how pupils in both the contexts regarded the themes of my interest. The biggest part of this body of data has therefore not *directly* been used in the report. The few parts that have been used, are anonymised.

The moral concerns in a social research include the purpose and relevance of the conducted study, the personal consequences of it to the participants and the responsibility of the researcher of portraying the information as true to the participants' perception as possible (Kvale & Brinkmann 2008). The themes of my study – respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism – are inherently related to people's morals. Both my own- and the interviewed teachers' personal moral values are a fundamental underlying principle of everything thought and said throughout the study. It was my own moral commitment to respect and justice that drove me to engage in this study, and it was the moral values of each of the interviewed teachers, that drove them to agree to the interviews regarding these themes, and most probably, also to become teachers in the field of social studies in the first place.

The treatment of the themes of respect, discrimination and racism in secondary schools, and understanding how different teachers shape these in their teachings has, in my view, a high moral relevance. It is important to get a deeper insight into the different ways in which teachers may perceive these topics, and give form to them in their teaching, because we may get a better insight into how to further improve teaching regarding these. I have tried, throughout the entire research project, to understand the teachers as close to their own statements as possible, but I know it is impossible to disregard myself, and my own frames of reference. As Boeije (2010) also explains, every research project is already shaped by the chosen theoretical framework.

5. Results and interpretation

5.1 History and social sciences in Dutch secondary education

5.1.1 Goals and targets of Dutch secondary education

The Dutch government (the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science) has established a set of 'core targets or aims' for each course offered at both primary and secondary education that all pupils are supposed/expected to learn in school. These core targets vary from level to level. At the end of their secondary school career, all pupils in The Netherlands do a national final exam for all the compulsory courses (and optional courses they chose) which tests to what extent they have achieved these targets. Different private publishers develop school books and other education methods around these core targets, and schools can choose the methods of their liking.

In 2006 the core targets were revised and reformulated in much broader terms than to which they had developed until that moment (Noordink & Rozing 2007: 4). The Foundation for Curriculum Development, SLO ('Stichting Leerplan Ontwikkeling'), that is considered the national expertise centre for the development of education, has elaborated these into more practical and concrete guidelines for schools and teachers. One of the changes relevant for this study is that 12 core targets were formulated for the 'area of study' mens en maatschappij (person and society) that have replaced the many goals and targets that existed before for the subjects geography, history, study of society and economy (ibid.). SLO explains that schools are free to handle the content of these core targets in the way they prefer, for example as different subjects, in one (new) course that integrates all these subjects, or in project works, as long as interrelations between the themes are elaborated (Noordink & Rozing 2007: 5). According to the SLO the broader formulation would give schools more space for personal interpretation by both individual schools (for example according to their religious and/or philosophical background) and individual teachers of the course content in the first two years of secondary school.

1. That the pupil learns to ask meaningful questions about social issues and phenomena, learns to take a well argued point of view on these matters, and to handle personal criticism in a respectful way.
2. The pupil learns to use a historical time frame of ten time periods to position events, developments and persons within their time. The pupil here learns aspects of a pre-determined series of nine different time frames, of which the following are probably particularly important in understanding the development of discrimination and racism:
 - Time of explorers and reformers; the late Middle Ages (1000 – 1500)
 - Time of regents and monarchs (1600 – 1700)
 - Time of wigs and revolutions (1700 – 1800)
 - Time of citizens and steam engines; the Industrial Revolution (1800 – 1900)

- Time of world wars (1900 – 1950)
 - Time of television and computer (1950 – present)
3. The pupil learns to use a contemporary image of his/her own surroundings, The Netherlands, Europe and the world, to position phenomena and developments in their own surroundings.
 4. The pupil learns to do a simple research about a current social phenomenon and to present the results.
 5. The pupil learns to use historical sources to form an idea about a time period or to find answers to questions, and he/she learns to involve his/her own cultural-historic background in it.
 6. The pupil learns to use an atlas as a source of information and to read and analyse maps to orient him/herself, to form an idea of an area or to find answers to questions.
 7. The pupil learns to recognise the effects in their own experiences and personal environment of choices made in the areas of work and healthcare, living and recreating, consuming and budgeting, traffic and the environment.
 8. The pupil learns about similarities, differences and changes in culture and religion/life philosophies in the Netherlands, and learns to connect their own and other people's ways of life to these similarities and differences. He/she also learns to see the meaning/importance for society of [the concept of] respect for each other's opinions, convictions and ways of life.
 9. The pupil learns in broad terms how the Dutch political system works as a democracy, and learns how people can be involved in political processes in different ways.
 10. The pupil learns to understand the meaning of European cooperation and the European Union for themselves and the world.
 11. The pupil learns about the distribution of wealth and poverty in the world, he/she learns to see the meaning of that for people and the environment, and learn to connect that to their (own) life in the Netherlands.
 12. The pupil learns to position current political tensions and conflicts in the world against their background, and learns to see the influence these [can] have on individuals and society (national, European and intercontinental); he/she also learns about the great international dependency in the world, the importance of human rights and the meaning of international cooperation.

These core goals are formulated in a very broad way, no specific or concrete knowledge is included. 'Positioning phenomena in their own context' and making inferences between different phenomena, are important skills reflected in these core aims. The concept of respect is reflected in two of the core goals; the first one, in which pupils must learn to deal with criticism towards them 'in a respectful way' (in the context of learning to question the world around them). And the second time, respect is explained in the context of learning about the different cultures and religions pupils have in their social environment, and learning to respect different 'opinions, convictions and ways of life'. Attention is further given, not only to the (multicultural) social

Box 1.

The SLO report further gives advice for the implementation of these core aims in class. The advice is structured in a scheme separately for havo/vwo classes and vmbo classes, many of the examples of advice that are given are quite similar, but those for havo/vwo go deeper into details or have an emphasis on more complex social phenomena (Noordink & Roozing 2007: 18-19). Considering the goal about 'societal questions and phenomena' (1), for example, the advice offered was the treatment of the multicultural society, which for vmbo was focused on 'our multicultural class' and for havo/vwo on 'the Netherlands as a multicultural society' (Noordink & Roozing 2007: 9-10). Here the implicit assumption is made that vmbo classes have more pupils with an ethnic minority background than havo/vwo classes. Advice concerning 'rights' was focused on 'rights and duties' for vmbo, and on 'human rights' for havo/vwo. Here the assumption may lie in the notion that topics need to be kept simple for vmbo pupils and havo/vwo pupils are able to handle more complicated topics.

Concerning the topics of this thesis (prejudice, discrimination and racism, but also national identity and nationalism), some interesting observations can be made here. While it may be a positive thing that the situation in the (former) colonies is mentioned at several points, I want to point at several aspects of the rhetoric used. Firstly, it is interesting to take a look at the one time the word 'racism' is used, in the 'racist and totalitarian character of national-socialism'. I compare this example to two other historical events mentioned, that may have been at least equally aggressive and impacting, and in which the Netherlands did have a more active role: e.g. the 'European expansion' combined with the 'use [and trade] of slave-labour', and the 'nationalist movements in the colonies'. It is fascinating how racism is mentioned in relation to the national-socialist movement, within the context of the German invasion – when the Dutch had very little to say in their own country –, and not in relation to the use and trade of slave-labour in the (Dutch) colonies. While at the same time, slave-labour is mentioned together with the (I presume mostly white-) abolitionist movement¹. In the case of the colonies' struggle for independence, the choice of words used is equally remarkable, by calling this a 'nationalist movement'. By speaking in a more neutral tone about things in which the Dutch played an active part, and using 'negative' words and more outspoken terms (such as 'racism' or 'nationalism') to describe the deeds of another group (in this case the Germans or Indonesians and Surinamese) a positive self-image is created in relation to a less positive image of the 'other', something that can be characterised as a discriminatory process following the lines of thought of Dovidio *et al.* (2010); van Dijk (1987); Hogervorst (2004); Fahlgren and Sawyer (2011).

¹ While the abolitionist movement only obtained a more significant power towards the end of the 300 years of slavery.

context of the Netherlands, but also to international relations with Europe (EU) and the World, political conflicts in the world (understood in their own context) and the meaning of the concept of Human Rights. The concepts of prejudice/stereotyping, discrimination and racism are not mentioned, neither are related concepts such as social exclusion or social injustice.

5.1.2 The themes in the curriculum and books

In this paragraph I analyse the content of three different course books used by the interviewed teachers. Within this analysis I will mainly focus on the following concepts:

1. the notions expressed about culture, ethnicity, nationality (national identity);
2. the Dutch self-imagery expressed in comparison to the imagery of ‘others’;
3. the use and explanations of the concepts of prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination and racism.

The first book is ‘Plein M’, for the course ‘person and society’ in the first two grades of vmbo; the second is called ‘Blikopener’ for the course ‘study of society’ in 3rd and 4th grade vmbo classes; and the third is ‘Thema’s’ for 4th grade havo and vwo pupils.

‘Plein M’ – Person and Society, vmbo

‘Plein M’ is a method used in the first two grades of vmbo, and is relatively new, as it was created as a result of the changes in the course structures¹. In the school that used this method, it was introduced the same year I interviewed the teachers². This method, since it is designed for vmbo students, is written in simple language and has (relatively) little text, it makes extensive use of interactive social media, and the method’s webpage. It leaves much space open for activating work forms as a means of learning, by regularly including assignments that make the pupils search for, and process information themselves through for example Powerpoint presentations.

The division of topics in this course book over the different parts and chapters seems quite scattered and arbitrary, as shown in the table below. It consists of two parts, one for the first year, and two for the second. These two parts are sub-divided into three sections (A, B and C) in each year. Each of these sections, again, contains three chapters. All chapters handle a certain topic, of which one part treats a historical topic and the other one a contemporary topic. This contemporary part can either consist of a geographical topic, (such as volcanoes, landscapes or hydrology), or a study of society topic. In the table below, it is also visible that different areas in the world are given attention. The focus ranges quite a lot from the own local environment and the own country (the Netherlands), to (Western-) Europe, the world as a whole and different specific areas in the world. Each section (A, B, C) is offered in a different unit.

1 Here I refer to the changes mentioned in the paragraph ‘Education in the Netherlands’, that brought together the courses history, geography, study of society and economics into one new field of study ‘person and society’.

2 Mostly by one of the interviewed teachers.

Year 1:

Part 1A Chapter 1. My own environment Task: where are you from?	Present: map skills (region: the Netherlands) Past: historical skills (region: world)
Part 1A Chapter 2. Rich and poor Task: When are you rich?	Present: poor and rich countries (NL & Third world) Past: time of gatherers and hunters (the world)
Part 1A Chapter 3. Living together Task: How do you live together?	Present: multicultural society (the Netherlands) Past: time of Greeks and Romans (Roman Empire)
Part 1B Chapter 4. Forces of nature Task: How do we deal with forces of nature?	Present: volcanism, tourism, vacation (South of Italy) Past: Pompeii then and now (South Italy)
Part 1B Chapter 5. People and rules Task: Who has power?	Present: Dutch government, separation church&state (NL) Past: time of monks and knights (Europe & Arabic world)
Part 1B Chapter 6. Living in the city Task: How important are cities?	Present: city and countryside (Randstad) Past: time of cities and states (Western-Europe)
Part 1C Chapter 7. Discover the world Task: What is the Netherlands?	Present: worldview, navigate, culture areas (the world) Past: time of explorers and reformists (the world)
Part 1C Chapter 8. How did NL arise? Task: What is Dutch?	Present: the Dutch culture (the Netherlands) Past: 16th and 17th century (the Netherlands)
Part 1C Chapter 9. Visit our city (project) Task: How do we attract more tourists?	Present: the home town (the own environment) Past: the home town (the own environment)

Year 2:

Part 2A Chapter 1. Low lands by the sea Task: How do we deal with water?	Present: landscapes, water authorities (IJsselmeer area) Past: Dutch landscape in course of centuries (IJsselmeer)
Part 2A Chapter 2. Meetings between cultures Task: How different is it elsewhere?	Present: differences in the world (South-East Asia) Past: time of regents and monarchs (South-East Asia)
Part 2A Ch. 3. What is allowed and what not? Task: How big is your freedom?	Present: laws, jurisdiction (the Netherlands) Past: time of wigs and revolutions (Western-Europe)
Part 2B Ch. 4. Person and environment Task: What does it cost when you buy something?	Present: production, consumption, environmental problems (Europe and USA) Past: time of citizens and steam machines (Europe and USA)
Part 2B Chapter 5. Past and present Task: What do we learn from the past?	Present: multicultural society, international cooperation (NL and the world) Past: time of world wars (NL and the world)
Part 2B Chapter 6. European Unity Task: What does Europe mean to you?	Present: European cooperation (Europe) Past: Europe after 1945 (Europe)
Part 2C Ch. 7. Decision making and governing Task: What do you have to do with politics?	Present: political decision making, planology (own municipality) Past: democratisation (the Netherlands)
Part 2C Chapter 8. The world is a village Task: What connection do people in the world have with each other?	Present: globalisation (political, economic, own environment) (the world) Past: time of television and computer (the world)
Part 2C Chapter 9. My surroundings change Task: How can we improve our environment?	Present: the home environment (the own region) Past: the home environment (the own region)

Due to the accessibility of this book, I only studied chapter 7) ‘Discover the world’, and 8) ‘How did the Netherlands arise’ from part 1C, as an example of the rhetoric of this method. In the course of the chapters there are several time-switches between present and past that may make the topic difficult to follow for the pupils.

The choice to treat the topic of world trade and European explorers and conquerors on the one hand, and the arising of the Netherlands, on the other, as two different chapters, without (or barely) laying the link between the two is interesting, because many of these events were happening around the same time in history, and often happened in connection to each other. It draws in a way a boundary between the formation of ‘Dutch history and culture’ and ‘European expansion’. This observation confirms both Wekker’s (2002) argument that Dutch historiography is formulated in such a way that it separates ‘Dutch history’ (and formation of its culture) from that of the colonised areas, and Aztouti’s (2012) remark that the space for colonial history is only there in the periphery.

Chapter 7 handles the globalising ties the Netherlands has with the rest of the world in economic and cultural terms, and connects this to the historical context of European traders, explorers and conquerors travelling the world’s seas. In chapter 7 aspects of Dutch imperialism and colonialism are indeed mentioned, – though never using the word imperialism, and not connecting the word colonialism to the Dutch context¹ – and always in relation to other European nations that were engaging in similar actions, this way somewhat covering up the direct role the Netherlands played. At the same time the events in chapter 8 only refer to events happening in the Dutch and European continental context, as if these have not had an influence in the formation of the Dutch self-imagery and imagery of others, whereas several scholars show that these events did have an identity forming impact on people both in the European and Dutch mainlands, and in the colonised areas (see among others Stoler 1995; Wekker 2002, 2006; Grever and Ribbens 2007; Legène 2010).

The first exploratory task in chapter 8 asks pupils to ‘discover what is typically Dutch’. Apparently, it is considered important for pupils to learn what something ‘typically Dutch’ is. The four main areas this question focuses on (and are therefore probably considered the core of what is ‘typically Dutch’) are: William of Orange², the 17th century (the Dutch Golden Age), a historical Dutch building, and making pupils ‘arrange’ a one-day tourist route through the Netherlands. The chapter further mainly focuses on the first two and the fourth of these themes, with the addition of ‘the Dutch revolution’. The paragraphs then are:

1 Something that, interestingly, does happen in the case of the Spanish conquest of America.

2 William of Orange was a prince of German origin who stood up for the freedom of religion in the Low Countries by the end of the 16th century when Protestantism was oppressed by the legitimate Spanish king Philip II, thus ending up in being considered the ‘founder’ of the Netherlands as we now know it.

1. The king and the prince;
2. The Dutch revolution;
3. The Dutch Golden Age;
4. The Netherlands in the past and now.

Parts of the Dutch history that are considered important for the formation of Dutch culture are summed up here. The first paragraph starts with the treatment of the national anthem¹ (about William of Orange), of which pupils are asked in the first assignments whether they know the song, and to fill the missing words of the first verse. This fits with Beneddict Andersson's theory (as brought forth by Grever and Ribbens (2007) in this context) of the development of the 'national imagined community', to create national coherence. Further changes in the society in the Netherlands are mentioned, such as the independence war from Spanish domination led by William of Orange, the loss of power of the Catholic church, the Golden Age in which the Dutch economy bloomed because of the international trade and immigration into the Netherlands from refugees of other European countries.

Regarding the Golden Age, the only thing mentioned about the Netherlands is 'international trade', but in neither of the two chapters a direct mention was made that the Netherlands actually *had* colonies, or exploited certain countries. The Dutch are in chapter 7 referred to (in the company of other Europeans) as explorers, while the Spanish, for example, are referred to as conquerors. If I compare the way the Dutch role in imperialism is presented with the way, for example, the Spanish role is presented, I see the Spanish conquest of the Americas is described in more detail, with a mention of the destruction of the Aztec temples and exploitation of both indigenous and African slaves, characterising (twice) the Spanish as 'intolerant'. While none of this is mentioned for the Dutch case. Indonesia and the Moluccas are mentioned – but not as Dutch colonies – but neither Surinam nor the Dutch Antilles are mentioned. In chapter 8 one of the typical characteristics of Dutch society that is mentioned, is 'Dutch tolerance', because the Netherlands accepted refugees from other European countries.

In (these two chapters of) this course method there is indeed mention of the Dutch involvement in the imperial and colonial project of Europe, but I find this role rather dissimulated. Regarding a post-colonial awareness in secondary school books I would therefore have to agree with the conclusions drawn by Aztouti (2012: 35), who argues that school books do not reflect enough post-colonial awareness, and that it has not lead to a societal discourse with a self-critical attitude. The way the events in both chapter 7 and 8 are described influence the Dutch self-imagery in a positive way, through a more critical reflection of the role of 'others' (in this case other European state's involvement in the colonial project) and a less critical reflection of the 'own' Dutch role in it. Additionally, chapter 8 seems fully dedicated at constructing a (positive)

¹ The Dutch anthem was written between 1568 and 1572 as an ode to William of Orange, and became the national anthem in 1932. Checked on: <http://www.wilhelmus.nl/> (last visited: 28 oktober 2013).

sense of national awareness and unity.

'Blikopener' – Study of Society, vmbo

This book is written for vmbo pupils in the 3rd (and 4th) grade and it contains less detailed information and uses a more simple language than the books for havo and vwo pupils. This book focusses only on study of society. The book contains six chapters:

1. Boys and girls;
2. Me and the group;
3. Rules? Which rules?;
4. Living in a constitutional state;
5. Sports in motion;
6. Integrating in the Netherlands.

The topics/themes of my interest are mainly presented in chapter 2 and 6, but there are also some elements in chapter 1 and 3 I would like to discuss.

Chapter 2 Me and the group introduces the concept of group(s) and culture. It addresses the concept of culture, and the concept of subculture. In the book's view, culture can be seen as the overarching (country's) culture, which is divided into smaller subcultures, which can be the family groups, youth subcultures, [class-based cultures] or ethnic minority cultures. Through the used language it seems to address an ethnically mixed audience, contrary to what van Dijk (1987) found in study of society books in the 1980s. However, in this it also gives a mixed message in my opinion, as it says:

'You live in the Netherlands. You are part of Dutch culture. But this culture is divided into smaller groups: subcultures. The first group you belong to is that of your family. You also belong to an ethnic group, for example: Dutch, Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese or African.' (van Nassau 201-: 22).

This quote provides a lot of information. First, it is interesting that it speaks about Dutch culture instead of about Dutch society. However, I interpret it being for a mixed audience because it explains that, regardless of the ethnic background, everyone who lives in the Netherlands is 'part of Dutch culture', and it gives mention of several different so-called 'ethnic groups' that live in the country. 'Dutch culture' seems to be seen both as an ethnic group, such as all ethnic minorities, as well as an overarching 'culture'. I believe it gives a slightly mixed message because on the one hand it says that by living in the Netherlands, one is automatically part of Dutch culture; while on the other hand, it states 'the Dutch' and for example 'the Moroccans' to be two totally different ethnic groups.

This differentiation is reinforced later in the same paragraph, when it says: 'The Dutch culture is the dominant culture in this country.' Next, it offers some examples of the 'Dutch culture',

such as: ‘working for a living, riding a bicycle, or having a cookie while drinking tea’. These examples, in my view, present a rather vague and arbitrary, but also very stereotypical picture of ‘Dutch culture’. Stereotypical, because it gives a quite static and generalised view of Dutch society with some examples of behaviour which may indeed be part of daily life for many members of Dutch society, but would be hard to generalise to all, while members of other ethnic groups can have the same habits. This view seems to exclude other minority (or immigrant) people from becoming part of ‘Dutch culture’ or society, while the first explanation gave a more inclusive idea of ‘Dutch culture’.

This paragraph continues with the statement: ‘Who lives in the Netherlands has to adapt to this [Dutch] culture’, which is in line with van Dijk’s (1987) findings. It does not go further into what that adaptation exactly entails, but it says that most groups have no problems with that but that some groups have difficulties adapting, such as certain immigrant groups, and some ‘counter-culture’ groups. This fits with Rath’s (1999) concept of minorisation, in which he argues that in the Netherlands groups whose characteristics were valued in a negative way, were not seen as different ‘inadaptable races’, but were trained to adapt to the positively valued middle-class norms.

Chapter 6 ‘Integrating into the Netherlands’, explains about the different migration flows that came into the Netherlands: first the post-colonial migrants, then the labour migrants, then the refugees. In the relatively short text the situations of the main ethnic minorities are explained (more so than in the more elaborated texts of the havo/vwo book, and van Dijk’s findings from the 1980s). It is explained that the Antillean Islands are still part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. A critical note is given in regard to the reception of refugees: ‘The Netherlands has always accepted refugees. But the last ten years the Netherlands rather keep their borders closed. [...] Someone who ‘simply only’ tries to run from poverty is sent back.’ (van Nassau 201-: 79). The concept of ‘Fort Europe’ is discussed, and the problems that asylum seekers whose access to the country is denied (and become undocumented) are given attention. Interestingly, some attention is also given to the emigration of poorer Dutch families to Australia and Canada in the 1950s, and the subordinate positions they often obtained there, as to offer a counter-perspective here.

It treats the subject of integration from various perspectives, showing that the government wants to make integration and migration policies stricter; but also quoting a girl from an ethnic minority saying:

‘In a shop the attendants are always keeping an eye on me. [...] They look at my headscarf. As if I have a pistol hidden underneath it. Some even say it out loud: shove off to your country. But I am born here. This is my country’. (van Nassau 201-: 83).

By including this quote the book gives a voice to the experiences of ethnic minorities and shows a quite elaborate consciousness of discrimination/racism. In this book a stereotype is defined as the first step within the differentiation process, as: ‘a simple, entrenched idea about for example a group, or framing someone’, as a thing everybody does. Prejudice is seen as the next step: ‘a negative judgement about something or someone (or a group) that is not based on facts. Discrimination is defined as: ‘excluding someone because he looks different, is of a different race or has different habits’. And last, racism is defined as: ‘treating someone negatively because he has a different skin colour from yours’ (van Nassau 201-: 89).

This book thus generally shows a relatively nuanced and balanced picture of the themes discussed in this thesis. There is, however, a point of critique I want to make. In the first chapter of the book, related to gender role-patterns, the first three paragraphs discuss different types of role-patterns and the changes that have taken place the last decades, as a presumed ‘general and neutral’ process (Fahlgren and Sawyer 2011). Then, the fourth paragraph focuses on mostly Turkish and Moroccan people growing up in the Netherlands. The following quoted paragraph offers a rather essentialist and stereotypical (van Dijk 1987; Hogervorst 2004) picture of members of these two minorities by stating that:

‘The Koran is the holy book of the Islam. There it says women are not allowed to behave in a provocative way. Many Turkish and Moroccan girls are Muslim. They often wear a headscarf. They have to from their family. Or they choose it themselves. Sometimes there is critique. People say: a headscarf shows that women are being oppressed. It is true that women in some Islamic countries have to be invisible. They have to hide there behind a veil. They are not allowed to play a part in society. In the Netherlands that is not the case. But here it is still also true: head scarves emphasise the difference between men and women’ (van Nassau 200-: 14).

This paragraph probably aims to question certain problems specific of the members of these two ethnic groups, but in this process, (over-)emphasises the (assumed) under-estimated position of women in Islam (van Dijk 1987), while the position of white-Dutch women (in the other paragraphs) was assumed to be already improved. What I see at work here is a ‘normalisation’ process as described by Fahlgren and Sawyer (2011), whereby the ‘normal’ change in role patterns (‘ours’) is explained in the first couple of paragraphs, and then extensive attention is given to the ‘deviant’ and ‘backward’ role-pattern. I can thus see that in some parts and chapters of this book an attempt has been made to make the text ‘inclusive’ of all the pupils (with different ethnic) backgrounds, living in the Netherlands. However, the book does not succeed in this in all parts, as the above example shows.

‘Thema’s’ – Study of Society/Social Sciences, havo/vwo

This course-book exists in a version for havo and a version for vwo pupils. The havo version is slightly more simple. Of this book I have used a vwo version from 2003, the second edition, which is now ten years old. This edition of the book contains four chapters:

1. Political decision-making;
2. Mass Media;
3. Work;
4. Criminality.

In the current edition the chapter division has changed into:

1. Constitutional state;
2. Parliamentary democracy
3. Pluriform society;
4. Welfare state.

The most important change regarding the main themes of my thesis, is that in the latest edition a greater emphasis is given to the ‘multicultural’ or ‘pluriform’ society in a separate chapter. The inter-cultural/ethnic society in the Netherlands has therefore in the latest edition become one of the main topics discussed, and has become an important part of the course study of society, which it was presumably much less ten years ago, as it was much less in 1987 when van Dijk presented his study¹.

In the second edition these themes are included in a paragraph of the chapter ‘Mass media’. To complement the information from the second edition I checked the website regarding the book’s treatment of the themes prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination. The method does not use the term racism, neither in the second edition, nor in the website. The word is not included in the index, and I have only seen it mentioned once in the book, in the context of rappers in the ‘70s in the United States singing about social injustice and racism, without an explanation of the concept’s meaning. This indicates an under-representation of inter-ethnic or multicultural relations and the problems of discrimination and racism as societal issues in the book (van Dijk 1987).

Paragraph 1 ‘Socialisation and culture’ of chapter 2 ‘Mass media’ treats the subjects of culture and socialisation (as the title already indicates). The main line of the chapter is that all people are individually unique, but also formed by and socialised through the cultures in which they are born. This book goes rather deep into the question of what is culture. It takes a rather broad notion of culture, tackles the nurture-nature debate, and argues that some aspects of culture are learned while others are congenital. Culture is explained as: ‘all values, norms and other learned characteristics that the members of a group or society have in common and therefore take for granted’ (Ekens & van der Geugten *et al.* 2003: 70). It further explains that every society or group, simply by having mutual contact over the course of a long time, forms its own culture. Culture is expressed through interactions with each other, such as dialogues, the exchanging of looks, the sending of emails, etc. (*ibid.*). The book also adds that ‘next to norms

1 And there is a lack of data regarding the 1990s.

and values, groups of people also have many other culture characteristics, such as knowledge, habits, perceptions, art, sports, symbols and holidays' (Ekens & van der Geugten *et al.* 2003: 71). People are both shaped by their culture and shape their culture, and this way societal norms (what is accepted and what not) can change over time (*ibid.*: 72).

Whereas in the book Dutch society is several times referred to as a culture¹, this culture may include various types of subcultures. Forms of subcultures include youth culture, counter culture(s) and company culture(s) on the one hand, and ethnic subcultures on the other. Ethnicity is seen as only pertaining to minorities, not to the dominant culture in the Netherlands, in contrast to the more equalised definition provided by Eriksen (2002), as can be seen in the quote below:

'Ethnic cultures form special, site-specific subcultures. In the Netherlands they are subcultures because they are minorities, but in the country of origin they are part of the dominant culture.'
Ekens & van der Geugten (2003: 77).

This quote shows that the book considers the definition of ethnic minorities synonymous with national minorities, so some ethnic minorities from within countries may therefore not be included, such as the different ethnic groups within Surinam and the Roma and Sinti in the Netherlands.

About the originating of a multicultural society in the Netherlands they explain shortly about the different (mostly post-World War 2) migration streams into the Netherlands. They first mention, very shortly, the post-colonial migrants (not mentioning the countries of origin or their exact reasons for migrating (van Dijk 1987)); then the labour migrants from the Mediterranean countries, and last the (political) refugees. However, they also explain that the country has (practically) always been a multicultural society, but that immigrants before were more commonly from the neighbouring countries and now from further away². The concept of integration is explained as: '[...] to integrate in the Dutch society means that they [ethnic subcultures] adopt part of the dominant culture, but also partly maintain their own culture' (Ekens & van der Geugten *et al.* 2003: 72). Additionally it is explained that the dominant culture may also take on certain aspects of ethnic subcultures, like food-traditions or habits.

Regarding the Dutch self-imagery, it was remarkable that the concept of 'tolerance' was mentioned two (separate) times as an aspect of 'Dutch culture'. Other 'typical' characteristics of 'the dominant culture in the Netherlands' mentioned were:

1 examples of this include: 'The read-white-blue (and orange) is seen as a symbol of de Dutch culture' (Ekens & van der Geugten *et al.* 2003: 71); and '[...] are typical characteristics

2 The fact that more or less half the present-day immigrants is still from European countries is not mentioned.

‘The speaking of the Dutch language, equality between men and women, the celebrating of Queensday, and the use of the cheese slicer are typical characteristics of the dominant culture in the Netherlands. The Dutch are also known for their great amount of tolerance: they easily accept dissidents. Based on this tolerance, space arose for, for example, the use of soft-drugs, the emancipation of women, and the openly expressing of homosexuality in Dutch society.’

Ekens & van der Geugten (2003: 74)

This quote is quite illustrative of the way the book uses stereotypical images of ‘the Dutch’ to create a positive self-image in a subtle way (van Dijk 1987; Eriksen 2002; Dovidio *et al.* 2010; Fahlgren and Sawyer 2011). Interestingly, ‘Dutch dominant culture’ is described as ‘having reached gender equality’ and ‘being tolerant to any minority’ as typical characteristics of that culture.

The attention the second edition of this book gives to the concepts of prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination and racism is quite scanty. Prejudice and stereotyping are given attention (under the heading ‘prejudice and stereotyping’) in a short sub-sub-paragraph of sub-paragraph 2.5 ‘Imagery’ (‘Beeldvorming’), in chapter 2 ‘Mass Media’. In this sub-sub-paragraph two sentences give mention of the concept of (negative) discrimination. Furthermore, regarding the concept of discrimination, the term positive discrimination (or positive action) is mentioned shortly in a paragraph of chapter 3 ‘Work’, about the unequal positions of women and allochtonous people on the labour market, where emancipation policies are mentioned in relation to the disadvantaged position of women and positive action in relation to the disadvantaged position of the allochtonous¹. The concept of racism is not mentioned at all.

The three terms, prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination, are mentioned under the paragraph ‘The influence of the media’ and under the sub-heading ‘Imagery’, and are introduced by the notion that ‘mass media have a great influence on how people think about criminality and the perpetrators’ (Ekens & van der Geugten, *et al.* 2003: 104). The definition given of prejudice is: ‘prejudice is a judgement about something or someone that is not based on knowledge about the matter(s)’ (Ekens & van der Geugten, *et al.* 2003: 104). About stereotyping the book says that:

1 This unreflexive explanation in the course-book of the differentiation made between women and (off-spring of) immigrants and the different emancipation policies regarding these, is a good example of a phenomenon studied by gender and ethnicity scholars in the Netherlands (Wekker 2002, 2009; Ghorashi 2010). Wekker (2002: 8) argues that in the Netherlands gender and ethnicity have for long been seen and studied as two separate bodies, whereby women were assumed to be white, and members of ethnic minorities men, and ‘black and migrant women fell through the cracks’. This course-book, being 10 years old, provides a good example of this line of thinking. Ghorashi (2010) adds that in the last decade the position of (migrant) women (especially from Islamic countries) has moved from total invisibility to extreme visibility in the public and political discourse, and many emancipation policies for women are now focussed on them. Whereby there is an emphasis on a deficit model and these immigrant women are seen as having a backward position in comparison with white Dutch women. Which creates the assumption that white Dutch women are already fully emancipated and (muslim) migrant women need to be emancipated.

‘sometimes a prejudiced idea counts for an entire group of people’. Accordingly, stereotyping is defined as: ‘[...] an entrenched image, with which we assign certain characteristics to an entire group’ (ibid.). The final two lines of the sub-sub-paragraph, explain that people often use prejudice and stereotyping to distance themselves from other groups, and that (the danger lies in that) it may easily lead to discrimination, ‘whereby you actually start treating people from another group differently’ (ibid.). It also states that: ‘discrimination always starts with having prejudice(d ideas)’. This is all the course-book says about these concepts.

I find the treatment of these concepts in (the 2003 version of) this course-book remarkable for several reasons. First of all, the choice to treat the themes in the paragraph about media influence, and not in the paragraph about culture, this may create the image that prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination are only caused by and spread through mass media, and individual people and group processes have no effect in it. Secondly, it is fascinating that the short introduction into the explanation of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination only focusses on criminality (as it is portrayed in the media), which is an example of negative stereotyping (van Dijk 1987; Dovidio *et al.* 2010; Eriksen 2002). Thirdly, it is interesting that the attention given to the topics is expressed in less than 200 words¹. And fourth, that no attention is given to these processes on psychological (Dovidio *et al.* 2010), sociological (ibid.), or historical (Wekker 2002, 2009) grounds (van Dijk 1987). According to the criterion set by van Dijk (1987), of this course book would score far below an acceptable standard.

The website scores much better, which suggests that in the 10 years since the publication of the analysed version, much improvement has been made. When considering the part of the website open to a general public², quite some attention is given to the influence of the media in the spreading of stereotypical images of white and dark-skinned people. This is shown in the print-screen image of the webpage below, where an example is offered of a white girl portrayed as an angel and a dark-skinned boy as a devil. The text next to it indicates that in recent years there has been much discussion in the Netherlands and other countries regarding the spreading of these sort of stereotypes. Though the term ‘stereotypical’ may not fully cover the full ideological content of the created negative imagery about dark-skinned people, this page links to the website of the exhibition ‘White about Black’³ about the imagery that white Europeans created about Africans during and after colonialism (Wekker 2002; Dovidio *et al.* 2010). The website also offers some (examples of) exercises to get more acquainted with the terms in the book that were important to understand for the final exams. In these exercises quite a lot of attention is given to the themes prejudice, stereotyping, generalisation and discrimination.

1 Of the books available in 1986, van Dijk (1987) only included in his analysis those that spent more than a 1000 words on migration issues, otherwise he considered it too superficial for a proper analysis.

2 A part of the website was only open for students, holders of a book, and required a password to enter. I could only access the part of the website open to the general public.

3 That was also visited by teachers and pupils of the school that uses this book.

Figure 4. Website of the coursebook *Themas*

Wat is Maatschappijleer?
Lessen over beeldvorming

VWO

Wat is beeldvorming?



De laatste jaren is er in Nederland en verschillende andere landen gediscussieerd over beeldvorming in de media. Een gevolg was dat in de Nederlandse tv-reclame niet meer zoveel kwetsende stereotypen gebruikt worden als vroeger. Maar wie goed oplet, ziet dat bijvoorbeeld mensen met een andere huidskleur nog vaak op stereotype wijze worden afgebeeld.

Waar komen vooroordelen en stereotypen vandaan? Een kijkje naar oude en nieuwe afbeeldingen van Afrikanen door westerlingen maakt veel duidelijk.

Lees hieronder meer uitleg.

In de tentoonstelling 'Wit over Zwart over Wit' kunnen we kijken naar een aantal afbeeldingen van mensen over andere mensen. Uitgangspunt van deze tentoonstelling is de geschiedenis van westerse gedachten over Afrikanen.

Klik op de afbeelding voor meer informatie.

source: website method: Themes

In the three course books discussed above, different levels of attention were given to the themes related to (unequal) inter-group relations and prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination and racism. Of the first book ('Plein M'), the chapters studied were related to the formation of the Dutch state (and therefore in a way national identity of the Netherlands) and the second ('Blikopener') and third ('Thema's') books were more clearly 'study of society' books, focused on the present. The analytical concepts for the first and for the last two were therefore slightly different. Something that was visible mostly in the first and third book (and in some parts of 'Blikopener'), however, was the power of normalisation (Fahlgren and Sawyer (2011), which was exercised (to a lesser or greater extent) in all three of them, whereby the 'we-perspective' (van Dijk 1987) referred to the ethnic white Dutch, the position that became 'the normal'. Hereby a positive self-image of 'us' (white Dutch) is transmitted.

Furthermore, there was in the three course books also, to a varied extent, space for more critical reflections regarding the analysed concepts. The book 'Plein M' did give some mention of the Dutch involvement in colonial and imperial practices, though not giving it this name. The course book 'Blikopener' scored quite high, in my opinion, in its inclusiveness of various minority perspectives (Fahlgren and Sawyer 2011), and its awareness of the complexity of discriminatory processes (Essed 1991; Rath 1999; Dovidio *et al.* 2010). The book 'Thema's', in its 2003 paper edition, was quite elaborate in its explanation of the concepts of culture and ethnicity and social identity formation theories, but lacked a more critical (re-)view regarding

prejudice, discrimination and racism. In its 2013 website a much more critical awareness, and attention towards the ‘colonial inheritance’ of white-European perceptions of dark-skinned people is provided. However, the word ‘racism’ was still avoided.

5.2 Teachers’ definitions of respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism

It is difficult to discuss the subjects prejudice/stereotyping, discrimination and racism as fully different entities, as for the teachers, in practice, these are intertwined with each other, more as a fluid line, and influence each other. The teachers, however, do indicate differences [in definition and in practice] between prejudice/stereotyping, discrimination and racism. The way teachers speak about prejudice/stereotypes, discrimination and racism may say something about how they put it in practice. I will therefore both treat how teachers regard the themes separately (where possible) and how they see/experience the interrelations between the themes. After that and partly intertwined in it, I will discuss how the teachers say they put their ideas in practice, both as part of the course, and how they deal with it when it occurs.

5.2.1 Respect

Regarding the definition of the word respect, three of the teachers used as the first basic definition the Dutch sentence ‘*respect is iemand in zijn waarde laten*’; a literal translation would be: ‘to let someone be, within his or her own value’. Culturally translated it could mean something like: ‘appreciating people for who and what they are’, or ‘to acknowledge the other one’s value’. Teacher 1 added to this ‘not to impose one’s *opinion* on someone else’¹, as she explains to her pupils, ‘you may think differently from me, but I don’t have to dislike because of that’. Two teachers expressed that ‘respect is to treat others the way you would like to be treated yourself’, a philosophy/attitude that stems from the biblical position regarding respect. Teacher 4 had a slightly other angle in his view of respect. According to him, respect means ‘to always – every time again – be able and willing to face the other, without trying to avoid it’.

Teacher 6 was rather critical of the use (or misuse) of the word respect. ‘It is a charged word’, he explained, ‘pupils often use it: “I want to be treated with respect”, but if you don’t show it to others, to your classmates or to me [...] you should not be surprised not to be treated with respect yourself’. While teacher 1 related the concept of respect directly to having respect for the different ethnic and religious groups, teacher 6’s interpretation of respect was related to how pupils treat each other and him in class, in the day-to-day practice. For him respect was mostly noticeable in the tone of the voice and the way of approaching each other.

1 This emphasis on opinion is interesting within the Dutch debate regarding the right to freedom of opinion versus the right not to be discriminated.

What does it mean to show or have respect in practice?

Interestingly, when the conversation(s) went deeper into what respect meant in practice, the meanings started to diverge quite a lot among the different teachers. Four of the teachers referred automatically to the pupils' attitudes and behaviour when speaking about respect, while one referred to her own attitudes in the first place (before speaking about the pupils' views and attitudes). Also within this emphasis on pupils, the differences in interpretations varied considerably. While teacher 1 referred mostly to having respect for each other's backgrounds and religion(s), each other's rights and opinions, by creating dialogue between the pupils on these issues, teacher 2 spoke directly about the right of pupils to express their ideas and opinions, without being judged because of them, but taking into account a certain line of respect for others (having respect in the way they express their opinions). In the first case it is more respect for each other's being, while in the second case respect seems to be based on the way ideas are expressed (that may in essence be both respectful and disrespectful).

Teacher 4 focussed on the *meaning* of the concept of respect, asking pupils whether they actually understood the implications of it. Teacher 6, like teacher 5, emphasised that respect is shown through (and embedded in) behaviour. They both argued that to be treated with respect, one has to first show respect to others (earn your own respect). Here teacher 5 first focussed on her own attitude towards the class, while teacher 6 focussed on the pupils' attitudes towards each other and towards him. For teacher 5 it was important to show respect towards her pupils first (as she knew they would then also show her respect in return).

For teacher 6, respect is mostly expressed through behaviour. In his viewpoint, respect needs to be earned. He explains his visions mostly through examples. He has a quite informal and joking relation with his pupils, and he allows them 'to go quite far', as long as his 'limits of respect' are maintained. Disrespect (to him as a teacher or towards a classmate, for example) according to him is expressed through simple behaviour, for example a look in a pupil's eyes, the tone in which a pupil would talk to him, or through the simple act of not letting others finish their sentences. On a somewhat broader level respect, for him, had something to do with 'rules of decency'.

For teacher 1 the first thing she said in the interview was that she finds *respect* the most important thing throughout her classes. She used a very simple definition: 'respect means to accept someone the way he or she is, and to accept them regardless of their opinion'. The first example she gave, was related to a lecture in which she discussed the various different religious backgrounds with her pupils. She did this by making it personal, and asking the pupils what their religious backgrounds were – by starting a dialogue, and emphasising the fact that we are all living together peacefully in the same country. Her conviction is that: 'Racism, discrimination, and disrespect stem from ignorance, simply not knowing'. And she adds: 'I believe that if you

know about each other you learn to have respect automatically’.

Next to ‘acknowledging someone’s value’, respect for teacher 3 is related to talking with, and truly listening to what another person has to say, without directly interpreting or judging it. This thought is directly linked to his idea about *prejudice*: ‘then you are not listening, you are already judging, and blocking the conversation.’

I see four different main approaches here:

1. Respect is to leave each other in peace, letting the other simply be, without judging him or her or interfering in the other person’s life. This approach shows a certain air of ‘live and let live’, in which the element of ‘laissez-faire’ lies in the background. This approach could apply in more segregated circumstances, in which you accept people being different by not questioning or intervening in each other’s ways.
2. Respect in behaviour, treating each other in the same way, that one would like to be treated him- or herself. In this approach deeds is the key word, what exactly the other looks like, believes or does, does not seem to be the most relevant aspect of it. It seems to be more important to think from one’s own point of view about with which treatment a person would feel comfortable with him- or herself.
3. Respect as a way to earn your own image to other people as well as to treat other people, essentially rather comparable to the second approach but with more emphasis on the fact that respect is something you have to earn or deserve by your own attitude.
4. Respect from a more personal basis and attitude, in which one would/should always try to place oneself in the other’s situation and position, to try and understand each other (from within).

5.2.2 Prejudice and stereotyping

What is prejudice according to teachers?

Prejudice is generally seen by teachers in much broader terms than, and not (necessarily) directly linked or leading to, discrimination and racism. The term prejudice was not only mentioned in relation to people’s (ethnic) background, as the one given by Dovidio *et al.* (2010), but also in relation to the way people dress, gender and sexual (and transsexual) role-patterns, the subcultures pupils belong to, the sport someone practices, the (non-)judgement of people according to their presumed or passed behaviour, musical preferences, and negative representations of vmbo pupils in society.

Prejudice, according to teachers, often leads to discrimination (and racism), this is in line with much previous research (Dovidio *et al.* 2010). In several of the teachers’ accounts, however, the open pronouncement of prejudiced ideas or opinions (and not only the acting according to prejudiced ideas) can already be interpreted as discrimination (or is interpreted as discrimination

by pupils). This fine line that sometimes overlaps is also expressed by Dovidio *et al.* when they contrast acting against someone from the out-group with the more subtle in-group favouritism. Sometimes there was a difference between how teachers thought about prejudice and how they dealt with it in practice.

A good example of this is teacher 5, who, concerning prejudice, explains that she talks with her pupils about how they dress and how they behave; but (as I will further discuss below in the paragraph about discrimination) that her pupils regard it as discrimination when they are judged according to these things. With her pupils she discusses the different ‘looks’ they may decide to have (the having of piercings, the colouring of one’s hair, etc.), and that there exist prejudiced ideas in society about how people look. If boys wear their jeans very low on their hips, or girls wear very tight clothes, she explains, it may create prejudiced ideas among others. She explains to them that it should not be like that, that people should simply respect each other, but that in practice it often happens. But she also adds that everyone has them, including herself, so that we should all be careful not to judge others.

Teacher 2 first mentions a basic definition (as also mentioned in the method she works with) that she teaches her pupils in class: ‘[prejudice] is an opinion about something or someone, that is not based on facts or knowledge’¹; with some illustrations of examples she uses in class. The *negative* element is not included in this definition (Dovidio *et al.* 2010). Two of these illustrations were: ‘all hockey-girls are posh’ and ‘all people from Turkey are lazy’. With this type of examples, she explained, she asks the pupils whether this statement is prejudice [a stereotype], a generalisation or straight discrimination. That is how she tries to make the pupils aware of these matters. Other teachers had a longer and more thorough explanation.

Teacher 3’s definition seems to go a little deeper and further, when he defines *prejudice* in relation to respect. If respect for him means listening to what people have to say, and talking to each other, *prejudice* means not listening to each other and blocking the conversation². ‘Then you are already giving a premature interpretation’, he explains. He takes prejudice to various levels, such as prejudice on a societal scale towards immigrants, but also (in his phrasing) more broadly to the judgement of any person/pupil [according to someone else’s account], without first listening to his or her version of a story. An example he mentions is that as a teacher and coordinator in the school he should listen to a pupil that supposedly skipped school before judging him or her, and acting according to that preconceived notion. Hereby he lays the link

1 Quote: ‘Prejudice. Then I teach them that that is an opinion about something or someone that is not based on knowledge or facts.’ (Interview 2: 6).

2 Quote: ‘Well, prejudice, that’s a kind of provisional fulfilment of ... well, you actually stop listening, ‘cause you already have made up your opinions, and you don’t need to talk anymore, ‘cause it, well yeah, kind of ‘blocks’... the discussion, and you don’t open up anymore for listening to what other people might have to tell.’ (Interview 3: 1)

with the (official) course content, such as the treatment of the themes of ‘the pluriform society’ and the ‘Dutch political system’. He adds in his classes, in practice: ‘we actually all are instant-psychologists, we see someone, and directly form an image of him or her’. And that image can be neutral, positive and negative, but is always based on prejudice.

Teacher 6’s explanation of prejudice is in line with this view, but even more rooted in practice (instead of theory). For him non-prejudice means that he does not judge his pupils according to their past behaviour in school, regardless of what they have done. In his classes, he declares, pupils start with a clean sheet. He then gives the basic definition (same as teacher 2’s) and links it to chapters in the book that are relevant for respect and prejudice, which he uses to treat prejudice in his lectures. Prejudice, for him and as he treats it in class, is very broad and related to role-patterns between men and women, but also according to sexual/gender role patterns, and to prejudice about, and the treatment of, immigrants.

Teacher 4 directly makes the link between prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination, and emphasises that they may flow into each other. He explains prejudice as a persistent generalising of an entire group, without any knowledge about the facts or the situation, ‘which finally leads to stereotyping and discriminating behaviour’¹. In this, it is interesting he speaks about ‘discriminating *behaviour*’, with that he seems to say that it becomes discrimination when ideas are transformed in behaviour, but that they are connected to each other from the start. After this short introduction, he directly places the connection between pupils’ attitudes and ideas in his school. He explains that because it is a predominantly white school, pupils have and express prejudiced ideas about immigrant or ethnic minorities. The lack of direct contact with, and unawareness of, other ethnic groups and immigrant minorities creates rejection of the unknown, he says. This was an element also present in the accounts of the other two havo/vwo teachers interviewed, although less outspoken. It became more apparent through their way of speaking and the examples mentioned.

Teacher 1’s basic thought is in line with the opinion that disrespect and prejudice are rooted in ignorance, as I explain above (paragraph 6.2.1). She does not say much more *directly* concerning prejudice, discrimination or racism, and gives no definitions of either one of them, but she indirectly gives a lot of information about how she deals with the topics in class. She focuses in her answer directly on how she handles the themes (all together) in class. She lays the focus, in my view, quite strongly on respect.

During the interviews I did not directly ask for the meaning and use of the concept of stereotyping, but since it is related to prejudice and discrimination, we did sometimes discuss this concept

¹ Quote: ‘Yeah, prejudice without factual knowledge, not to extrapolate a single fact to an entire group of people, or whatever, causing you to stereotyping, which might eventually lead to discriminatory behaviour. (Interview 4: 5).

as well. Looking at the way the different teachers define prejudice (and sometimes stereotyping) I deduct that the ‘scientific’ definitions of prejudice and stereotyping (Dovidio *et al.* 2010; Eriksen 2002) are in practical use often used interchangeably. The definitions and attitudes of the teachers take on a broader notion (including many other social categories) of prejudice than just regarding inter-ethnic relations (Dovidio *et al.* 2010), but also take less consideration of the social hierarchies that several scholars argue are implicit in prejudice and stereotypes (van Dijk 1987; Essed 1991 2002; Dovidio *et al.* 2010).

5.2.3 Discrimination

Most of the teachers I interviewed indicated a distinct difference between *prejudice* and *discrimination*. The teachers generally saw discrimination as the next step after prejudice and stereotyping, and, as such, having more impact. The exact distinction between the both, however, was not always easy to pinpoint, and they often come to overlap. Some teachers indicate that acting according to prejudice and/or stereotyping becomes discrimination. However, others indicated that preconceived notions are not necessarily (always) negative, and are a ‘natural’ way for people to ‘organise reality’, while they all indeed agreed discrimination is a negative thing.

Two teachers indicated that even discrimination is not only necessarily negative. One explains (focussing on the difference between discrimination and racism) that within discrimination there also is *positive discrimination*, while racism is never positive. The other teacher pointed at the original meaning of the word discrimination: *differentiation*; which basically only means ‘distinguishing the differences’. Both, however, mostly referred to discrimination in its negative connotation. By showing below how the teachers speak about the topic, I will try to understand how the different teachers draw the line.

How ambiguous the line can be between prejudice and discrimination, is easily illustrated with an example given by one of the teachers (e.g. teacher 2). She explained that when she treated the themes in her lectures, she would pose statements to her class asking them whether that [statement] was a *generalisation*, *prejudice* or [an example of] *discrimination*. In this she gave me two examples: 1) ‘Turkish people are lazy’; and 2) ‘Turkish people should not be allowed to enter the Netherlands any more’. She considered the first to be prejudiced, and the second to be discrimination¹. Her way of handling the themes was in line with the internet site of the course-book she used. Both comments are finally embedded in the same discriminatory feeling of rejection of the out-group (Dovidio *et al.* 2010). It is, therefore, difficult to draw distinct lines. Her examples are also illustrative of the rhetoric used in her school and region, in which – as in the case of teacher 4 – lack of contact with immigrant minorities creates prejudice and rejection of ‘the unknown other’. Both examples give expression to feelings of disgust

¹ This example is also illustrative of the interchangeability of the definitions of ‘prejudice’ and ‘stereotypes’. The first comment would in Dovidio *et al.*’s Definition be regarded as stereotyping.

and refusal (sometimes expressed by pupils), that could be explained (partly) by the perceived threat of the out-group to the in-group's morals (ibid.).

Discrimination, teacher 3 argues in the first place, is when prejudice or *entrenched views* actually come to cause disadvantages to some people or groups, while benefiting others; in other words, when people do not get equal opportunities in society. This definition is fully in line with Dovidio *et al.*'s definition. Therefore, he explained, the element of (unequal) power positions is an important aspect of discrimination, this idea gets closer to the power-implications posed by Essed (2002). Someone with a higher power position, has the power to cause disadvantages to other people. An example he provided was that of the *power* of an employer to deny someone a job on the basis of someone's personal background or characteristics.

In the second place, however, he hesitantly mentions an 'in-between variation' in which people openly express discriminating ideas, that (can) hurt someone, but do not directly cause disadvantages to him or her. This thought leads to the idea that openly pronouncing prejudiced ideas or stereotypes (and not only acting according to them) can be already be considered *discrimination*, as mentioned before (cf. paragraph 5.2.2). He, nevertheless, ends his line of thought with the idea that the 'real discrimination' is indeed the *acting* according to prejudiced ideas and causing actual disadvantages to people or groups, based on perceived differences. His line of thought and doubts are interesting, especially in consideration of the theory about *everyday racism* formulated by Philomena Essed (1991; 2002). They fit together in so far that she indicates that racism is ground in unequal power structures, and that racist expressions can therefore occur because of the inequality of society. This theory, however, takes the notion of discrimination/racism further to be embedded in the tissue or structures of society and be ideologically constructed, which are elements not (explicitly) mentioned by this teacher.

Teacher 5 directly speaks about the pupils' interpretations of discrimination, instead of her own (while when she spoke about *respect*, she had instead focussed on her own attitudes towards her pupils first). She says 'they feel discriminated when they are judged on their clothing or on how they look or on how they behave'. This statement is very interesting, because it is directly related to what she said *prejudice* meant. It illustrates even further how difficult it is to draw the line. In this example it is even hard to distinguish whether the indicated difference between prejudice and discrimination, according to her, lies in the difference between her pupils' and her own interpretations, or in the difference between merely *having* prejudiced ideas or *expressing* and/or *acting* according to them.

Regarding discrimination, teacher 6 thinks right away in practical terms. When I ask him what *discrimination* means to him personally, teacher 6, he himself a white Dutch, is pensive about whether he knows how it feels himself, and first thinks of two examples drawn from his personal

life. To try to understand the feeling of being discriminated he compares it to the feeling of being rejected¹, and he gives the example – even though he knew this is not completely comparable – of him and his friends having been *rejected* at a club once because of the way they looked (and the ‘left-wing air’ this entailed). Then he explains his wife (and therefore their children as well) is of a (visible) ethnic minority, and that their house has, at some point, been daubed with swastikas and racist texts, such as: ‘go back to your country’. Though he did not feel this attack was directed at him personally, and it did not (seem) to affect him in that way, it was meant as an attack at his loved ones.

Mostly, however, he spoke about how he treats discrimination in class. He tries to show his pupils the complex phenomenon that discrimination/racism is, and how easily influenced people are by other individuals and society as a whole, to act in an unjust way to others. ‘If you keep repeating things, people end up believing they are true. [...] Politicians like Wilders² work by the mercy of that’.

For teacher 2, the distinction between discrimination and prejudice is very subtle, as became clear with the examples used in the paragraph ‘Prejudice’ (paragraph 5.2.2). Both can be merely expressed by statements, but discrimination is harder, more extreme, and really meant negatively.

Teacher 4 points at the two meanings about the concept of discrimination, the neutral and the negative. First he focussed on the negative meaning, saying that he believes it is already (literally) discrimination if you start avoiding a group (of people) (see also Dovidio *et al.* 2010). This can also happen in an indirect way, for example by, the assignment of different power positions in society. The element of *hierarchy* (ibid.) is implicitly expressed here. Then he explains, he sometimes likes to point out in class that the literal, old-fashioned meaning is simply distinguishing. For example, by emphasising when two pupils are in love that they are also discriminating each other in relation to others in class, and he brings that back to the negative meaning, by saying: ‘if you love the one, it doesn’t mean you have to hate the other’. This is in line Allport’s (1945, in bid.) theory that ‘love-prejudice’ (for the own group) is much stronger and more natural than ‘hate-prejudice’ (towards others).

Generally, the teachers take discrimination as an *acting* according to certain biased ideas, which coincides with previous research (Dovidio *et al.* 2010). The question in many cases remains when to actually call something discrimination. When *rejection* or *avoidance* is often

1 ‘Rejection’ is indeed an important element in the process of discrimination (Essed 1991; Dovidio *et al.* 2010).

Which is indeed one of the important elements of discrimination and/or racism (Essed 1991; Dovidio *et al.* 2010).

2 Geert Wilders is a known (extreme-)right wing politician in national politics in the Netherlands.

already considered discrimination (Essed 1991; Dovidio *et al.* 2010; and the accounts of several teachers), in other instances both teachers and Dovidio *et al.* rather use the terms prejudice or stereotyping, to indicate something that could have been considered discrimination. Finally, the concept of peer and group pressure (as tested in several social experiments) to influence individuals to act in discriminating ways (as mentioned by mostly two teachers), is a layer of analysis that Dovidio *et al.* barely mentioned, but that is indeed important in such cycles of negative behaviour towards others.

5.2.4 Racism

The term discrimination seemed to me more common in the general vocabulary by the interviewed teachers than the term racism, as most teachers, when they spoke for themselves or gave their examples mostly mentioned or used the term discrimination. When directly asked about their ideas regarding the racism, they did almost all distinguish a difference between racism and discrimination, where racism was considered a form of discrimination or a more extreme expression of it. As with the exact differences between the other terms, the difference between discrimination and racism seems quite ambiguous, and teachers' responses and attitudes, show this indistinctness.

What was mostly agreed upon, is that racism is one step more extreme, a step harder. One of the teachers declared not using the term all together, because she thought it was too 'loaded' or 'charged', and it is derived from the concept of 'race' which she considered outdated. In her opinion it is related to idea that there exist several races of people, an idea that, she argues, dates back to World War 2 and before, but should no longer be applicable nowadays.

Teacher 4 has a clear and quite outspoken view of racism. He says: '[Racism] [...] is that you simply distinguish races, whereby you either directly or indirectly think/believe that certain races are allowed to be (here) and certain races (are) not (allowed to be here).' He then directly includes (political) questions often asked in the political and media debate, such as: 'should we handle this [cultural/ethnic/religious differences] in a segregated way?' or 'should we apply/stimulate assimilation?' About these questions he says:

'That is in my eyes just pure racism, that you actually, in core, do not want to tolerate people in their behaviour; [you want to] exclude [them], while these people cannot do anything about that. I am born as a Dutch person, and if I am discriminated as a Dutch, someone is racist to me, I can do what I want, but I cannot deny myself.'

With this statement he expresses a clear criticism towards the current tone of the dominant political discourse. He explains, he clearly has a personal opinion about these matters, which he can impossible hide in his teaching. He further continues explaining how he sees the difference between discrimination and racism: 'discrimination you can do in a fairly indirect

way, inactively, but racism is much more direct, more painful, more negative, has more impact'. But then he becomes a bit hesitant, so when I ask further, he continues that discrimination can be done subtly, by avoiding people, by thinking ideas silently, while racism he believes is more manifest, more active. He adds that social stratification is also a form of racism. In the line of thought expressed here, the ideas of Essed (1991), Rath (1999) and Dovidio *et al.* (2010) come together. The first views expressed by this teacher – regarding segregation and assimilation policies as a form of intolerance, social exclusion and racism –, he is close to the ideas of Essed. The detailed explanation by this teacher of his thoughts regarding discrimination and racism shows how difficult it actually is to a line between them. This could mean that, finally, the distinction may more 'ideological' than actual. The addition of the element of social stratification shows the relevance of Rath's concept of minorisation, wherein anyone in society not complying to the (upper-middle class) societal norms are looked down upon.

For teacher 6 the first thoughts that come up regarding racism is that discrimination moves into racism when violence comes in, this is how he explains it for pupils' exams. Shortly after that, however, he gives a broader notion of racism, when he explains how he discusses it with his pupils. With them he explains it from a historical perspective, about, for example, the German fascism. With this he wants to show racism is not only something done by some (like German fascists), but that it is a more general phenomenon, which everyone may do. He did also give quite extensive attention to (the atrocity of) slavery (with the American television series 'Roots'); and that this was something that often had a large impact on the afro-Surinamse and Afro-Antillean pupils, who would often then discuss this at home with their parents. This indicates how important it is to offer an honest attention to this part of history, teacher 6 expressed. When we continued this discussion during the interview regarding other historical elements of racism, such as colonialism and slavery in Dutch history (of which he was very critical), he came to the idea to start treating this more directly regarding the Dutch and Dutch-Antillean context. 'Because we have committed atrocities there! And we do not discuss them! I will start doing that from now!'

Teacher 3 sees racism as a specific form of discrimination; when it is done because of someone's 'race', skin colour or facial features. 'Discrimination may occur in a very silly and apparently 'innocent', superficial way, while racism, real extensive racist ideas, are developed/elaborated, such as darker people are closer to the ape, and white people are superior, that is an elaborated theory. Or of the Germans [during World War 2] with the shit of the 'superior race' and such...' Discrimination can also occur on other grounds, such as sexuality.

While explaining racism, teacher 5 approaches it from two different angles at the same time; as it is viewed by her pupils and the way she considers it herself. She starts from what she hears from her pupils. 'They consider something racist', she says, 'when you talk about an entire group

in society'. This can – like in the case of what she says about discrimination – be the openly pronouncing of prejudiced ideas. For herself, however, she explains: 'I have never experienced racism on a personal level, so for me the word has no personal meaning'. Considering some older experiences she had on a previous school in which she worked, I understood that for her, on a personal level, the merely pronouncing of prejudiced or stereotypical ideas about an (ethnic) group, is not racism. In the context of the previous school she indicates that some more 'extremist' pupils in that school often expressed extreme prejudiced (and racist ideas) about immigrants, including 'those lazy people from Surinam'. She would then refer to her own darker skin colour and Surinamese background to them and the fact that she thought them Dutch 'their own mother's tongue!', to confront the pupils with their thoughts. She clearly indicated that she felt not affected by the comments, because she knew they were not directed against her personally (but to people they considered 'not to adapt themselves to Dutch norms' (Dovidio *et al.* 2010).

Racism is generally seen by the teachers as a more extreme form of discrimination: 'harder', 'more painful', 'more direct', 'including violence', 'well developed ideologies'... are some of the examples mentioned. On the other hand the teachers indicate it is a specific form of discrimination: the one based on skin colour or 'race' and ethnic background. If I consider the teachers' definitions in comparison with Essed's concept of *everyday racism*, the hard, painful and ideological elements coincide with the concept of this theoretical framework. The 'everyday' element that brings together all the big and small, institutional and personal, and visible and invisible instances of discrimination a person may face into as a structural form of oppression, however, is not part of these considerations.

5.3 Examples of prejudice/stereotyping, discrimination and racism

5.3.1 Expressed by teachers

By teachers in the schools with a large white ethnic majority, the most prominently mentioned examples of prejudice/stereotyping, discrimination or racism were the openly pronounced prejudiced statements about ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. These mostly focused at the Turkish or Moroccan minority. Teacher 2 mentioned her pupils could say things like: 'Turkish and Moroccans are lazy'; or 'they don't want to integrate'; or 'they steal our jobs'. This is a type of prejudice/discrimination that I did not encounter in the ethnically more diverse school. It is more a type of prejudice/discrimination expressed from a distance, about a group of people that the one pronouncing it, is not actually familiar [very] with.

An example one teacher of a predominantly white-Dutch school mentioned as part of his lecturing, reflects that, no matter how cautious people may be, prejudiced ideas are part of every one's worldview. The example given was that if a person is hit in the face once by a Moroccan, this may become part of the negative image about Moroccans in his or her selective perception. This example shows the white-Dutch context in which this teacher works, as the implicit position from which this is expressed is white-Dutch, while the perpetrator is assumed to be Moroccan. There is a prejudiced assumption implicit in this example: the teacher here seems to take on the notion that a Moroccan is male, has an assumed lower-class position and a tendency for aggression (Wekker 2009). Another layer of assumption, is that if someone is discriminated against, he/she (or another person from the ethnic group) probably did something to be treated in that way.

'Intelligence discrimination' or 'class discrimination'?

A form of stigma or discrimination I have observed was between pupils on vmbo level and pupils on havo/vwo level, and several of their teachers indicated to 'boost their self-esteem' or to give them tools for countering these prejudices in society. Vmbo kids seem to be regarded, in general (in society), as less intelligent kids, that are being prepared for vocational training, and in the media vmbo pupils have increasingly been portrayed in negative ways. The state sees it as a problem, for example, that (in rural areas) so many kids go to vmbo vocational education (news item ± March 2013). Teacher 1 had invited a university lecturer from a technical university to speak in front of her class, and many pupils had thought they would not be intelligent enough to understand him; 'of course you are!', she said she had exclaimed. From what I understood from these four teachers, even teaching these pupils seems less valued than teaching higher level pupils. Three of them mentioned that teachers from the higher levels showed a certain reluctance to teach on this level, or expressed certain negative views about the vmbo section of the school. Teacher 6 explained that whenever he would, in his private life, talk about his work, people would often look at him and ask him if he then had a lot of foreign pupils.

5.3.2 Expressed in the workshops

An interesting thing I noticed while doing the class workshops in the ethnically more 'white' school, was that, even though they were older, pupils seemed to have more difficulty explaining what the topics of respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism meant than the pupils in the ethnically more diverse school. It may mean that they have given these themes less thought, or that they are confronted with them much less than pupils in an ethnically more mixed school. Several white pupils (both boys and girls) indeed indicated that they did not understand how it would feel to be discriminated against.

Though I encountered very few blunt expressions of discrimination/racism, (certain) pupils felt more 'free' in openly pronouncing prejudiced statements when they had no classmates with an

immigrant background. The most blunt examples of discrimination/racism were expressed by one pupil in a class with no minority pupils: ‘Turks and Moroccans should never have come here in the first place, I don’t want them here’. This pupil did indeed agree these were racist ideas and felt it was her right to express them.

The fact that this person felt ‘free’ to utter these ideas out loud, can be explained within the theoretical framework of everyday racism, of which an aspect is that ‘[...] the consciously or unconsciously felt security of belonging to the group in power, plus the expectation that other group members will give (passive) consent, empowers individual members of the dominant group in their acts or beliefs against the dominated group’ (Essed 2002: 182). A person may thus feel free to openly express their prejudiced or racist ideas because he or she feels the support of being in the majority, without being contested too much or ‘attacking’ someone face-to-face. This can be seen in comparison with other classes (in the predominantly white ethnic school) with at least one or two pupils from an ethnic minority and in classes with a larger ethnic mix (in the school with a larger ethnic mix), where ethnic white pupils were indeed often more nuanced and respectful in their comments, and were often contested when they were not.

Ethnic white pupils that did give expression to prejudiced ideas or jokes (mostly these were expressed by boys), in classes with ethnic minorities, were indeed (in both schools) contested by (some of their) classmates. The contestations I saw, came from pupils with an ethnic minority

Box 2

During one of the workshop I was in an ethnically quite mixed class, in which white pupils were a small majority, with a couple of pupils with a Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese, Antillian and East-african background in the class. It was a small class with a generally positive, playful and cheerful energy. I was discussing prejudice, discrimination and racism and the pupils were giving examples of different things they considered racist, forms of discrimination, racism and prejudice, also historically. The Protestants’ discrimination against the Catholics; the assumption that is often made that when a bicycle is stolen, it must have been a Moroccan, and Geert Wilders are mentioned. One (white) boy says: ‘actually, we all have racism about everyone’. Then the conversation flows into racism in jokes. And the class starts laughing about these jokes. ‘Three Moroccans in a bus, who’s the driver? The police’, followed by laughter. Then, one white boy starts telling, as an example of racism, a joke about a brown person who is granted a wish, trips, thinks: ‘SH*T’, and falls into his own poo. Half-way his story, he has forgotten that it was meant as an example of racism, and he and a part of the class start laughing about the joke. One of the white girls, however, cries out: ‘What is this?!’ But the clearest contestation comes from an Afro-Surinamese boy in the class, who somewhat offended tells this boy not to listen to people who tell him this kind of non-sense. The white boy realises his mistake, and explains an example of racism against some brown boys in his primary school, as to explain himself. Shortly after, the cloud is cleared and the pupils continue having fun with each other (apparently) unaffectedly.

background (both boys and girls) and from ethnic white girls in the class. In Box 2 I give an example of how this worked, by describing a situation explained to me.

The situation described in Box 2 shows both how easily the line is crossed between joke, prejudice and racism, and how a direct contestation and confrontation with the expressing of these ideas can be quite effective in becoming aware of them.

The rhetoric, while talking about respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism, of most pupils from the ethnic dominant (white) group (as with the ethnic white teachers), showed distance, they did not feel the subject of discrimination; and in some cases, the majority of the pupils had not given the topics (respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism) much thought.

During the class workshops, in both schools, I saw a noteworthy difference between the responses of boys and of girls in the tone of their responses. The majority of girls spoke in a softer tone, emphasised the importance of respect more, and stressed that discrimination was a bad thing. It was more common for boys, also sometimes as a joke, to make more blunt and 'harder' statements. Although some of the most fierce (and even aggressive) comments came from two different girls, one in each school.

5.4 Treatment of the themes – What do teachers do in class?

5.4.1 As part of the course

In teacher 1's approach of the themes prejudice/stereotyping, discrimination and racism in class, she focuses on respect and on meeting each other. She thus focuses on positive elements. She greatly believes in *activating work forms* – a way of working mostly developed for vmbo pupils, in which the pupils themselves are actively part of the learning process and they are put to work instead of learning only from the books (too much) – through which she stimulates her pupils to investigate their own stories, histories, and backgrounds, (for example their parents' migration story or their own religion) to share and tell these in class and to learn from each other's stories. 'These kids [with different backgrounds] are in the same class, but they often know very little about each other's backgrounds, this way they learn from each other, and they come to respect each other'. 'These kids need to feel it, they need to experience it', she explains, 'then it [the information/knowledge] sticks and they can understand it'. She tries to bring every subject she deals with in class back to the pupils world view and to make it fun for them to learn. On another layer of prejudice, that which is expressed towards vmbo pupils more generally, she worked on an even more indirect basis.

Teacher 6, for discrimination and racism, focuses both on historical elements, and on sociological and psychological elements. Historically, he speaks first about the post-colonial, labour and refugee migration streams coming to the Netherlands, and how derogatory these people were treated back then and still are now (he gives the example of how the Polish labourers live under the same dehumanising conditions as the Southern-Europeans, Turkish and Moroccans in the 1970s). Secondly, he also explains about fascism and racism during the Second World War. However, then he also discusses social experiments such as the ‘Milcon Experiment’, and the ‘Blue Eye/Brown Eye Experiment’, because he wants to make clear these processes are not only frozen in history and existent in this extreme form, but that we humans are very easily influenced by others (also) into negative processes. This last experiment, he said, was something he experimented with once in one of his classes, with which he had a very good trust-connection, for 15 minutes, to let the kids from the dominant ethnic group experience how discrimination on ones own skin actually felt. He said it was intense for them, but that they did appreciate it afterwards.

To make his classes more interactive, he shows his pupils power point presentations (that are partly based on chapters of the book relevant for the themes) with short film fragments and (funny) pictures of different forms of prejudice and role-patterns in society. Here on the one hand discusses, for example stuck role-patterns between men and women, and always shows a documentary about a transgender youngster. He explains this is sometimes very confronting, but he finds it important that his pupils learn to accept all kinds of differences between people. To explain to his pupils how discrimination/racism work in practice and which effects they have, he shows films about it, like ‘Crash’ and ‘The Wave’.

When I ask teacher 3 how he treats the themes in class, he draws the following scheme:

Frame of Reference → Selective Perception →
Prejudice → Stereotype → Discrimination

He explains that every person has a *frame of reference*, that starts to grow from the moment one is born and is influenced by the things he or she experiences, sees and hears about throughout his or her life. This starts with the structural things people learn in their upbringing. People view the world through their built up frame of reference, which colours the way they interpret the things they see and influences which things they choose to see. This is *selective perception*. ‘A racist skinhead’, he explains, ‘will not read an anti-discrimination pamphlet! [...] So you end up only seeing and reading the things that you want to hear’. Then the steps to prejudice and stereotyping, teacher 3 continues, are easily made. And then the next step is using these ideas, when you come to a power position, to discriminate others and actually disadvantage others.

Teacher 2 tries to make her pupils understand the differences between the different steps of discrimination by giving examples and asking whether it is prejudice, generalisation or

discrimination. I illustrated her examples used above.

Teacher 4 focuses largely on sociological processes, and tries to stimulate critical thinking in his pupils, by continuously confronting them with entrenched ideas. An example he gave is the use of the word ‘tolerance’ in Dutch society. He says to pupils: ‘I tolerate you. How does that feel? [...] So what does it mean to say: *the Netherlands is a tolerant society?*’ This way he tries to make his students think critically/differently about everyday words used in the public debate regarding immigration matters. He uses this same method with the word respect, that he says is seemingly simple, but complicated in its reality/application.

Teacher 5 explains that she speaks a lot with her pupils about negative media imagery about them, whether it is negative images expressed about vmbo pupils as a whole, or about Moroccans, or Antillians, for example, as ethnic minorities. When the media started speaking negatively about Moroccan youth, mostly boys, some years back she would speak with her pupils:

‘It is on the pupils minds when these images are expressed in the media [...], but I tell them that, then even more, you have to show them that that you are not part of that very small group that does behave like that [youth making trouble in the streets], because we should not deny that those behaving badly are also there. And this way I try to talk with them.’

Even though she did not mention the negative imagery about vmbo youth directly as a form of prejudice, this was one of the more important subjects of discussion for her with her pupils. Regarding this she discusses with them what they may expect in society as soon as they finish school: ‘[...] that the world is not fair, and that in some jobs you will not get any opportunities, because you have a foreign name’. This way she tries to make her pupils aware of the situation and to mentally prepare them for the [possible] situation after school; trying to offer them tools to handle an unjust situation.

5.4.2 When examples of prejudice and/or discrimination occur

When I asked teacher 1 whether she had encountered discrimination and/or racism in her classes or how she dealt with discrimination/racism in her classes, her first spontaneous reaction was that she had not (yet) encountered any discrimination in her classes. ‘Pupils don’t see each other in that way, they don’t see each other as different’, she explained, ‘they usually treat each other with respect’. She also [jokingly] added it could be because her background was not Dutch either. On second thought, however, she remembered two incidents, of which she did recognise the first as something she needed to react to, but not the second one. In the first case a class had reacted strongly [in astonishment] to a boy when he said he was Jewish. Here she reacted by engaging into a discussion about Judaism with the class and asking the pupil to explain a little bit more about his background and Judaism. Little by little the class calmed down, and she said to them: ‘see, there’s nothing strange about being a Jew! There’s a lot of Jewish people in

the Netherlands'. In the other case a boy was repeatedly calling a girl 'Curaçao' (the name of the island where she was born). The teacher did not recognise this as an insult, but the girl did experience this as such, and had become really angry with the boy in one of the next classes. 'Apparently the word 'Curaçao' to them meant something like 'backwards', it then just depends on which meanings pupils attach to words'.

Teacher 2 explains she encounters prejudice among her pupils, when she, for example, discusses the integration debate. 'That's when you hear more oversimplified opinions. [...] many pupils do have some sort of opinion. Prejudice.' When she meets prejudice among her pupils, she tries not to impose her own values or opinion too much on the pupil saying something like: 'you're wrong!'. She rather tries to ask critical questions about why a pupils thinks a certain thing, to try to make the pupils re-think his or her views. But also by providing her pupils more information about immigration, reasons for migrating, the actual numbers, and showing that reality is more complex than these ideas. Teacher 3 has a different approach: 'I directly correct them! [...] people have different opinions, we do not have to agree with each other, and I can handle a joke, but I have one limit, and that is when you speak without respect to or about someone else!' When it comes to direct discrimination or disrespect between pupils, teacher 2, opts for a led class-discussion or a led discussion between the involved parties.

5.5 Rhetoric of teachers

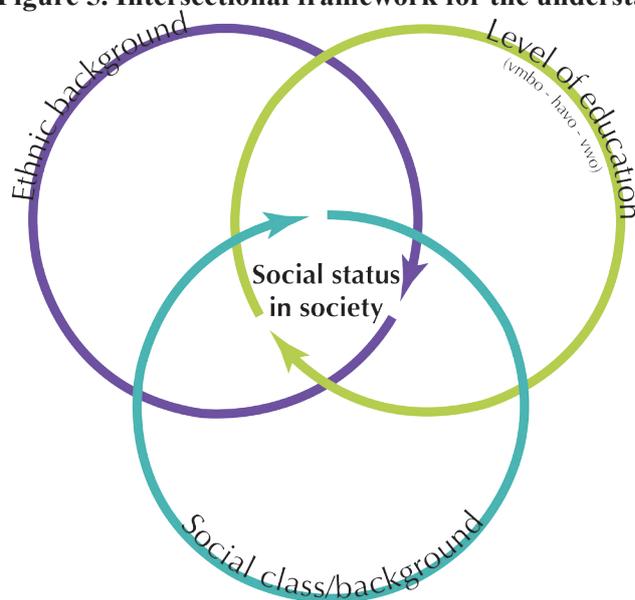
An important difference that I observed between the rhetoric of the teachers (of vmbo classes) in the Rotterdam area and teachers (of havo/vwo classes) in Noord-Brabant, is related to both the difference in ethnic background and the level of education of the pupils they teach. The teachers I spoke with in the Rotterdam area spoke from the position that their pupils often were the subject of discrimination and thus in a (more) subordinate position, whereas the teachers I spoke to in the other two areas (in the more middle class schools with less ethnic diversity) spoke from the position that their pupils were further away from the situation of actual discrimination (but with prejudiced ideas about distant others). A certain bias was also visible from both havo/vwo and vmbo teachers regarding the 'other' pupils, of which the one of vmbo teachers regarding havo/vwo pupils seemed more reactionary (Dovidio *et al.* 2010).

Some vmbo teachers regarded havo and vwo pupils as 'less direct and spontaneous', 'more critical' and 'difficult to teach' on the one hand. While on the other hand, teachers on havo/vwo level could sometimes express biased ideas about vmbo and/or ethnic minority pupils, such as the automatic assumption '*allochtonous kids* → *vmbo schools*', or even the assumption '*allochtonous kids* → *problem youth*' (Wekker 2009), that I heard a teacher express. This assumption was at one point supplemented with a value judgement: 'the refugee kids perform quite well [...], but the Turkish and Moroccan kids are mostly in the vmbo department'.

‘Performing quite well’ then means not being in the vmbo department, but in the (more valued) havo or vwo sections.

Seen through an intersectional angle, I observed that mainly three social position(ing)s intersect with each other; *education level*, *class (or social) background*, and *ethnic background*; in that way defining/influencing the pupils’ social status in society.

Figure 5. Intersectional framework for the understanding of a pupils’ social status in society



source: Maria Platteeuw

The subordinate position of vmbo pupils and the awareness of their teachers to do something about it was mainly visible in two attitudes. 1) I observed this from a certain defensive and protective attitude of their pupils. 2) the determination of the teachers to offer their pupils tools to develop themselves well and stand up for themselves in society. Although within this defensive attitude also a certain ambiguous attitude was visible. On the one hand, the vmbo teachers openly expressed (a certain) pride in their pupils. But on the other side they expressed a sense or feeling of subordination. In many (either ‘positive’ or ‘negative’) statements made (regarding this aspect) this ambiguity was visible. I will show this with a couple of examples below.

One vmbo teacher, for example, said he had recently obtained his ‘second’ degree allowing him to teach for havo/vwo pupils as well and that he, indeed, wanted to start doing that as soon as possible. He expressed, however, that he would by no means stop teaching vmbo pupils:

‘[...] this [vmbo] is the basis. Look, [...] this is the low level, but if you teach these kids, and you can keep

them interested, then you can do it everywhere. And look, I also like teaching a 6 vwo class, but then I also want a class like this. That is just fun. These kids are also more direct to you, a 6 vwo class does not do that. So then you also stay grounded with both feet on the floor, you know.'

This statement, as I analyse it, expresses on the one hand a feeling of trust and pride in 'his' vmbo pupils. He sees them as 'the basis', where it all starts. It is simply fun and fulfilling to teach them. On the other hand, he also expressed a sense of subordination. By saying: 'this is the low level, but...', it is (almost) as if he needs to excuse the fact that his pupils are on vmbo level. I sensed this in the expressions of other vmbo teachers as well.

Another vmbo teacher, in this respect, was quite clear to me throughout the interview (in several parts of the interview) that she believed very much in the potential of her pupils, and that she believed they were capable of much more than they were (generally) given credit for. But by at some point saying: 'they are vmbo kids, but when you give them an assignment they're interested in they perform really well', she gives expression to a more general feeling of subordination existing in society. She is in a way defending the kids from that idea that they cannot perform well (because they are vmbo).

The ambiguous attitude was even more clear in a third teacher, who first indicated that one of the (most) important topics for her, which she (regularly) discussed in her classes and with her pupils, is that of the sense of disdain she feels is often expressed in the media discourse regarding vmbo pupils. By discussing this in class, she wants to give her pupils tools to prepare them for their future and the possible discrimination they may face. In this line, she also expressed that she believed profoundly in the potential and the abilities of these students; that she felt they were often underestimated; and that they had often simply not been offered the same chances in life than children from stable, middle-class families. On the other hand this teacher did not see the need for more extensive or deeper treatment of (more theoretical) historic or post-colonial themes with them, because it 'is too theoretical and complicated for them, these kids like to work with their hands'.

The association between a vmbo class, lower class status and ethnic minority background may easily be laid. A quote, already referred to before, while discussing discrimination on (lack of) intelligence or class, from one of the vmbo teachers is exemplary for this:

'I tell [my pupils that], if I am on a birthday-party and people ask me: "hey, what do you do?" I am a teacher. "Oh, havo/vwo?" "No", I answer, "vmbo". "Oh! And eehm... how is that?" I tell them it's good, and then I get the third question: "Well... it's difficult to ask this..." I say: "what exactly you want to know?" "What about the allochthonous?"

This quote is illustrative of the automatic assumption: '*vmbo* → *ethnic minority pupils* → *lower-class status*', that I explained above as expressed by a havo/vwo teacher as well. A process of

minorisation (regarding both ethnic and class status) is visible here (Rath 1999).

The teachers' own discretion – sense of personal freedom in teaching

When I asked the teachers how they experienced their freedom within the official curriculum (e.g. the 'discretion' as defined in chapter 3), the first reaction of all six was: 'A lot of freedom!' or 'All the freedom, because I cannot be anyone else, but myself'. There was, however, always a 'but' after this. 'Yes, I have quite some freedom', teacher 3 said, 'we [the other study of society teachers and me] broadly follow the prescribed programme, which is also in the book, but around that you have different possibilities to apply it to practice'. As teacher 6 expressed: 'I have all the freedom [in the world], because I cannot stop being myself and expressing that, but the curriculum is always there... [pressing]'

The way this freedom (or discretion) was interpreted was different per teacher. One vmbo teacher saw her freedom in terms of teaching methodologies; she was always thinking of diverse activities she could do with the pupils to stimulate their creativity, respect for each other, and understanding of the world. She generally followed the themes from the course-book, but did not work too much directly from it. She explained she believed strongly in what she called 'activating work forms', with which she would let the pupils experience, feel and investigate matters by themselves. She believed that pupils (and especially those in vmbo) learned and remembered much more in that way. These activating work forms could range from doing a small research and presentations, to role-plays, to things such as having a multicultural food-party together in class, building a fully working volcano (so that they would enjoy learning about natural processes and have bigger chances to remember), inviting a university lecturer to speak in class or visiting a courthouse. This way she also stimulated the self-esteem of a group of pupils she knew were often disregarded. For her the most important limitation of her sensed freedom was the budget; activities could not cost any money.

Another teacher expressed more indirectly another way that teachers and schools can influence the curriculum. She indicated that the first couple of years after the canon of Dutch history was introduced in secondary schools, the teachers working with this course did not deem it necessary to include it in the course programme. Now, they had introduced some of the (in total 50) themes of the canon, the ones they saw as the most relevant.

The freedom of a school and a teacher starts with the course-book/method he or she chooses to use. The different course-books show very different paths to the knowledge the pupils are expected to know by the time they do their final exam. Teachers are/seem to be quite free in the way they use the course-books in their teaching. They can add several other materials, such as films, television series, internet material, etc. But several teachers also indicated that they [can also] leave out those chapters or paragraphs they deemed less relevant.

6. Discussion and concluding remarks

In this thesis I studied the expressions of the concepts respect, prejudice/stereotyping, discrimination and racism, in the core targets of the state for the area of study person & society and in the course books used by the teachers interviewed. Additionally, I have studied these themes as these were expressed and implemented by teachers in their teaching practices. Throughout the scope of my thesis, I have used a theoretical framework that links the process of (everyday) racism (Essed 1991; 2002; van den Broek 2009) or (ethnic) minorisation (Rath 1999) to the interactive character of the formation of ethnic and national groups (Eriksen 2002; Dovidio *et al.* 2010).

The present-day core targets of the government are formulated in a quite broad way, leaving more space open for the writers of the course books to develop the themes in accordance to their wishes. The core targets generally stress that pupils should acquire a general set of tools to be able to ask meaningful questions about contemporary social phenomena. The use of a historical time frame, in which the Netherlands is the basic point of departure, is one of the required elements the pupils are expected to know, and be able to apply in order to explain their contemporary social reality. But also the development of a reflexive awareness of the relations between pupils' own direct social environment, the country as a whole, Europe and the rest of the world are mentioned. The position departs from the 'own Dutch context'. 'Respect' is mentioned in two of the core goals, in relation to 'accept' critique in a 'respectful way' and in relation of having respect for 'different opinions, convictions and ways of life' with regard to differences in the country's cultures and religions. The treatment of the concepts of prejudice, discrimination and racism is not explicitly mentioned in the core aims.

In the analysis of the course books I focused on the notions expressed about culture, ethnicity, nationality and national identity; the Dutch self-imagery expressed in comparison to the imagery of 'others'; and the use and explanation of the concepts of prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination and racism. I found that, by considering that the culture of a country consists of different sub-cultures, the books in general expressed a quite broad and inclusive notion of culture and showed awareness of minority perspectives. However, the message about (Dutch) culture the books express was at the same time a little ambiguous. While at some points, the books offer a broad and inclusive notion of culture, in which they address everyone living in the Netherlands, at other points they reflect a more narrow idea about Dutch culture. By at some points presenting essentialised pictures of a 'tolerant and gender-equal' dominant (white-) Dutch culture; and less positive pictures of a 'non-tolerant or subordinate' other, this confirms a positive self-image. All three books finally add, either explicitly or implicitly, to a positive Dutch self-imagery. The position from which the books are written, generally reflects a white-Dutch perspective (van Dijk 1987). A historical treatment of the concept of racism in the core goals and the course books is mostly offered in relation to national socialism during World War II, and in the website of one course book connected to the 'stereotypical ideas about race' that

arose during colonialism (Wekker 2002, Dovidio *et al.* 2010). Not much space was visible for a post-colonial awareness, and fully inclusive historiography (Hogervorst 2004; Aztouti 2012).

In two of the course books the themes prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination and racism are explicitly part of the content. The basic definitions of the terms between the different books are quite similar. But the role the themes had in relation to the scope of the rest of the book, varied quite a lot, which may have been influenced by the fact that one of the books was ten years old, as the method's website showed a bigger emphasis on the themes. One of the books paid quite a lot of attention to the meaning and practical expressions and implications of discrimination, racism and social exclusion in society. Meanwhile, the other book only mentioned the (definitions of) the terms very shortly and did not define or use the concept of racism at all.

For the interviewed teachers the concept of respect was very important, and they all expressed a strong commitment to the treatment of prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination and racism in class. As clear-cut and to the point the definitions were in the course books, as complex and variable they were in their practical implications for the teachers. Most definitions the teachers gave (as far as they were given) were in one way or another related to the basic definitions. But the teachers' definitions showed their own reflections on, and additions to the basic definitions. Moreover, the teachers included their expertise and experience into their views of respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism. The teachers' experience and expertise was coloured by their own personal (ethnic, social and regional) background, and that of the context in which they worked (which includes the class-, ethnic- and education level of the pupils they teach).

Next to efforts done by course books and teachers, pupils always have their own agency and worldview according to which they interpret the themes. In the case of the pupils, what respect, prejudice, discrimination and racism meant, and how they spoke about and related to the concepts, was dependent on the context in which they lived, as it was with the teachers. The way of dealing with discrimination and racism was more direct and playful in the ethnically more diverse groups. The class-, ethnic and education level of the pupils influences the pupils social status (Wekker 2002; 2009). The commitment of a teacher to act when when a pupils expresses racist victimisation is very important for pupils to feel comfortable in speaking out about it (Verkuyten and Thijs 2002). This was visible in the classes in both schools (of the interviewed teachers), where pupils felt comfortable in disclosing instances of discrimination to me and the class in general.

The content of the curriculum expressed through the core goals and the content of the course-books expresses a commitment to let pupils develop a reflexive social awareness, through also a (slight) historical notion. These are the first markers of the themes treated in class, and the choices made by the individual teachers are another important marker. Though the basic definitions in

the books are included in the 'final terms' for which the pupils in their final exams are tested, the teachers are quite 'free' to fill the lines in between according to their own discretion. This can mean the inclusion of themes, examples and methods of teaching they deem important; a critical reflection of the content of the book; or even the skipping of parts of the book. A good way to deal with everyday discrimination and racism, is to acknowledge it happens, to become aware of it and to make it discussable in class (van den Broek 2009).

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