

## Master thesis



## It is everywhere and it is nowhere:

A thesis on racism from the perspective of coloured educators

**Huda Mohamed Sufyan**  
**S1477987**  
**4th of August 2022**  
**Public Administration**  
**University of Twente**  
**First supervisor: Dr. M.R.R. Ossewaarde**  
**Second supervisor: Prof.dr. A. Need**

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## Abstract

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This thesis entails a content analysis concerning the experiences that coloured educators have with racism and how they use policies to prevent or battle this phenomenon. Specifically, this illustrative case study tries to shed a light on experiences that these educators have within their schools that are located in Twente. The aim is to provide an answer on the following research question: *To what extent do educators with a non-white background perceive and have experience with different forms of racism within their schools and how do they use existing policies to combat or prevent this phenomenon?* For this purpose, thirteen interviews were held with educators with a different ethnic background working in different schools located in Enschede, Hengelo and Almelo. With the help of concept-driven coding the data analysis was performed. This showed that, especially societal and institutionalized racism, was present in the schools in the perception of the educators. In terms of the policies, it became clear that the use and the knowledge on the existence of the anti-racism policy within their school were minimal.

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# 1. Introduction

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On the 25<sup>th</sup> of May 2020 the world was confronted with the images of officer Derek Chauvin kneeling on the neck of George Floyd, a black man, for nearly 9 minutes resulting in the death of the man. His death has erupted worldwide protests against racism and police brutality (The New York Time, 2020). Despite being located miles away, the Netherlands was in turmoil following this incident. There were different “Black Lives Matter” protests around the country, a petition on battling racism in the educational system was designed, several athletes started kneeling during matches and the Prime Minister had a meeting with several activists. In short, this discussion went much further than just police brutality. The discussion revolved around battling racism in every institution. One of those institutions is the educational system. This thesis focuses on three forms of racism in the educational system and more specifically on the position of coloured teachers in this system. The three forms of racism: individual, societal and institutional, will be explained in the chapter of the theoretical framework. The focus is on coloured teachers because they have a peculiar position. On the one hand, they have to function in a system where they are potential victims of racism due to their colour. On the other hand, they can function as a confidant for coloured students as well as white teachers due to their position of the hierarchy in the organisation. They have more power than students to initiate conversations about racism if a student reports an incident. In addition, they can rather easily overhear how other teachers are talking about coloured students in the staffroom. Furthermore, white teachers that have no idea what to do with racial incidents seek advice from their coloured colleagues due to their personal experiences with racism. The following story of a Dutch teacher really portrays a part of this theory: “I worked as a teacher at a school where the student population was ethnically diverse but the teachers were not. I was the only coloured teacher. I was regularly approached by students, some of whom I did not even know, and they would trust me and tell me stories about the racism they have encountered with at the school. In the staff room I would hear the teachers talk to each other about the students with a lot of prejudice. When I mentioned this to the manager and suggested that we invest

more time and effort in creating awareness surrounding racism and diversity, he got upset and told me he did not see colour. The conversation ended there. When it was time to renew my contract, he did not offer me one (Meese, 2020). ” This story mainly revolves around the perception of the coloured teacher. A racist situation came to his attention and he tried using his position in the organisation to better the situation.

When it comes racist experiences of coloured teachers, a research that has been conducted in Australia stands out. This research concludes that when it comes to student evaluation of courses and teachers, coloured teachers become victims of racism and the evaluation is negatively affected due to racial bias rather than their actual performance as teachers (Heffernan, 2021). Consequently, these evaluations lead to losing jobs and being promoted slower or less often compared to their white colleagues (Heffernan, 2021). Although this research has been conducted in Australia, smaller scale surveys and studies in European non- English speaking countries have been conducted and showed similar results.

When we specifically look for research that revolve around Dutch teachers with a non-white background, it becomes clear that this is barely available. In fact, research surrounding racism in the Dutch educational system is quite difficult to find. Although there are several signs that there is in fact racism in schools. However, those signs come from very small and often non-scientific studies. Moreover, they are mostly student and individual racism orientated. For instance, in 2018 the Dutch newspaper Het Parool published an article on racism in schools. The interviews concerning this matter was set in Amsterdam. The item focused on experts on the matter, such as the chairman of Meldpunt Discriminatie Amsterdam, but also students and teachers from different schools in Amsterdam. The article shows that racism is a rather difficult topic to talk about but very much present in the educational system according to the interviewees. However, it also shows that racism is a problematic topic due to its nuance. The article displays how mainly students make racial jokes despite of having a different ethnic background themselves. The students actually do find it funny but do not appreciate it when they are placed in a more white school and these jokes come from white students or teachers. It shows that the teachers also struggle with correcting this kind of behaviour and letting it go because no one is offended. In addition, and maybe even more importantly it shows that there are teachers who blatantly make racial remarks such as “when I see a Moroccan, I foresee problems (Van Gelder, 2018).” It is not surprising that forms of racism seem to be displayed and present in different areas of

schools. It is a concept that is integrated in everyday life and structurally influences our whole life (Schaap, 2017, P.97). One of the students that has been interviewed confirms this theory with the following statement: " Oh well I am used to it. Discrimination is so normal that I do not even talk about it with my friends. We are not going to tell each other daily how we got called stupid Moroccan once again (Van Gelder, 2018)."

The article was not a scientific research on racism but it was merely focused on interviewing people. Therefore, this cannot be seen as a full-fledged study on racism but it rather portrays the opinions and feelings of a few. Moreover, the interviews only took place in Amsterdam and other cities were not mentioned. In contrary, a more general research on racism has been conducted across the Netherlands. In 2018, the seventh report on racism, antisemitism and extreme-right violence of the Verwey-Jonker institution was published. In addition, in terms of racism, the study focuses on different fields in the Netherlands such as the police, healthcare and most importantly, for this thesis, schools. The report shows that in 2017, around 3% of the incidents occurred in a school (Tierolf et al, 2018). It is not specified what kind of racism takes place and how often it takes place. The article and the study highlight individual racism in schools but this thesis focuses on institutionalized and societal racism as well.

### **§1.1 Problem statement and objectives**

As aforementioned, several (short) studies show that there is racism present in schools and these are mostly focused on individual racism. The literature shows that there have been many studies that have been conducted in either the United Kingdom or in the United States. It seems like the Dutch scientific world is staying behind in participating in this debate. In addition, some of the studies conducted in these two countries seem to be taking societal and institutionalized racism into account as well. There is barely content available in the Dutch academic world concerning racism. Moreover, the literature that is available is mostly deprecated literature. According to Schaap, Dutch racism by Jolanda van den Noll is a more recent and extensive study on Dutch racism. However, a study like this seems to be quite exceptional (Schaap, 2017, P.95). Consequently, racism in the Dutch educational system is something that has barely been discussed on a scientific level and specifically research on societal and institutionalized racism seems to be non-existent. Nevertheless, the few studies that have been conducted in the Netherlands mostly do show some strong forms of individual racism and subtle signs of societal and institutionalized racism.

For instance, this thesis was inspired by a small study that has been conducted in Saxion. The study implies that there is a relationship between racism and a relatively high drop-out rate among non-western students (Akdeniz, 2019). This phenomenon seems to also continue in higher professional education. However, this time it manifests itself through the drop-out rate among students with a non-western background. The national drop-out rate of white students is significantly lower than the drop-out rate of coloured students. In Enschede, the difference in rate was even bigger. This led to a project to determine which factors contributed to this difference. This project, the Cormenius project, that has been subsidized by the municipality, took place in the higher professional education Saxion. The success rate of graduation as a coloured student was only 18.5% compared to the national rate which is 29.5%. The success rate in the same school for white students was 44.5%. The question remained why this difference was so significant and why this group was the largest group of dropouts. After conducting the research, it was concluded that there were three important factors that contributed to this phenomenon. One of those three factors, which is the one that is relevant for this thesis, was the attitude between students and teachers or counsellors. It turned out that most students felt either discriminated, misunderstood or

they felt both. They felt like they barely got help because of their background. The attitude towards them from other students or teachers were rather hostile and in extreme cases they were bluntly and openly discriminated which in its turn caused demotivation. As a result they eventually dropped out (Akdeniz, 2019). The results of the Saxion study is somewhat comparable with the results of a research that has been conducted by Sociaal-Cultureel planbureau. One of the outcomes of this study was that 12% of the students drop-out after they experience racist incident at their school (SCP, 2016). The problem with these studies is that it merely focuses on individual racism and does not take the other forms into account and it also only focuses on the coloured students and the coloured educators are left out completely despite the important role they have in the educational system. Specifically, coloured educators can provide significant knowledge in terms of racism because of their unique position. It can be assumed that most of them have been students who have faced racism and at this point they have the role of an educator and are therefore in contact with their white colleagues. They have information on what is discussed outside of the classroom and hence can confirm or invalidate the arguments that are provided by the students.

In terms of societal racism there are not any studies available that specifically focus on this phenomenon and explicitly define it as societal racism. However, as well the study that has been conducted in Saxion as a study that has been conducted revolving the educational experiences of Moroccan-Dutch youth in the Netherlands showed signs of societal racism. As aforementioned, the Saxion study showed that students felt misunderstood by their teachers and counsellors. The interviewed students elaborated that they were usually misunderstood in terms of culture and felt judged when they would talk about their situation. Indicating that they were judged for having different norms which causes issues due the clash of cultures. The study on the educational experiences of Dutch-Moroccan youth showed similar answers (Turcatti, 2018). None of the researches specify if students have the same feelings towards coloured teachers. It is reasonable to assume that those educators know how it feels to function in between two cultures. Therefore, it would be very interesting to explore where those educators stand in these situations and if their presence could be stimulating for coloured students to continue their education. Also, it is interesting to explore whether those educators feel misunderstood by their colleagues due to cultural differences.



This thesis does not necessarily focus on how institutional racism is imbedded in the educational system but it rather focuses on how institutional racism affects coloured educators. Multiple American studies show that coloured teachers have to deal with racialized micro aggressive experiences within their profession. This, in combination with the lack of diversity within the teachers staff, are the main reasons coloured teachers resign from their profession. Although microaggressions happens at individual level, they are a direct result of institutionalized racism because it is perpetuated in institutions that are framed by discriminatory institutional practices (Frank et al, 2021). As aforementioned these studies are conducted in America and thus outside of the Netherlands. Considering the racial history of America, it is questionable if these studies would have the same results in the Netherlands. Therefore, it is important to explore whether results would be similar in this country. Considering that it is still a predominantly white country that also has a history of racism.

The objectives of this thesis are to provide insight on the experiences of coloured educators with different forms of racism within their school and which existing policies they use in order to prevent or battle this. The problem is that here are not any studies that focus on specifically measuring societal and institutionalized racism within schools nor are there any studies that focus on the experiences of coloured educators. The few studies that are conducted are merely focused on the experiences of students and lacks a distinction made in the different types of racism. Moreover, those studies are either conducted in larger cities such as Amsterdam or across the country. There are not any studies that have been conducted in Twente. In addition, there are anti-racism policies in place whether these are the national policies or the school policy. However, no observations have been made on whether these policies are known and if so, how they are executed. Hence, in terms of policy the objective is to observe how the educators execute existing anti-racism policies or which measures they take when they do not use any policies. In order to measure this, the theory of Lipsky will be essential for this thesis. The theory will be used disclose whether educators, as street level bureaucrats, indeed adjust or develop policies in order to deal with racist situations (Lipsky, 2014). It must be mentioned that it may seem odd to focus on coloured educators rather than all educators. The choice has been made to focus on the coloured educators because they are the ones that have different positions within this issue. Since

they are people of colour, the odds are, that they have experiential knowledge on living under these systems of oppression (Martinez, 2014, P.17). This means that they can elaborate on their experiences with racism coming from colleagues as well as from students, but they can also, most likely, recognize how discriminated students feel. In addition, they are an authority figure which gives them the privilege to execute policies in their schools if incidents occur which means that they can directly see what the effects of existing policies are. Lastly, they also have a position where they are in contact with their white colleagues outside of the classroom meaning that they can either overhear or have conversations about students of colour. This means they are far more likely to detect racism in their school than either white teachers or just students in general. In order to have a better understanding of their position in schools, the thesis will also shortly zoom in on the effects of their presence. This means that some attention will go to diversity of teaching staffs.

### **§1.2 Research question**

This thesis focuses on answering the following research question: *To what extent do educators with a non-white background perceive and have experience with different forms of racism within their schools and how do they use existing policies to combat or prevent this phenomenon?* In order to be able to answer the research question, three sub-questions have been formulated. The first step is to explore two different forms of racism: individual and societal racism. Hence the first sub-question is as following:

1. *To what extent do educators, with a non- white ethnic background, have experiences with societal and individual racism within their school?*

After answering the first sub-question, the focus will shift to a more organizational and systematic form of racism. Hence, the second sub-question is:

2. *To what extent does institutionalized racism manifest itself in the current education system according to non-white educators?*

After answering the first two sub-questions, the thesis moves forward to the policy part which is also the final part of the thesis. Hence, the third sub-question is as following:

3. *To what extent are coloured educators aware of existing anti-racism policies and how are these policies implemented by these educators in their schools?*

### **§1.3 Scientific and societal relevance**

In the first section of this thesis it became clear that there are (subtle) signs of racism in the educational system. However, somehow there is a lack in the scientific world when it comes to doing research on racism in the Dutch educational system. Practically all available studies on racism are conducted in either America or United Kingdom. The few studies that have been conducted on racism in the Dutch educational system are focused on the children or students (Schaap, 2017, P.95). There is no study available that focuses on the coloured educators and their perspective. Recent studies in America and Australia show that the perspective of coloured educators is worth researching. For instance, one of the studies shows that Black male teachers are likely to enter hostile work environments and encounter colleagues who will both covertly and overtly treat them as social outcasts. These teachers described being perceived by their colleagues as incompetent to teach their subject matter. Consequently, these Black teachers would feel alienated from their colleagues and in response would develop strategically erected social boundaries to manage interaction with their colleagues (Bristol, 2019). Another study that was mentioned in the previous section shows that the evaluation of coloured teachers are negatively affected due to racial bias. Consequently, they are less likely to be promoted and more likely to lose their jobs compared to their white colleagues (Heffernan, 2021).

Despite these studies, there is a lack of knowledge in different areas resulting in a scientific gap. This thesis contributes to narrowing that scientific gap in different ways. Firstly, this thesis makes a clear distinction between three different forms of racism: individual, societal and institutional. Although the studies show hints of these three form, it never explicitly focuses on every form and there is no elaboration on the specific consequences of each form. Secondly, this thesis does not specifically focus on a specific ethnicity but it focuses on any coloured teacher. Considering that you are a minority regardless of which ethnic group you belong to and therefor probably share similar experiences. Thirdly, the location of this thesis is relevant. It is set in the Netherlands and more specifically in the region of Twente. The few studies that are conducted revolving around racism are set in larger areas such as Amsterdam. Therefore, there is still much to explore in this specific area. Lastly, none of the studies that I have found mention anything about policies that are in place in order to protect coloured educators from racism nor is it mentioned if coloured educators have made use of these policies. In short, the scientific relevance of this thesis is its specific focus on

coloured educators teaching in the Dutch region Twente where specifically three forms of racism are researched and the policy use in order of protection against these three forms. I find it relevant to conduct this research because the discussion on racism is mostly based on opinions rather than scientific evidence. In my opinion this topic is not highlighted sufficiently in the Dutch academic world which makes it easier to label it as a minor problem or even as not a problem at all. Considering the racism debate that is going on in the Dutch society it makes sense to start researching this topic from different aspects so that scientific conclusions, that are based on the Dutch society, can be drawn. Hence, I am trying to shed more light on this topic by writing this thesis.

When it comes to the societal relevance of this thesis, it can be agreed that children and young adults should all get an equal chance in developing themselves. Education is a fundamental basis for students and their development. The project of Saxion already concluded that discrimination played a significant role in the high dropout rate of students. The discrimination led to demotivation and eventually this resulted in students putting their education aside. Studies show that there is a causal relationship between education and participation in a later stage whether it be in the labour market or voluntarily work. There seems to be a positive relationship between these two. The higher the educational level, the higher the participation in the labour market. The studies also show that non-western migrants have a relatively low participation compared to non-migrants and that this backlog already starts at school. Consequently, non-western migrants have a lower participation in the labour market than non-migrants (SZW, 2018). Hence, this results in a societal problem since more citizens have to make use of the financial assistance provided by the government. Therefore, it is important to reduce the risk of dropouts by making racism more visible and evaluating whether the policies and its execution are effective enough to prevent future dropouts. Moreover, racism in general is psychologically damaging, especially when it comes to children who still have not fully developed. For instance, a study of racism on African-Americans showed this had a big impact on their mental health. The study showed that the participants had a poorer mental health in long term, dealing with mental illnesses such as depression. Those who have experienced racism multiple times were even worse off (Kwate, 2015). Hence, it is of high importance that these policies are well evaluated because it could prevent major future issues.

The continuation of this thesis is as following: the next chapter is theoretical framework. This chapter is used to define and explain important concepts such as racism. Furthermore, different theories that are used for this thesis are elaborated. This chapter is followed by the chapter methodology where the methods to conduct this research are described. Data analysis is the fourth chapter where the collected data is analysed through the method of coding and each sub-question is answered with the help of the collected data. Lastly, the thesis is finalized with a discussion and conclusion chapter where it intended to discuss and finally summarize the findings.

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## 2. Theoretical framework

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This chapter focuses on elaborating on the concepts that are related to this research by using available literature of different studies. This thesis aims at exploring the experiences that, educators with a non-white background, have with racism and to what extent they use existing policies to combat or prevent this phenomenon. It is important to have a good view of what the relevant concepts entail before the interviews can be conducted. Logically, the first concept, that is rather central in this thesis, is racism. Despite the fact that, racism as such, has a general definition it is still discussed in the academic world because of its complexity. Not only is it complex due to the several forms this concept entails, which will be discussed later in this chapter, but the complexity also lies in its definition. The discussion already starts when we think of what racism refers to. According to Oxford dictionary the definition of racism is as following: "Prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism directed against someone of a different race based on the belief that one's own race is superior. The belief that all members of each race possess characteristics, abilities or qualities specific to that race, especially so as to distinguish it as inferior or superior to another race or races." In this definition the concept of race is central. However, how do we define race in the first place? The concept of race is biologically baseless (Alcoff, 2015, P.20). Historically, biology was used to define race but now that that definition has been invalidated, the question remains how this term can be redefined. Nowadays, race concepts are often used to refer to groupings that are visibly demarcated and socially significant, with a shared geographical lineage. The use of this definition of race, in its turn, can merge into ethnic differentiations (Alcoff, 2015, P.20). Putting this all together it becomes significantly more difficult to make a distinction between "white" people and "people of colour". This will be more extensively elaborated in the next page of this chapter. Hence, in short, this chapter will partially focus on extensively elaborating on the concept of racism.

In this chapter, two other aspects will be highlighted: the influence of diversity in the teaching teams and classrooms on racism and street level bureaucracy. In the former, the aim is to highlight how battling or preventing racism can be quite a task. Especially if the school is predominantly white. The section focuses on the challenges that both white as well

as coloured teachers face within their teams and in the classroom in order to battle racism. This means that executing the anti-racism policy when needed is also a part of it. This section will elaborate more on why white teachers and students have difficulties with acknowledging racism and contributing to battling it. Consequently, this also show what kind of influence this has on coloured educators and students. The last part of this chapter will elaborate on what street-level bureaucrats are and why teachers can be considered to be one. That section focuses on arguing that teachers are not merely executors of policy but are in fact policy maker. Consequently, this brings its own struggles and benefits.

### **§ 2.1 Defining Racism**

Racism is defined as following in this thesis: a negative value or set of values projected as essential or noncontingent attribute onto a group whose members are defined through genealogical connection – i.e. as sharing some origin – and who are demarcated on the basis of some visible phenotypic features (Alcoff, 2015, P.123). More specifically, it is important to make a significant difference between prejudice and racism especially in western countries. Racism is the systematic mistreatment of people of colour and therefore not applicable on white people. This does not mean that white people cannot be offended because of their skin colour nor does it mean that they do not face any prejudices. However, it cannot be categorized as racism because they do not face this systematically nor do they face institutionalized biases throughout most of their lives, in contrary to, the people of colour (Weissglass, 2015, P.2). The issue that occurs with this definition of racism is: When do you classify someone as white and when is that not applicable? As aforementioned race does not have a biological basis. Hence, whiteness as such cannot be defined through biology but it can rather be defined as an identity formation that evolves throughout history. The best way to describe whiteness is that it operates as the controlling term, the default position, the rightful majority and the most normal norm. So how is this position determined? The position is established through the colonial history that is embedded in the way that political, economic and social power is organized. Hence, this refers to specific ethnicities that share a lineage based in Europe. Consequently, when this thesis refers to white people, it mostly refers to the citizens with Dutch origin since the thesis takes place in the Netherlands but also West-Europeans in general.

This can be considered to be the description of the concept of racism that functions as the basis for this thesis. However, the aim of this section is to expand on this concept and approach it from different angles. This means that we also look at how someone can develop racist tendencies. For instance, Schmidt distinguishes three approaches for the definitions and development of racism: the behavioural, the cognitive and the motivational approach (Schmidt, 1996).

The behavioural approach takes the definition of Singer as a basis: "the failure to give equal consideration, based on the fact of race alone." However, with the behavioural approach it is argued that this unequal consideration is not motivated by domination. The person that discriminates is not led by a superiority complex but rather by personal experience. He or she does not act out due to aggression but rather out of fear with the intent to make the most beneficial choice for themselves. For instance, if a shop owner has only had black people steal items from his store, he might take race as the only indicator when he upgrades the security in his store. One of the characteristics of this approach is that one's image can be adjusted once other experiences prove them wrong. Hence, social circumstances are an important factor in this approach (Schmidt, 1996, P.32).

The definition of racism from the motivational approach is guided by considerations of motive. The basis of the definition of this approach is as follows: "the infliction of unequal consideration, motivated by the desire to dominate based on race alone." In contrast to the behavioural approach, this approach is merely based on a superiority complex. One does not discriminate because it is, in their eyes, beneficial or safer but they discriminate with the intent to put down the other race. The person wishes to suppress the other race and assert his own superiority whether that is through physical or verbal violence (Schmidt, 1996, P.34).

The third and final approach is the cognitive approach which describes its definition of racism as follows: "unequal consideration, out of a belief in the inferiority of another race." Initially, this approach might seem similar to the motivational approach. However, the most important difference is that this approach is not derived from the domination motivation, but from racial beliefs. Thus, the desire is not to dominate the other race, but you merely believe that their race is an inferior human subgroup. The treatment of the other race is based on genuine, unselfish and paternalistic concern. You believe that they are literally incapable of certain things due to their race and must be guided in that process.



Not only are the different types of approaches important when it comes to defining racism but also the types of forms of racism. Racism can be distinguished in three categories: individual, institutional and societal. Individual racism can be described as individual acts of overt or covert prejudice that are racially based. In the case of individual racism, it is conscious behaviour of one with the intent to cause harm to another because of his or her race. However, it is not only the executer of the action that is guilty of individual racism but also those who see racist practice but fail to take any action against it. Not allowing students participate in certain tracks because of their race would be a good example of individual racism (Young, 2000, P. 4). The frequency of this type of racism depends on organizational and educational characteristics such as issues of school (de)segregation or the multicultural and anti-racism education that the school provides (Verkuyten, 2002, P.311).

Institutionalized racism is a more complex form of racism and in a lot of aspects much harder to trace and to determine. While individual racism is quite blatant, institutionalized racism can be considered to be quite the opposite. Institutional racism means that laws, policies and norms systematically (dis)advantage certain groups due to the racist ideologies and discriminatory practices have become embedded in them. In this case, organizations or societies distribute more resources to one than the other without necessarily a racist intent. However, this does have a disparate impact. The rules, processes and opportunity structures that enable such disparate impacts are what constitute institutional racism (Clair, 2015, P.860)

According to Chisom and Washington, Institutionalized racism in the educational system stems from the fact that the system was developed by whites and controlled by whites. Moreover, the educators as such are predominantly white as well (Chisom & Washington, 1997, P.15). Blair takes it a step further by arguing that whiteness is an ideology or social construct just like, for instance, patriarchy. The argument is that white people and whiteness are two separate things but closely related. Whiteness as such can be considered to be an organizing principle which maintains the power or access to power and privilege of white people. However, this does not mean that this necessarily happens deliberately or is the result of conscious actions of individuals (Blair, 2008, P.249). The difficulty with the concept of whiteness lies within the fact that it is something that is unmarked and therefore nowhere while at the same time it is everywhere. This means that it is the standard by which other

groups are judged (Blair, 2008, P.250). As aforementioned, unlike with individual racism, institutionalized racism mostly happens unconsciously but does more harm because it can occur daily (Young, 2000, P.5). Hence, despite the fact that educators are most like well-meaning individuals that do not mean to cause harm, still do so due to the lack of understanding or awareness of racism which is rather problematic and consequential. Therefore, the logical conclusion would be that the awareness and understanding among teachers, policy makers and deans must be enhanced in order to prevent and battle racism. Another phenomenon that is quite often reflected in school policies but also individual preferences from educators is 'colour blindness'. The problem with colour blindness is that it solely focuses on the surface and hence on the bare facts of racial classification. It completely denies the nature of social practices that come with race. By raising one standard for all, instead of differentiating between students, you indirectly imply that all students have the same struggles. When the reality is, that the school experience of people of colour is utterly different than the school experience of white students. Therefore, it is important to keep the differential educational experience of people of colour in mind when policies are made (Blair, 2008, P.251).

According to Young, there are three important factors through what institutionalized racism operates: the organizational culture of school, classroom pedagogy, and school finance. If these factors favour white people rather than persons of colour, this can be considered to be institutional racism. The organizational culture of the school can be defined as a set of common values, attitudes, beliefs and norms, some are more explicit than others. Although the organizational culture can be invisible in many ways, it can be found in the relations between students, norms within the school and relationships among colleagues. The organizational culture provides a sense of identity this also means that it helps to shape standards and patterns of behaviour, but it also creates distinct ways of doing things and determines direction (Teasley, 2016, P.3). Classroom pedagogy refers to: "interactions between teachers, students and the learning environment and the learning tasks (Murphy, 2008, P.35)."

Societal racism is closely related to institutionalized racism. Just like institutionalized racism, societal racism usually happens unconsciously. While institutionalized racism focuses more on the organization and where the preferences of the system lies, societal racism focuses more on moralism. This means that societal or cultural assumptions, norms, customs and

expectations favours a race over the other ones (Young, 2000, P.6). Consequently, everything that is defined as good or bad is reasoned from that one racial perspective. For instance, if the dominant norm is the one of middle-class white family, everything would be reasoned from that perspective even in the educational system. Hence, something may be perceived as negative although it is in essence just different rather than negative. An example in the educational system would be that parents of a different race and culture would be considered to be uninterested because they do not participate in their children's study the same way as the average white middle classed parent does. The school could label this as an uninterested attitude from the parents who do not care about their children's education. However, in reality it is, for instance, just not common in their culture to go to the school and interfere with the education of their child. The norm could be that the teacher is responsible for that and they do not want to be in the way. Thus, societal racism can be defined as the socially promoted idea through media, legal practices, or what governmental programs of what a good family is which is primarily drawn from the dominant culture's social and historical experience (Young, 2000, P.6).

The discussion of specifically institutionalized and societal racism come together in the critical race theory. This theory addresses the role of racism in American law and that race is a central component in the American jurisprudence. The critical race theory attempts to uncover how law constructed race; "the pervasive way in which law shaped and is shaped by race relations across the social plane (Martinez, 2014, P.19)." It argues that racism is central, permanent and 'normal' in the American society, but it must be challenged (Martinez, 2014, P.19). Racism is normalized because it is such an ingrained feature in society that it looks ordinary and natural to persons in the culture. It is considered to be a vast system that structures our institutions and our relationships. The reason that it is considered to be permanent is because it adapts to the socio-cultural changes by altering its expression. Hence, although it might look absent it never completely is (Vaught, 2018, P.96). When we think of how ingrained it is, we can take white superiority as an example. White superiority is so ingrained in, for instance, the educational and political structures that it becomes unrecognizable. Especially since it is, as aforementioned, all-encompassing and omnipresent it cannot be easily recognized by its beneficiaries (Martinez, 2014, P.17). Consequently, the average white citizen is unable to see or understand the inherited privilege that comes with

it. Thus, they turn to dismissing or denying this phenomenon and argue that they are colour blind when it comes to race. Colour blindness has, to a certain extent, been discussed in this section but for the critical theory this is an important subject that is extensively discussed. The argument is that colour blindness, that is applied in the system and structures of the country, ignores the crucial racial differences which in its turn upholds the status quo with all its deeply institutionalized injustice against racial minorities. Consequently, the rejection of the essence of race is a way to guarantee that institutionalized and systematic racism can continue and even prosper (Martinez, 2014, P.17). In contrary to white people, people of colour usually can rely on their experiential knowledge because they have been living under such systems of racism and oppression. Consequently, they develop both coping mechanisms but also try to raise awareness of issues affecting people of colour that are usually overlooked or not considered by white people. This, however, does not mean that people of colour cannot reproduce structures, systems and practices of racism too. Since racism is a rather complex concept, the table below illustrates each form, its definition and an example in order to have a clearer overview

<b>Form</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Example</b>
Individual	individual conscious acts of overt or covert prejudice that are racially based with the intent to cause harm	Remarks such as it always your kind of people that do something negative such as violence, cheating etc.
Societal	Societal or cultural assumptions, norms, customs and expectations favours a race over the other ones.	Someone gets married at 18 and is constantly questioned if he or she is forced to do it or considered to be wasting his or her life because the societal norm is to be unmarried at that age.
Institutional	Laws, policies and norms systematically (dis)advantage certain groups due to the racist ideologies and discriminatory practices have become embedded in	The allowance affaire (toeslagenaffaire) where having a double passport was included in the algorithm to detect

	them. Organizations and societies distribute more resources to one race than the other.	allowance fraud. The policy disproportionately disadvantaged specific ethnic groups
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## **§ 2.2 Teaching and diversity**

The previous section showed that racism and whiteness and its privileges is a rather complex concept that can be detected in our daily lives. As aforementioned, this means that it is also integrated in the educational structure. Thus, a distinction between teachers of colour and white teachers must be drawn but also a distinction between white students and students of colour. They have different challenges and different experiences in dealing with racism. Since this thesis focuses on the experiences of coloured educators with racism, it is important to highlight what kind of effects their presence can have. Hence, this section focuses on the influence that diversity or the lack of has on racism within the school.

In the previous section it was thoroughly explained how whiteness is an organizing principle which maintains power or access to power and privilege of white people. However, the emphasis is put on the fact that this does not necessarily happen deliberately or that it is related to conscious actions of individuals. It was also mentioned that the educational system is developed and controlled by whites, on top of that the educators as such are predominantly white. The combination of all these factors makes it rather difficult to train white teachers concerning the topic of racism. The training is usually focused on individuals and therefore it can be perceived as a burden that the educators have to carry alone and that they are responsible for racism rather than understanding, that racism as such, is structural, systematic and collective. Since racism is collective it is important that the educators understand that they are participants of a larger structure that they must collectively challenge and change. Hence, training these individuals to question and challenge their own individual experiences of white privilege without training them to understand how individual experiences and behaviours are both drawn from and constituent of structural privilege and power is ineffective because it will lead to an assumption that this is something that must be battled individually. Not to mention, that training that focuses on individuals or is perceived as focusing on individuals can be considered to be very

confronting and often leads to a defensive attitude from the teachers (Vaught, 2008, P.104). It is even so, that only creating awareness usually leads to heightened animosity and to more denial of real racial power. To have a successful outcome it is important to encourage school educators to think about how classroom practice, school structure, and district policies might be interconnected forms of white race power that function in concert to perpetuate schools' failure to adequately educate children of colour. Moreover, the focus should be on making structural changes that are, preferably, done by the schoolboard or the government. Only then, raising awareness will have effect (Vaught, 2008, P.107 ).

As aforementioned, the educators in western countries are predominantly white. This is also the case for the Netherlands (Driessen, 2014, P.4)). Logically, teachers with a different ethnic background contribute to the diversity of the teaching team but why is it important to have more diversity? The question that especially arises is what the positive influences of diversity can be. How does it affect students and colleagues that are white or coloured? When it comes to diversity there is distinction made between two sorts of "effects" it can have on students. On one hand, there is the so-called passive teacher effects. This is simply triggered because of the teacher's racial, ethnic, or gender identity. Due to these features they can be looked up to as a role model, specifically because they are from a minority group. This can spike student's motivation and expectations for their education. On the other hand, there is the active teachers' effects. These effects are the unintended biases that teachers have when it comes to expectations of students or interactions with students. These expectations and interactions are unintentionally based on the demographic traits of the students (Dee, 2005, P.159). As aforementioned, white teachers have a lot more problems with understanding how the structures of society can work in the disadvantage of coloured people and how this influences coloured students while coloured people have learned how to cope with the whiteness of the system. This means that it is more likely that coloured teachers will be able to better understand the barriers coloured students have to deal with and have better opportunities to anticipate on this. Hence, they develop an important monitoring function: they are more likely to recognize when coloured students are having problems and when interventions are needed. Moreover, this also means that they can function as a source of information for their white colleagues because they are mostly more familiar with the minority culture (Cunningham, 2007, P.5). However, it must be noted that

the problem with this approach is that nor the minority students nor the minority teachers can be considered to be a homogenous group. Hence, although there is some familiarity in the position that they are in, it does not mean that they share the same culture and customs (Driessen, 2014, P.3).

Although it is clear that teachers with a different ethnic background are very much needed, they still face challenges that motivates them to actually aspire to become a teacher or to keep teaching. Fear of racial abuse is one of the reasons why teachers with an ethnic background barely apply in schools with low ethnic diversity (Cuuningham, 2007, P.3).

Although it is to some extent true that teachers with a different ethnic background are most likely more able to relate to the problems of students with of a minority group, these teacher face stereotyping from fellow colleagues, especially when the school is relatively white. They are seen as "experts" when it comes to issues surrounding minority groups when they do not necessarily know much of it. On the other hand, depending on what their social background is, teachers with a different ethnic background would in theory have a harder time to relate to white students than their fellow white colleagues would. In classes where there are predominantly white students this can bring its own issues (Bennet, 2000, P.448).

When it comes to the topic of racism, there are numerous reasons for why discussing this topic might be difficult. Teachers have their own beliefs that usually remain unchallenged because of their position. Hence, unless teachers practice critical self-reflection they will stay trapped in unexamined judgements, interpretations, assumptions and expectations (Larrivee, 2000, P.294). This is already something that is hard to do as teacher no matter what the topic is, but the difficulty is enhanced once it is about a sensitive topic such as racism. On top of that, people are taught, early on, to believe in the equality of educational opportunities and meritocracy. Social differences do no stem from lack of opportunity but from lack of individual motivation or ability, at least that is what we are taught to believe (Jakubowski, 2001, P.62). Teachers are focused on keeping the balance between the communality and diversity in their classes. Therefore, they are not only dealing with their only personal beliefs that they would like to project on their class, but they also of to deal with how to solve problems, such as racist remarks among students, in a democratic way with the participation of the students. However, the dilemma arises when students do not

want to cooperate in solving this problem. This, in its turn, can raise tensions in the class (Radstake, 2009, P.6). In addition, conversations like these must be guided with pedagogical techniques that many teachers have not been trained to do, at least not for tense situations as these (Radstake, 2009, P.7). Those who actually do want to try new teaching ways in order to be able to have conversations about this topic, usually fear to do so because of the risk that it will be unsuccessful, and they will be considered incompetent by their students and colleagues. Another issue that arises with sensitive topics like these is that teachers have a hard time to get an honest opinion out of their students because students rationalize that they are in a vulnerable and powerless position. If they ventilate their opinion that is different and publicly challenging, they fear that they have to face negative repercussions from the teacher (Jakubowski, 2001, P.64).

In short, this section focused on the influence that diversity or the lack of has on racism within the school. In discussing the positive influence of diversity within the teachers team, the concepts of active and passive teachers effect were elaborated. In addition, the difference in challenges that white and coloured educators face in discussing the topic of racism within the school were elaborated.

### **§ 2.3 Teachers as street-level bureaucrats**

An important aspect in this thesis is the anti-racism policy and its execution. According to Lipsky, educators can be considered to be street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 2014). This means that educators are public service workers who directly interact with the people, in this case students, in order to the execute policies. Hence, they have substantial discretion in the execution of their work. Lipsky takes it even further by saying that street-level bureaucrats are in fact the real policy makers (Lipsky,2014). The reasoning behind this is that despite the fact that the policy as such is created by someone else, usually the government, street-level bureaucrats are the ones that decide which parts of the policy they execute and how they execute it. They are the ones that have a relatively high degree of discretion and some sort of autonomy that is granted by the government.

The question that arises is how the policy changes when educators are merely executors of something that exists rather than the creators. In essence, the policy as such is quite a programmatic format. However, the situations that teachers are put in, are usually too complicated and cannot be solved by merely sticking to this programmatic format. They are



required to anticipate and make tough decisions on the spot. Specifically, detailed instructions are not very useful since those are based on a mass, meaning that the expectation is that the same instructions can be used for every child and expecting the same outcome. This is not a realistic view and therefore teachers are put in a positions where they have to adjust, even detailed instructions, for every child. The philosophy prevails that to a point every child requires a response appropriate to the specific learning context. In addition, teachers are often put in a situation where they have to take the human aspect into account, especially when it comes to sensitive topics such as racism. They have to rely on sensitive observation and judgement. Next to their own feelings that they are dealing with, they have to take the feelings of others into account in order to take appropriate measures. Teachers are expected to perceive the unique potential of children. Since they are in a working environment where they have direct contact with the students and parents they also have to cope with their personal reactions that are a result of their decisions. These personal reactions can be expected because as street-level bureaucrats they have the power to make life changing decisions and in fact they are there to witness how this decision can change someone's life. Consequently, society is expecting, due its severe consequences, a certain level of compassion for special circumstances and flexibility in dealing with them. Finding a correct balance between compassion and flexibility on one hand and impartiality and rigid rule-application on the other hands might be the biggest challenge teachers face (Lipsky, 2014).

Putting all these factors together such as the decisions teachers make and the routine, they establish but also the tools they use to cope with uncertainties and work pressure leads to them restructuring the public policy that is being used and therefore they can be considered to be the actual policy makers rather than just the executors of the public policy.

What is interesting about this theory is that teachers usually start with the purpose to fulfil their ideals and they have a certain image of how things need to be and how they can contribute to that. However, soon it becomes clear that it is rather impossible to live up to those standards due to inadequate resources combined with the uncertainties and unpredictability of students as well as teachers and parents. Consequently, they develop their own techniques to cope with the situation and have the best result as possible or they choose another road by giving in to favouritism, stereotyping and routinizing (Lipsky, 2014).

In short, this section argues that according to the Lipsky theory, educators are street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 2014). The policies that educators have to stick with are developed by either the government or the management of the school. Considering that educators work in an environment where there is direct contact with students some flexibility and compassion is required rather than rigidly sticking to the policies. Hence, during their careers they use their discretion to develop techniques that help to cope with the situations they face.

#### **§ 2.4 Conceptual model**

In this section the conceptual model is illustrated and explained. The main concept within this thesis is racism. Racism can be divided in three forms, in the conceptual model these three forms of racism are integrated in one concept: “forms of racism” since the three forms often intertwine. This concept is related to the three concepts that contribute, as explained in the previous section, to institutional racism and to some extent the other two forms of racism. Another important concept that directly influences racism is the concept whiteness. Whiteness is considered to be an organizing principle which maintains the power or access to power and privilege of white people. Consequently, this is the standard by which other groups are judged increasing the chances of racism towards these groups. In addition, the concept of whiteness goes hand in hand with the concept of colour blindness. Considering that whiteness is the organizing principle, white people are usually unable to see the privilege they have inherited due to this principle. Consequently, they deny the concept of racism by arguing that they are colour blind and therefore do not see race. Ironically, this in its turn actually contributes to the upholding of racism because the crucial racial differences and the challenges that come with it are denied which leads to keeping the status quo intact. Another concept is street level bureaucrat. As street level bureaucrats the teachers are able to influence the amount of racism at work. If they have knowledge of the anti-racism policies they are likely to adjust and execute the policy to some extent which can eventually reduce the racism. Hence, anti-racism policy is a concept that directly influences the concept of street level bureaucrats. If there is also diversity within the staff, the effects of reducing racism is even stronger because of the passive and active teachers effects that come along with having coloured educators present within your staff who also serve as street level bureaucrats. Hence, the concept diversity also influences street level bureaucrats. In addition, the concept of diversity leads to the passive and active teachers effect.

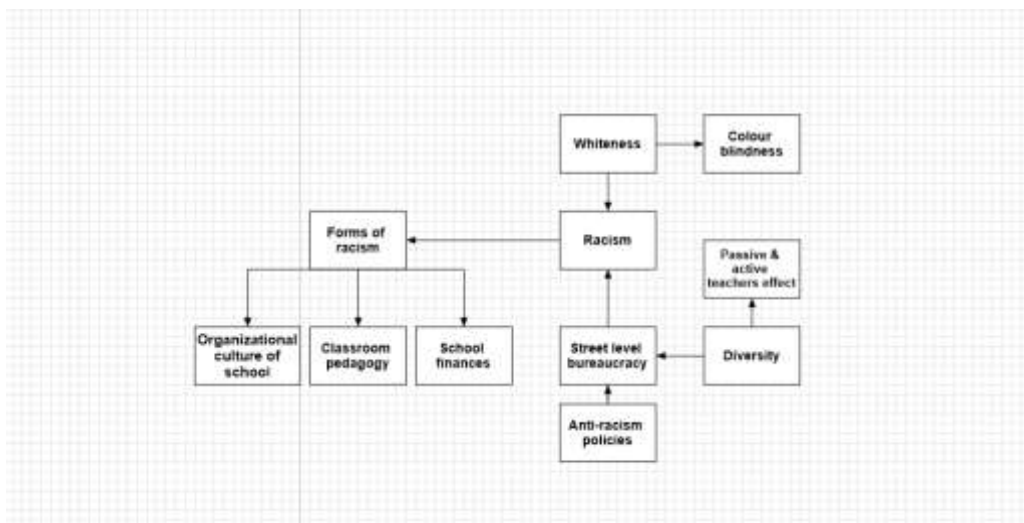


image: conceptual model

## **§ 2.5 Conclusion**

In short, this thesis focuses on the experiences of non-white educators with racism within their schools and which policies they use to prevent or battle it. The theoretical framework shows that the concept of racism is quite complex. The theory of Alcoff on the definition of racism is used as the basis of this thesis (Alcoff, 2015). Moreover, Schmidts' theory is used to unravel the development of racism (Schmidt, 1996). In addition, the concept of racism has been broken down in three different forms: individual, societal and institutionalized. All three forms will be highlighted in this thesis. Whiteness is an important concept within the theoretical framework. It was explained how this social construct perpetuates racism and also how it affects the behaviour and understanding of, specifically, white educators. It also affects the development of policies. Especially in a society where the systems are developed, controlled and executed by predominantly whites.

This chapter also shows that the school experience of coloured students and educators differs from white students and educators. A part of this chapter focuses on how the level of diversity of the school influences the dynamics of a school. This brings challenges for all educators despite of colour. However, the challenges as such differ from one another. This both reflects in as well as the approach towards racism as the execution of the policies. Lastly, the thesis does not only focus on the experiences of the educators with racism, but it also focuses on the use of anti-racism policies to prevent and battle racism. Consequently, the last section focuses on the role of the educators as street level bureaucrats according to

Lipsky's theory and how this can influence the execution of the policies.

Based on the theoretical framework, the expected answer to the research question can be formulated. The expectations are that the educators probably do not experience much overt individual racism because it is a working environment where professionalism is required.

Therefore, it is most likely that they face or have seen covert individual, societal or institutionalized racism. It is rather impossible to determine which approach is applicable when it comes to developing racist tendencies in this context. In fact, it is very likely that all three approaches (behavioural, motivational and cognitive approach) are applicable depending on the individual. The sole purpose of the explanation of the approaches is to have a better understanding of how racism develops. Applying this theory to the actual research would broaden this theory too much which would result in two different researches in one thesis. That is not the aim of this thesis and therefore the theory of the approaches will not be directly used in answering the research question. Also, in a relatively white region, the expectation is also that whiteness indeed is strongly present as a social construct in the schools which explains the occurrence of more subtle forms of racism. Therefore, the expectation is that coloured educators and students have been in a position where they are simply not understood. The guess is also that the diversity level within the teams is not that high. In terms of experiencing racism it seems more logical that the educators would experience it from their colleagues rather than their students since they do have an authority position. In terms of the policy, the expectation is that the educators are to a certain extent aware of the anti-racism policies of their work place but apply it in a way that suits them as is expected from streets-level bureaucrats.

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## 3. Methodology

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This chapter focuses on providing an extensive description of how the research for this thesis has been conducted. This means describing the research design. In addition, the data collection will be described. In the data collection, an extensive description on the interviews will be provided. This means that the structure of the interviews will be discussed but also the selection of the interviewees. Moreover, the procedure that was followed for approaching the interviewees will be elaborated. Then, the validity and reliability will be shortly discussed. Lastly, the data analysis is discussed. All in all, the objective is to provide a clear picture of this research so that other researchers are able to replicate this.

The research question of this thesis is as following: *To what extent do educators with a non-white background perceive and have experience with different forms of racism within their schools and how do they use existing policies to combat or prevent this phenomenon.* Hence, the aim is to explore what their experiences are with racism in their school and how they use existing policies to prevent or battle this. This means that this thesis tries to highlight different angles. Racism that takes place between colleagues, racism that they have experienced from students, racism they have seen happen among students and lastly, racism they have seen from their colleagues towards the students. In addition, next to racism, policy is the other important component of this thesis. It aims at describing if and how they use existing policies to prevent or battle racism within their schools.

### **§ 3.1 Research design**

This thesis has a qualitative research design. More specifically, it is a qualitative case study. Qualitative research refers to social research based on field observations that are analysed without statistics (Dooley, 2009). The aim is to describe, interpret, contextualize and gain in-depth insight on this specific concept. In this case, that concept was racism where the focus is on the educational system. More specifically, the case revolved around the experiences of coloured educators with this phenomenon in schools of Twente. The school level ranged from high schools to college. To have more in-depth insight on the case, interviews were with educators in these school that have a non-white ethnic background. The reason that

were selected based on their non-white background, is because they are in a rather unique position. On the one hand, they are an authority figure that are allowed to execute policies and use tools to prevent and battle racism. On the other hand, they have experiential knowledge on racism because they have been living under systems of racism and oppression ((Martinez, 2014, P.17). Due to that fact, they are more likely to recognize racism. In addition, according to the theories white people cannot experience racism because they do not face systematic racism and institutionalized biases throughout their lives (Weissglass, 2015, P.2). Hence, they are by default not suitable for this thesis.

The aim was to at least interview twelve educators. This is because data saturation occurs by a minimum of twelve interviews. In addition, variable of code frequency stabilizes by the twelfth interview (Guest, 2006, P.74). Eventually a total of thirteen educators were interviewed. These interviews were face to face interviews that were semi-structured. The questions were derived from the theoretical framework. Eventually, the interview was analysed by comparing the answers provided by the educators to the theory that has been described in the theoretical framework. This information helped to answer the main research question: *To what extent do educators with a non-white background perceive and have experience with different forms of racism within their schools and how do they use existing policies to combat or prevent this phenomenon*. Since this thesis focuses on describing the nature of the situation and wanted to shed a light on the experiences of coloured educators with racism and the execution of anti-racism policies, the thesis can be considered to be illustrative case study. As aforementioned, the interviews were face to face interviews that were semi-structured. One of the main reason that I have chosen this approach is because it would give the educators the freedom to give a detailed description of their experiences and that the interviewer got the opportunity to ask further questions to have more specific detail on certain narratives. This also gave room for unexpected narratives that the interviewer initially could not foresee.

### **§ 3.2 Data collection**

The focus of this thesis is the experiences that coloured educators working in Twente have with racism and how they use policies to combat this. The aim was to look for variety rather than making it about one school or one experience of a certain educator. Therefore, educators of several schools in Twente were approached to do this interview. More

specifically, eventually the schools were located in Enschede, Hengelo and Almelo. There was also variety in the type of school. This thesis focuses on educators of high schools (middelbare school), secondary vocational schools (MBO) and college (HBO). The aim was to find a good balance between having a variety in types of school but at the same time preventing that there were too many different types of school included in this thesis. In order to make sure there were sufficient variety without going overboard, three different types of education levels were selected. However, two types of schools were excluded: primary schools and universities. Primary schools were excluded because of the young ages of the children. Children at that age are far more less aware of racism. Hence, the dynamics with the educators are different. In this case I would have been less able to ask the educators about the passive and active teachers effects since it is much harder to measure. In terms of the university, it was excluded due to two reasons: the first one was that it is impossible to keep the university anonymous because there is only one university located in Twente. The other reason was the organizational structure of the university of Twente. It has a far more international character than other levels of education. There are a lot of international students as well as educators from abroad which changes the dynamics especially when it comes to racism. Since the composition of the population within the university is not representative it was decided to exclude the school as a whole. Variety was important for this thesis because different school also means that there are different organisational cultures and different anti-racism policies. Thus, this increases the likelihood of having different experiences concerning racism.

As aforementioned this thesis revolves around the experiences of coloured educators with racism and the anti-racism policies to prevent and battle this. It has also been mentioned that the appropriate method for this thesis was the method of a case study. It was already explained what an illustrative case study entails. However, the aim of a case study is to answer how and why questions (Baxter, 2008). This thesis is tried to do exactly that. On one hand, I tried to figure out how they have experienced racism within their school and on the other hand I tried to figure out why they do or do not use the existing policies to prevent or battle this. In addition, I also looked at how they use the policies in case they do.

This section elaborates on how the interview was structured. The interview as such was semi-structured and consists of six broad open-ended questions (Appendix 4, P.177). The

questions were derived from the theoretical framework in order to see to what extent the answers of the respondents aligned with the theories in the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework was divided in three topics: racism, teaching & diversity and lastly, street level bureaucracy. One question solely focused on the street level bureaucracy and another solely focuses on racism. The remaining four questions were a mix of the three topics. Moreover, the questions were purposely broadened so that the respondents had the freedom to elaborate on their experiences. However, each question did have its own theme and the aim was to address certain topics within the theme. The order of the themes were as following: school choice, experiences with colleagues, experiences with students, educational system, anti-racism policy and lastly experiences with racism. The idea was to give the respondent as much space as possible to elaborate on these themes but at the same time be very alert on whether they addressed certain topics. These topics were written down on my own sheet and in case of not addressing this topic, I would have the freedom to ask further in order to get an answer on a specific topic.

The thesis is narrowed down to educators in Twente. Hence, the location of their school was rather important for the sampling. As aforementioned, the schools are specifically located in Enschede, Hengelo and Almelo. However, the exact schools remain anonymous in this thesis. This choice has been made due to the sensitivity of the topic and the fact that the thesis especially focuses on experiences. Hence, it had no added value to mention the schools. To exclude the possibility of negative publicity for the school, the name was kept anonymous. Moreover, another crucial condition was their ethnic background. It was important that they had a non-white background. However, this non-white background is not focused on whether their skin is white or not but it is rather focused on the fact that they do not have a West-European genealogical connection. This is because the system does not only make a distinction in skin colour but also in ethnicity, therefor this type of racism is, theoretically, also applicable for white non-West Europeans. The third condition that they were selected on was the type of school that they work. As aforementioned, I specifically looked for educators that work at a high school, secondary vocational school and college. In addition, as long as they have either a teaching or accompanying role, they are qualified for the interviews. Before contacting the educators a request form was filled in to hand in at the ethics committee. After they granted me permission (190593) the educators were



contacted.

The first six respondents were approached by one study councillor. I contacted the school with the question whether they had educators that I could interview. She responded and invited me for an oriental conversation. Afterwards she contacted her contacts and asked for their e-mail address and if they were willing to participate. These educators were acquaintances of her and not necessarily her colleagues. I specifically requested a variety in schools. After receiving the email-addresses, I contacted every single one of them with a detailed description of what the thesis was about and what I was expecting from them in terms of meeting each other and doing the interview. The other respondents were approached through acquaintances and they got the same e-mail as the others. All the respondents were free in choosing the location in order to maintain comfort. The only request was to choose a place that was either closed off or where there was minimal noise. This was necessary for the quality of the tape recordings but also to avoid socially desirable answers because they would be intimidated by their surroundings..

The interview took between 45 to 60 minutes, depending on how extensive their answers were. Right before the interview started, the respondent was informed that the interview is anonymous and that they are allowed to stop the interview at any time that. In addition, they were allowed to refuse to answer a question at any time. Afterwards, they were asked if I was allowed to record the conversation. During the first four interviews I only asked permission before recording and not while recording. After being advised by my supervisor, I asked the remaining interviewees for their permission on tape as well. In this process they are assured that the recording will not be released to anyone else but me. The recordings were for the purpose to be as accurate as possible while I was working on my analysis. The recordings were also be transcribed and they were made anonymous in the transcription. During the first two interviews I made notes on my laptop. However, this was too distracting for myself and did not have much added value. Thus, for the remaining respondents I did not take any notes and only used the recorder. During the interviews I had my laptop with me to keep track of whether the topics within the themes were addressed. However, during the first interview I noticed that some questions were too broad to remember. Thus, after the first interview I adjusted the way of asking questions by breaking down the larger questions.

### **§ 3.3 Validity and reliability**

internal validity is irrelevant since this thesis is not trying to show a causal relationship. In contrary, external validity should be mentioned in this thesis. A total of thirteen interviews were held during the thesis. This sample was too small to discover certain patterns and generalize this. Hence, the conclusion that was derived from this thesis could not be generalized. However, studies have shown that validity is increased when interviews are structured (Mcleod, 2014, P.1). The idea behind it is that standardized questions provide a more consistent sample of applicant performance. Thus, those standardized questions resulted in more consistent measurement of applicant qualifications across multiple interview than it would with unstandardized questions. This helped the interviewer to evaluate the information more successfully because the standardizes questions help the interviewer to rate better (Conway, 1995, P.568). The interviews of this thesis were moderately structured because it had standardized questions but also had additional questions that were asked depending on the answer of the respondent. These questions differed from one another. This method of a semi-structured was chosen because it is suited well for the exploration of the perceptions and experiences of interviewees regarding complex and sometimes sensitive issues. It also gave me the chance to ask for more information and clarification of the answers (Baricall, 1993, P.330).

When it comes to reliability, standardization of questions also have a stronger positive effect than unstandardized questions . Moreover, reliability is higher in one on one interviews than panel interviews. In addition, reliability increases once the interviewer is trained to interview respondents (Conway, 1995, P.2). When it comes to the answers of the respondents it is an option to do an interview multiple times on different occasions. Since this is a thesis, there was not a possibility to have sufficient time to execute this. Also, I have never been trained to improve my interview skills. However, I looked up information on how to perform a proper interview. I tried to find the information in scientific articles but also on websites such as scribbr that provides information on writing a thesis (Bariball, 1993). Lastly, in order to enhance the reliability as well as validity, the interviews were held individually rather than in group form.

### **§ 3.4 Data analysis**

This section focuses on the data analysis that was performed in order to answer the research question. In the data analysis, the transcribed interviews were analysed in order to answer the three sub-questions of this thesis:

1. *To what extent do educators, with a non- white ethnic background, have experiences with societal and individual racism within their school?,*
2. *To what extent does institutionalized racism manifest itself in the current education system according to non-white educators?*
3. *To what extent are coloured educators aware of existing anti-racism policies and how are these policies implemented by these educators in their schools?*

The research method that has been applied in this thesis is content analysis. This method is used to interpret the meaning from content of text data (Hsieh, 2005, P.1277). More specifically, a directed approach to content analysis was chosen. "The goal of a directed approach to content analysis is to validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory (Hsieh, 2005, P.1281). As aforementioned, the majority of the theory on racism has been developed and thus been studied in America. Therefore, by conducting this research in the Netherlands, the theory can be validated and if possible extended. In order to break down the large amount of data that had been retrieved, coding was used. Specifically, the used method was concept-driven coding (Gibbs, 2012, P.8) . While going through the transcriptions, several passages or words in the different interviews were highlighted. These were highlighted because at first impression it seemed to represent one of the concepts in the theoretical framework. This was then coded by using predetermined codes from the theory. Codes that did not match with the predetermined codes were given a new name. These were eventually categorized. The emphasis was on answers that strongly matched or deviated from the theory. But also on how repetitive these answers were in different interviews. This means that I would look at how often a concept was validated or invalidated by answers of different interviewees. The categories and codes were then used to evaluate which things were in accordance with the theoretical framework, which things were surprisingly deviating from the theory and which things seemed paradoxical. This was then used to answer the sub-questions one by one until finally answering the research question. Since there were quite some categories and codes, three different coding schemes were

made. Each coding scheme focused on a particular sub-question. The coding scheme, as illustrated below (figure 1), was used to answer the first sub-question: *“To what extent do educators with a non-white ethnic background have experience with societal and individual racism within their school?”* The focus in this sub-question were on two types of racism: individual and societal. Most codes such as ethnicity, stereotyping and lack of diversity could be linked to the theoretical framework. These were words that had been repeated by different interviewees. The next step was to categorize these codes so a clearer overview could be established. Subsequently, these codes were related to theoretical framework. Some codes were very straightforward and therefore very relatable to theory. For instance, the code subtle or straightforward refers to the overt and covert racism that can take place according to the theory. Other codes were less relatable but could still be connected to the theory. For example, intercultural communication is something that was not explicitly mentioned in the theory but is still relatable. In the theory it is mentioned white teachers tend to not understand what students of colour mean because they have not faced the same challenges. Lastly, some codes such as shame and guilt culture were rather new and an interesting addition to the theory. In this case a clear distinction was made between “white” culture and “coloured” culture. Finally, the sub-question was answered by systematically describing which of the answers of interviewees were in line with the theory, which ones added to the theory and which ones deviated.

Categories	Codes	Description
Defining racism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ethnicity or skin colour</li> <li>• Differentiate</li> <li>• Ideology</li> <li>• Inferior</li> <li>• Exclude</li> <li>• Treated indecently</li> <li>• Subtle or straightforward</li> </ul>	The definition that was mostly given was excluding or treat people indecently because of their skin colour or ethnicity. This can be driven by an ideology of a superiority complex and it can happen in a subtle or straightforward way.
Individual insults	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stereotyping comments</li> <li>• Jokes</li> <li>• Political correct</li> <li>• Undertone</li> <li>• Leave the country</li> <li>• Must adjust</li> </ul>	This refers to the fact that remarks that tend to be racist are expressed in a very subtle manner. Usually by using jokes or having a specific undertone. The

		most direct form is making stereotyping comments.
Implicit bias	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assumptions</li> <li>• Incapable of understanding</li> <li>• Different attitude</li> </ul>	This refers to the fact that teachers have implicit bias and this results in unfounded assumptions but also unconsciously a different behaviour and difficulties to understand the student.
Diversity level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of diversity</li> <li>• Diverse student population</li> <li>• Reflection of society</li> <li>• Knowledge</li> <li>• Asking advice</li> </ul>	Most schools have a diverse student population but a lack of diversity within the teaching team. Most teachers agreed that the team should be a reflection of society because that will give them a different type of knowledge and more people to ask advice
Cultural misunderstandings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Different perspective on society</li> <li>• Intercultural communication</li> <li>• Clash of cultures</li> <li>• Shame culture</li> <li>• Guilt culture</li> </ul>	This category focuses on the world that students of colour live in. Mainly focusing on how they are trying to combine two different worlds and thus intercultural communication is handy.
Feeling discriminated	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Different treatment</li> <li>• Quickly labelled</li> <li>• Quickly judged</li> <li>• A feeling</li> <li>• Lack of evidence</li> </ul>	This refers to how people of colour low key experience racism and what makes it so hard to address it
Lower expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Being an exception</li> <li>• Implicit bias</li> <li>• Proving yourself</li> <li>• School advice</li> </ul>	Something that was mentioned a few times is that teachers seem to have lower expectations of people of colour most likely due to implicit bias.
Challenges of tackling racism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Play down</li> <li>• Fear of power</li> <li>• Sensitive topic</li> <li>• Becoming personal</li> </ul>	This refers to the fact why it is so difficult to talk about racism and to address it
False alarm	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self-fulfilling prophecy</li> <li>• Victim role</li> <li>• Easier to discipline</li> </ul>	This category shows the other side on how students of colour use discrimination as an excuse
Development racist thoughts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Taught at home</li> <li>• Politics</li> <li>• Bad experiences</li> </ul>	This category focuses on why someone would tend

		to be a racist or make racist remarks
Applying for schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vacancies</li> <li>• Networking</li> <li>• Location</li> <li>• Educational level</li> <li>• Approached</li> </ul>	This refers to how the teachers got their current job and which demands they had before applying for the school.

Figure 1: Coding scheme of concepts related to individual & societal racism

The second coding scheme is focused on institutionalized racism. The coding scheme, as illustrated below (figure 2), was used to answer the second sub-question: *“To what extent does institutionalized racism manifest itself in the current education system according to non-white educators?”* In this case all codes can be somewhat related to the theoretical framework. Mostly, the codes are to a certain extent related to the whiteness theory. The codes that have been categorized as invisibility can be directly related to this theory. This theory is very specific on the invisibility of racism and explains it as a phenomenon that is everywhere and nowhere at the same time which refers to the systemic nature of racism. All the other categories show the consequences of institutionalized racism. For instance, the organisation predominantly consist of white people. Especially the position at the top of the organisation. This category is to some extent intertwined with the categories white privilege, equal chances and social position. According to the whiteness theory, white privilege is not something you can pinpoint but you can detect the consequences of it such as having employees that are predominantly white but it is also far more likely that the social position of an average white person is better than the average coloured person. This then relates to equal chances because due to white privileges the chances in life for a white person is not the same as a person of colour. Another thing that the whiteness theory points out is colour blindness which is also a category in the coding scheme. In terms of talking about racism, white people often tend to say they do not see colour. In this case the codes that are linked to this category focus on the curriculum and communication. Mostly, the educators argued that by ignoring the colour you ignore the struggle that comes with being a person of colour in a white country. Hence, they are in disadvantage because they do not feel understood which relates to communication or they sometimes do not understand the curriculum because it is not designed for them but unconsciously designed for white people. In short

the second sub-question was answered by mostly relating the codes and categories to the whiteness theory.

Categories	Codes	Description
Invisibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cannot pinpoint</li> <li>• Unacknowledged</li> <li>• In the system</li> </ul>	This refers to why the phenomena racism is considered to be invisible according to the educators.
Organisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• White teacher team</li> <li>• White management team</li> <li>• Identify with</li> <li>• Meet demands</li> </ul>	This is a description of the composition of the organisation and its culture.
White privilege	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Misinterpretation behaviour</li> <li>• Group attribute</li> <li>• Higher education</li> </ul>	This refers to the effects of white privilege.
Colour blindness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Multicultural curriculum</li> <li>• Intercultural communication</li> </ul>	This refers to which elements are needed to get rid of the assumption that there is colour blindness.
Social position	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social economic status</li> <li>• Different starting point</li> <li>• Language</li> </ul>	This refers to how your social position can influence your educational career.
Estimation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lower expectations</li> <li>• School advice</li> <li>• An exception</li> </ul>	This refers to how White educators tend to have lower expectations towards coloured student. This shows in which ways it manifest itself.
Equal chances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Educational system</li> <li>• Career opportunities</li> </ul>	This refers to how some educators do think that there equal chances in the educational system.

Figure 2: Coding scheme of concepts related to institutionalized racism

The third coding scheme is focused on anti-racism policies. The coding scheme, as illustrated below (figure 3), is used to answer the third sub-question: *“To what extent are coloured educators aware of existing anti-racism policies and how are these enforced in their schools?”* This sub-question is answered in a similar way as sub-question 1. Some categories such as approach can be related to the existing theory of Lipsky where the educators are

considered to be street level bureaucrats that enforce their own policies. When it comes to the categories existing policies, it was hard to relate that to the theoretical framework. However, it was interesting to include as category because the codes display which policies are in place that could be related to racism but are not categorized as anti-racism policies and what the potential reasons behind not having or knowing the policy are. In addition, two categories were distinguished although they are very similar. Those categories are: create awareness and attention. The decision has been made because the category awareness specifically refers to how to create more awareness for racism in general preferably through policies. In contrary, the codes related to the category attention only refer to the level of awareness there currently is for racism according to the educators.

Categories	Codes	Description
Restraints	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Closer to home</li> <li>• Difficult to prove</li> <li>• Worse when I do it</li> <li>• Negative consequences</li> </ul>	This refers to the restraints that the educators face when enforcing the policy. It explains which factors sometimes holds them back in order to take action.
Create awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Curriculum</li> <li>• Visibility</li> <li>• Project</li> <li>• Unacknowledged</li> </ul>	This refers to how educators try to create awareness for racism. Since they consider it to be an unacknowledged problem.
Existing policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anti-bullying</li> <li>• Anti-discrimination</li> <li>• Lack of active informing</li> <li>• No policy</li> <li>• Unaware</li> </ul>	This refers to which existing policies the educators can use to battle or prevent racism. This means the case can also be that it does not exist or that they are unaware of its existence.
Attention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sufficient</li> <li>• Necessary</li> <li>• Not a thing</li> <li>• When needed</li> </ul>	This refers to the level of attention that they feel like is provided on this matter.
Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Talk about it</li> <li>• Involve parents</li> <li>• Manager or confidant</li> <li>• Executive board</li> <li>• Ignore</li> <li>• Involve colleague</li> </ul>	This refers to which approach they use in order to battle racism within their school.

Figure 3: coding scheme policies



### **§ 3.5 Conclusion**

In short, this chapter provides a description of how the research has been conducted. This thesis has a qualitative research design where the aim is to describe, contextualize and gain in-depth insight on the concept of racism in the educational racism. Moreover, it can be categorized as an illustrative case study.

To retrieve the necessary data, interviews with coloured educators were held. These educators teach in different schools in the region of Twente and the type of school also differs. The educators were teaching in high school, secondary vocational schools or college. Approximately half of the interviewees were approached by a contact person. The other interviewees were approached through acquaintances. All the interviewees were contacted via e-mail with the request for the interview, why the interview was needed and what the topic is. The interviews as such were semi-structured and consisted of six broad-ended questions. The questions were derived from the theoretical framework. Structuring the interview question to a certain extent, contributed to the validity and reliability of the research. In terms of validity it provides a more consistent sample of applicant performance and in terms of reliability it is easier to use standardized question and therefore standardized questions have a more positive effect than unstandardized questions. In addition, the interviews were one on one and that also had a positive effect on the reliability.

After retrieving the data, the method of content analysis has been applied. This method is used to interpret the meaning from content text data (Hsieh, 2005, P.1277). Considering the large amount of data that has been retrieved it was necessary to break it down. Therefore, it was necessary to use coding. To be more specific, concept-driven coding.

In conclusion, a few research activities have taken place in order to answer the research question. Firstly, it was important to determine what types of teachers needed to be interviewed and finding them. Considering the theoretical framework it was important that I found teachers that would be more likely to have experienced and be able to detect racism. Without these teachers it would not have been possible to retrieve the data that is necessary to answer the research question. Secondly, it was important to structure the interviews to a certain extent. Not only did that positively contribute to the reliability and validity of this research but it also helped to stay on track with the interviews without limiting the educators to a point where too little data could be retrieved. In other words, it

gave the educators sufficient freedom to broadly answer the questions which was essential to answering the research question. This provided targeted information that was necessary for answering the research question. Thirdly, the coding contributed to answering the research question because it helped to categorize the large amount of data and it provided a good overview. Lastly, the content analysis was the final important step throughout this research because the retrieved data could be compared to the theoretical framework resulting in endorsing the theory in some aspects but also contradicting or adding new information to the existing theory.

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## 4. Data-analysis

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The aim of this chapter is to provide an extensive analyse on the conducted thesis. In this analysis, the purpose is to answer the sub-questions by analysing the collected interviews and relate this to the theoretical framework. Eventually, this will enable to answer the research question which is as following: *To what extent do educators with a non-white background have experience with different forms of racism within their schools and how do they use existing policies to combat or prevent this phenomena?* Coding will be used as the method to conduct the analysis. With coding you try to the define what the data you analysing is about (Gibbs, 2007). In this case, you go through the transcriptions of all the interviews and categorize several passages of different interviews in one code. You continue this until you finally establish a framework of thematic ideas. Coding as such can be in two ways: either the coding is data-driven or it is concept-driven (Gibbs, 2007). Since this thesis contains a theoretical framework that is based on research literature and previous studies and was formed before conducting the data analysis, this type of coding can be categorized as concept-driven. That means that the categories or concepts these codes represent are directly derived from then theoretical framework

The first section will revolve around the experiences, that non-white educators, working in schools that are located in Twente, have with societal and individual racism. In the section that follows the focus will be shifted to institutionalized racism. The last section will focus on the anti-racism policies that these educators use to prevent or battle racism. Each section will be finalized with a short conclusion in order to answer the sub-question that is related to the section.

### **§ 4.1 Defining racism.**

Before getting into the details of the experiences the interviewees have with racism within their school, it is important to know what they consider to be racism. How would they define it? The definitions they provided was generally more or less the same. The two things that were central for each interviewee was ethnicity, race and inequal treatment. For instance, one of the interviewees said: " Racism...is inequality. It means you treat someone differently

because of his or hers ethnicity or skin-color (Interview G, P.140).” The focus was always on the different treatment, whether that meant in an indecent straightforward way or a more subtle way where it becomes clear that you are excluded to a certain extent. There was also a general agreement that the perpetrator would view the victim as inferior due its race or ethnicity. Some even called racism an ideology. An interesting turn of events was that quite a few teachers also considered, an unequal treatment due someone’s religion, as racism as well. For instance, one of the teachers said: “ Racism means you can’t see each other as equals and treat the other as an equal because of that persons ethnicity or religion (Interview B, P.25).”

So how do these findings relate to the definition that was provided in the theoretical framework? The definition of racism is, as aforementioned, as following in this thesis: “ a negative value or set of values projected as essential or noncontingent attribute onto a group whose members are defined through genealogical connection – i.e. as sharing some origin – and who are demarcated on the basis of some visible phenotypic features which in its turns leads to systematic mistreatment of this group (Alcoff, 2015, P.123).” When the definitions provided by the educators are compared to this definition it certainly has one aspect that matches. The definition in this thesis focuses on genealogical connection and visible features. The educators focused on race and ethnicity which in essence has everything to do with genealogical features. Most of them also pointed out that it indeed has to do with systematic mistreatment. For instance, one of the interviewee said: “I had a colleague that was once put in a setting where she was the only white person and she felt excluded. After that she had an idea of what it was like but for her that was a one-time experience, for me it is a part of my daily life. I don’t think that it can be expected that a white catholic man knows how I feel, even if he has experienced one racist incident (Interview A, P.7).” Hence, she specifically indicates that indeed white people can feel excluded in certain settings but they still would not know how racism feels like since it is a rare thing that happens to them. However, the systematic and institutionalized aspect of this topic is something that will be more extensively discussed in another section. Superiority or inferiority was another thing that had an important position within their reasoning. Surprisingly the definition as such, that is used, in this thesis does not say anything about these two concepts, it only simply speaks of posing negative values on a group. However, the

focus is not on why this negative value is posed on that particular group. Although, the definition as such does not include the concept of inferiority, the theory of Schmidt on behavioural, cognitive and motivational approach does (Schmidt, 1996). Hence, the Schmidt theory can be seen as an expansion on the definition where the focus is on why someone would have the idea that that negative value belongs to a certain group. One of the reason mentioned in the Schmidt theory is indeed the superiority complex. However, considering the answers of the interviewee, it seems that either the cognitive or the behavioural approach is more central in these situations. But, this is something that becomes clearer in the sections where we look at the societal and institutionalized racism.

The largest deviation with the definitions were that most teachers included religion as a part of racism. Hence, if someone is discriminated due to their religion that can also be considered to be racism. While in the definition that is used in this thesis is not suitable, to classify discrimination based on religion, as racism because religion is not an genealogical connection.

#### **§ 4.1.1 Experiences with individual and societal racism.**

In this section, the emphasis is on the experiences of individual and societal racism. Hence, the aim is to answer the following sub-question: *To what extent do educators, with a non-white ethnic background, have experiences with individual and societal racism within their school?*

This section will first focus on individual racism. Individual racism can be defined as following: individual acts of overt or covert prejudice that are racially based. This kind of racism has a conscious intent to harm another because of his or her race. While trying to break down the data provided through the interviews, the focus was specifically on two questions: 1. What are your experiences with racism in this school and 2. What are your experiences with students concerning this topic. The second question was formulated in order to shift the focus from educators to the students. This resulted in finding several codes such as "jokes", "political correct" and "stereotyping comment". These codes were then categorized as "individual insults". Consequently, this section is structured as following: Firstly, we zoom in on overt racism among colleagues followed by covert racism. Then the focus is on how the educators deal with these incidents. Lastly, there is a shift to the

students and the experiences that the educators have with overt or covert racism among students.

Of all the educators that have been interviewed there was only one that said that there were teachers who blatantly have made racist remarks. However, even in this situation the remark was not directed to that specific person but instead the teacher would make remarks such as “all Moroccans do this or all Turks do this” while the interviewee, who has one of those ethnic backgrounds, was sitting right next to him. At some point she confronted him and said: “you are a racist” where his answer was “yes I am”. When asked if she used the school policy to file a complaint she said she did not because she believed it would be her word against his and he would definitely win that discussion. Hence, the fear of not being believed prevented her to file a complaint. However, these kind of incidents seem to be the exception. All the other interviewees indicated that they have never had any experiences with educators who openly make racist comments and if someone ever did they would definitely file a complaint.

Surprisingly, the minimal overt discriminatory incidents that did occur on an individual level were mostly Islamophobic incidents rather than racist incidents. For instance, an interviewee said the following: “I was working and one of the teachers came to ask me if I do not think that I should apologize for the terrorist attacks in Paris because I am Muslim. I was absolutely baffled and after a short discussion, I just stood up and left. There were several colleagues standing there and they did absolutely nothing about the situation (Interview A, P.77).” Another interviewee said: “There was a colleague who has made several remarks about Muslim women and a student came to me and said she failed a test but it was impossible that she had failed it. She cheated during the whole test and he never caught her but somehow she was the only one that failed while the rest of the class passed the exam (Interview C, P.97).” These were just a few examples of overt Islamophobic incidents. In both cases no complaint has been filed.

In terms of covert racist remarks there was one thing that often came up with several interviewees and that was racist remarks that were disguised in a “joke”. For instance, one of the educators said the following: “I walked in the room with my Turkish colleague and someone said look the undeclared workers “zwartwerkers” just came in and I confronted him asking why he said that. He said it was just a joke and I told him it was not funny. It is

really hard to point out that they are being offensive (Interview J, P.178).” Two other things that the interviewees pointed out was that most of the educators that have racist tendencies, are very capable of being political correct. This was the form of covert individual racism that was mentioned the most. They would never say something that was unacceptable but it would always have a certain undertone.

In terms of taking action, this is one of the reasons that they find it hard to prove racism because it is mostly just a feeling that you get from the other person. This, in its turn, makes it harder to do something about it. One of the educators said: “You know it is not right but at the same time you cannot talk about it because no one wants to be accused of racism (Interview J, P.177).” This is also the case with students that come to them to complain about being discriminated. “They will come to me and give a vague argument that when they are late for class they always get sent away but the white classmates do not. I was not there so how do I know that it is the truth and how can I prove that the reason behind it is racism? It is just difficult (Interview C, P. 96).” In addition, the interviewee that pointed out that he found it hard to mention that a joke was offensive was not alone in this case. Pointing out that a joke is offensive, is something most interviewees seemed to be struggling with. Especially because most of them were convinced that the educators mostly did it unconsciously without considering that it might be a racist or hurtful comment. Most of them felt like they were capable of judging whether something was meant to be personal or if it was an attempt of making a joke.

In short, all interviewees, except for one, did agree that although it happens, these were all very rare incidents and individual racism is something that they barely experienced in their schools. Specifically, most of the interviewees have never experienced overt racism. Even when we look at the racist incidents that did occur, it is very questionable if it can be classified as individual racism. An important part of individual racism is that it is done with a conscious intent to harm the other. Most of the interviewees felt like that was not the case.

When it comes to students, it seemed like there were more offensive incidents that occurred. Some interviewees did classify it as racism but also argued that usually it is just ignorance or things they heard at home and that they do not consider it to be racist or offensive. Several interviewees pointed out that this would usually happen during class when a sensitive topic such as “zwarte piet” or racism would come up. Mostly it would end

up in either stereotyping comments or phrases such as if you cannot adjust you should leave this country. Mostly, educators pointed out that this does not have consequence because they classify it as having an opinion. They would rather focus on educating them in these topics and teach how to communicate respectfully. However, if it were ever blatant racist remark where they personally target a person they would take action and most likely send him or her out of the classroom. Luckily, this has never been necessary.

All in all, these interviews showed that it is very difficult to categorize something as individual racism and the difficulty especially lies, on one hand, within the fact that it is hard to distinguish whether there is conscious intent to harm the other person and on the other hand, the political correctness of the words they use. As one of the interviewees said: "I do not know what someone feels in his heart (Interview E, P.137)." Although they feel like that they can, to certain extent, distinguish whether it was meant to be offensive or not they can never be sure. On the other hand, twelve out of thirteen educators said they never have been directly discriminated by a colleague or student and if they did they would know who to contact to file a complaint. However, whenever they were asked if they knew which policies they should follow in situations like that, the answer was always negative. Hence, there was not a specific policy that either of them would follow but they would just do what seems most logical and usually that meant talking to the manager or an appointed confidant. Another thing that stood out is that the argument in the theoretical framework was that the frequency of individual racism depends on the multicultural and anti- racism education that is provided. The level of provision of this type of education differed in the several schools where these educators worked. However, there seemed to be no or barely difference between the answers. Most educators felt like they barely had to deal with individual racism and the type of education did not seem to play a role. Despite these answers, it must be kept in mind that the data cannot be generalized since the interviewees are only a small sample and there has not been any further specific research on the level of provision of this type of education in those schools.

In the theoretical framework it was established that societal racism, unlike individual racism, usually happens unconsciously. As aforementioned, societal racism focuses on moralism, this means that societal or cultural assumptions, norms, mores and expectations favours a particular race over the other ones (Young, 2000). Consequently, everything that is defined



as good or bad is reasoned from that one racial perspective. While analysing the data it became clear that at some point societal racism and institutionalized racism were overlapping concepts. Moreover, most categories of the coding scheme influence one another to a certain extent. This does not mean that it is an established causal relationship. However, these are the links that most educators made during the interviews. With figure 1 you see a part of the theoretical model based on the categories of the coding schemes. It shows how the categories influence each other to some extent.

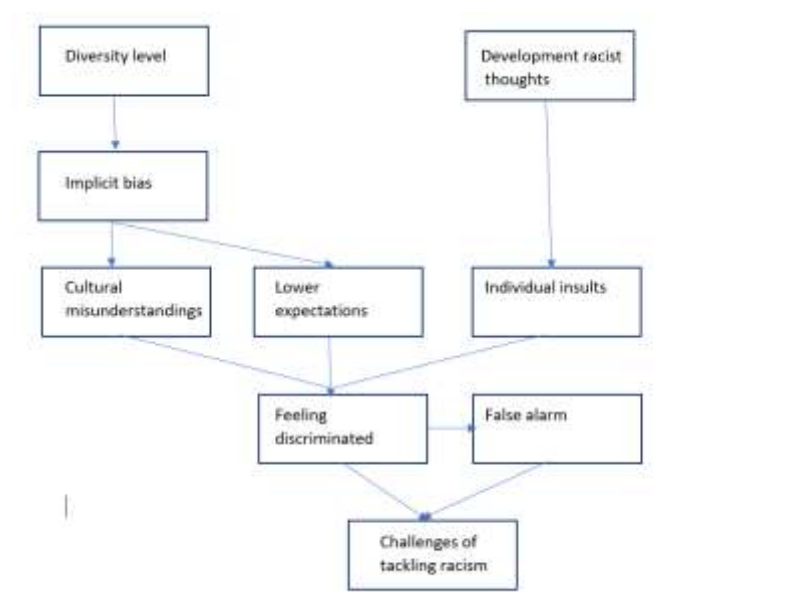


Figure 4: partial theoretical model

The first category is the diversity level. All educators, except for one, mentioned that the diversity level in their team was quite low. Although the term low is subjective in this case, they tried to measure it with to what extent it was a representation of the population or the student population. Usually the student population was ethnically quite diverse. In percentages the level of diversity within the team was a lot lower. This is a category that is more appropriate for the institutionalized section because the diversity level is an part of the organizational culture. However, this category is also included in this section due its effects in the perception of the educators. Most of the interviewees felt like this category influenced the level of understanding from white colleagues towards coloured students. Clash of cultures became a code because it was the one thing that was mentioned the most. Almost every educator pointed out that most of their white colleagues did not understand

that the students were stuck between two cultures. One of the educators even categorized it as the guilt culture vs. the shame culture. He reasoned that most coloured students grew up in a "shame culture". This means that they were taught to keep everything quiet, especially their home situation is considered to be private while the Dutch culture is more a "guilt culture" where you are more open about situations and are also willing to take the blame if you did something wrong (Interview F, P.127). As educators that have non-white ethnic background they feel like it is easier for them to understand what these students are struggling with and also have better chances to reason with them. Out of thirteen respondent, there were ten educators who have been put in a position where they tried to explain a situation from the perspective of the coloured students to a white colleague. In some cases the white colleagues would even come to them to ask for advice on how to handle the situation. One of the interviewees gave an example of the former. She said that a girl was very quiet and would just accept everything that was thrown at her despite the fact that the process was not fair. This eventually resulted in her failing the class. The white teacher just assumed it was her fault but the respondent acted quickly because she knew it was an intelligent girl and that she grew up in a culture where you are taught to be modest and obliged. The white teacher simply did not understand why she could not just express her opinion (Interview G, P.147). Another respondent had a similar situation where the same issues occurred. The white teachers have one perspective in these situations and that is the perspective where you as a person should stand your ground and express your opinions because that is the dominant culture. This in its turns leads to incomprehension towards the students. Thus, unconsciously they classify it as "wrong" because it goes against the norms that they are familiar with.

The educators argued that if there was more diversity within the team they could avoid more cultural misunderstandings because there would be more knowledge within the team about these situations. However, they did emphasized that they are not treated like experts on the matter but usually they take initiative to inform their colleagues. Hence, the category diversity level influences the category cultural misunderstandings. However, there seemed to be an exception. White colleagues that have educated themselves in cultural studies seemed to have more affinity with the struggles that coloured students were dealing with. Thus, the educators argued that you do not necessarily need to be a coloured educator in

order to understand where these students are coming from but just having knowledge about it should be sufficient.

In relation to the theoretical framework it, indeed, looks like the coloured educators have a monitoring function. Their role in reasoning with their colleagues about coloured students seems to be limited because most of them mentioned that it rarely happens. The same rhetoric applies to for being asked for advice. Although in both cases they did play an important role when it was needed. The monitoring function seems to apply more, in terms of understanding what coloured students are dealing with and being able to anticipate on that. Something that was much more difficult task for their white colleagues. Most educators were opinionated that a higher diversity level would be an advantage because it helps to influence the level of understanding of white teachers towards coloured students. In their case it is actually still a theory because they have not been in a situation where there was an actual high diversity level within their team. They just base this assumption on their own actions and to some extent of the very few colleagues that have a non-white ethnic background. However, although the answers varied when it came to the passive teacher effect, it did more or less display that all of them had a feeling that their presence was positive for students of colour. Some said very explicitly that students came to them and told them that it is nice to see someone in that kind of position with a non-white background. Others did not hear anything from students but did feel like their presence was appreciated and gave them hope to keep working on their goals. Thus, despite the difference in experience they all did have one thing in common and that was that they all, to a certain extent, served as a role model to the coloured students and thus this is another confirmation for them that a higher diversity level is a positive thing. Although, it could be expected that the educators also selected the school based on the diversity level out of fear of being discriminated, it was surprising that this was not the case for any of the interviewees. None of them considered whether the school was relatively white or coloured before applying.

What is interesting is that there is also another side to the story. While there is a lack of acknowledgement on their personal struggle with clashing cultures, there have been several situations where white teachers would make assumption based on the ethnic background of the student or the background they think the student has. Usually this would be a situation where they would, either overhear or colleagues would make comments to them, about

students of colour. For instance, one of the interviewee said the following: " When trying to explain the behaviour of students with a non-Dutch background they tend to assume it is because of their culture. It is becomes a collective judgement rather than looking at the individual. If a Turkish boy misbehaves towards a female teacher, the teacher quickly assumes it is because he has problems with women with authority due to the fact that women are considered inferior in their culture (Interview L, P.207)." Another interviewee pointed out the following: " Sometimes when a student performs badly, I hear colleagues say things such as, that student has foreign parents and they probably do not speak Dutch and they probably never help him at home. No wonder he is failing. They just assume that the parents do not know Dutch or help their children with their homework (Interview G, P. 137)." Despite hearing it, some educators explicitly said they sometimes would rather not get involved because it would become quite annoying if they are always the ones speaking up. They said they picked their moments when they find it really relevant to have a conversation about it. The most mentioned examples were based on the disapproval of wearing the headscarf. The second most used example was labelling disobedient male students as "oppressors" because they would not obey female educators.

In some cases it was not the student that was victim of being misunderstood and quickly labelled but it was the educator. However, this was only the case for three of the 14 respondents. They said that they have had moment where they felt "tested". All three of them happened to be Turkish-Dutch and the subject was always Turkish politics. They would be questioned about Erdogan or the coup d'état that happened in 2016. One of them said: "they will ask you something and it feels like you are responsible for what happened but you are not allowed to have an opinion about it. It is always misinterpreted (Interview C, P.92)." Another respondent said more or less the same thing but specifically mentioned that as a "foreigner" you are not allowed to say certain things. These situations are a bit more difficult to classify as societal racism. However, from their explanation it could be deduced that they felt like they had a different perspective on the situation because of their background but that they feared that this perspective would not be accepted. Despite this, it is still difficult to determine with certainty that it is societal racism. The main reason is because it is hard to estimate whether this is a cultural and norms issue or simply a political issue. If it is the latter, it cannot be classified as societal racism.

The educators pointed out that implicit bias is always present but if there is more diversity within the team there are more people who can contribute to changing that bias. That is why the category diversity level influences the category implicit bias.

The last interview quote also relates to another category that was formed during the analysis: lower expectations. This category is overlapping with the classroom pedagogy mentioned in the institutionalized racism section. Although this is indeed a part of classroom pedagogy it shows that the white educators reason from the perspective of their norms and values and label those of the coloured students as wrong. Hence, it is also a part of societal racism. The opinions of the educators on this category were a bit divided. What was interesting is that almost all educators had have faced that their teachers had lower expectations for them when they were students themselves. However, some of the same educators do not feel like that this occurs in the current school that they are teaching. The other part of the educators does feel like this still happens. One of the educators pointed out that this probably happens due to implicit bias. The educators have a certain idea of a certain culture and unintentionally use that to label students or quickly judge them. This in its turns, causes them to have a different behaviour towards the coloured students. One of the interviewees said: "It can be something very small. For instance, last week a student got married and she is 21 years old. One of the white teachers said: "How can she marry that young? She is ruining her life." It does not surprise me that she got married and I understand why but somehow the colleague directly links it to ruining her life (Interview A, P.67)."

Another educator pointed out that these different norms of life can also affect the grades of the students. Although he just considered it to be a theory but he explained that students have to write reflections reports. He pointed out that if a student writes down that they believe that a woman should take care of man in a household, it is something that does not go well with the norms that the teacher has. He believed that a teacher would be inclined to give a lower grade because they cannot identify with it (Interview M, P. 224).

One of the educators pointed out that she believed that the coloured students could definitely feel that they were being treated different, although the teacher most likely would have no clue that their behaviour is different towards them. Thus, feeling discriminated is another category referring to the fact that students are most likely very capable of detecting when they are being treated differently. The categories lower expectations, implicit bias and

cultural misunderstanding all point to the category feeling discriminated. This is because they explained that these are the major factors that contribute to coloured students feeling discriminated.

In term of the theoretical framework these examples are a clear case of active teachers effect. It shows the unintended bias these teachers have when it comes to expectations of students or interaction with students. These are all based on the demographic traits of the students. These situation can all, with the exception of the example of the Turkish-Dutch teachers, be defined as societal racism. However, what is interesting is that not all educators labelled it as racism. In contrary, most of them did not consider it to be racism but rather a misunderstanding or incapability to understand due to ignorance. In addition, the opinions on active teachers effect were quite interesting as well. Most were convinced that the active teachers effect depends on how much someone is trained in intercultural communication and how much knowledge they have about cultural diversity. Hence, it should not necessarily depend on your background. Most of them pointed out that non-white educators also have unintended bias and can display that on coloured students as well. Some even pointed out that there were teachers that have a different ethnic background and were quite biased towards other specific backgrounds due to the historical animosity. Therefore, they were convinced that having a non-white background did not mean that you do not display (un)intended bias. Lastly, this section also showed that the actions of the white educators show signs of the behavioural and cognitive approach. They either base their opinion on bad experiences they had in the past with a particular group or they just assume that someone is unable to do certain things due to its culture.

Another side of the coin, is that all the educators felt like there are coloured students who cry wolf. They explained that students use racism as an excuse when they do not perform well or if a white teacher tries to discipline them. Most of them felt like that their ethnic background is an advantage in this case because they have more space to discipline or approach the student without them being accused of racism. Moreover, they felt like they had a position where they could tell them that it is not racism in this case in order to defend a colleague. Two educators pointed out that they do not always necessarily use it as an excuse but that it is just a case of "self-fulfilling prophecy". The coloured students have been often in situations where they were discriminated and that they tend to misjudge some

situations. When in reality they have displayed some type of behaviour that provoked a reaction from the teachers. Thus, by getting in a situation with the thought that they are going to be discriminated anyway, they unconsciously display aggressive or rude behaviour and link the reaction of the teacher to racism. These situations all together have been placed under the category "false alarm".

All in all, the covertness of racism, the unconscious behaviour and the misjudged racism make it hard to tackle racism altogether.

#### **§ 4.1.2 Conclusion**

The following sub-question: *To what extent do educators, with a non- white ethnic background, have experiences with societal and individual racism within their school*, has been central in this section. Before going into details about the experience, the section focused on how educators generally define racism. It can be concluded that all of the educators were set on the unequal treatment of an individual due its race or ethnicity and more specifically the systematic mistreatment of these individuals. This is more or less consistent with the definition provided in the theoretical framework. The biggest deviance of this definition was that a lot of educators also included religion in their definition.

The answer to sub-question 1 is as following: the interviewed educators generally feel like the presence of individual racism in their school is quite low or even non- existent. Societal racism is present to a certain extent but it is still negligible.

Despite the variety of answers of the interviewees, the main point is that none of them have experienced frequent individual racism. In fact, it is very rare. Although they felt like it was sometimes hidden in political correctness or jokes it was never blatant obvious nor was there, in their opinion, a malicious intent to harm them with those comments. If individual racism did occur it seemed to come more often from the students rather than the colleagues and even then it was questionable if it could be classified as individual racism and in these cases the biggest challenge would be to determine their intent.

Societal racism seems to be occur more often. However, it is quite interesting that the educators did not feel comfortable to refer to it as racism but rather linked it to ignorance or a misunderstanding. Societal racism occurred in different forms. Sometimes it were assumption on explaining behaviour and other times it would be certain expectations due to someone's background. In general, the educators had a hard time to tackle racism because

of three factors: the covertness of racism, the unconscious behaviour and the misjudged racism.

Although most educators were opiated that a high diversity level within the teaching team would decrease the occurrence of societal racism, it cannot be proven. This is because they have never actually worked in a diverse team in order to compare. In addition, most of them did seem to have a monitoring function to some extent and their presence does seem to result in passive teachers effect. However, the active teachers effect was very questionable and seems to be depending more on the training in intercultural communication. This was quite surprising since the theory only takes background into consideration for this effect to take place. It seems that being trained in intercultural communication is also an important component that is not mentioned in the theory. In short, the experiences with societal racism seemed to be occurring far more often compared to individual racism.

#### **§ 4.2 Manifestation of institutionalized racism**

In this section the aim is to answer the second sub question of this thesis: *To what extent does institutionalized racism manifest itself in the current education system according to non-white educators?* As aforementioned, institutionalized racism is an utterly complex phenomenon and the complexity mostly lies in its detection. In the theoretical framework institutionalized racism was defined as following: Institutional racism means that laws, policies and norms systematically (dis)advantage) certain groups due to the racist ideologies and discriminatory practices have become embedded in them. In this case, organizations or societies distribute more resources to one than the other without necessarily a racist intent. However, this does have a disparate impact. The rules, processes and opportunity structures that enable such disparate impacts are what constitute institutional racism (Clair, 2015, P.860). It was also established that there were three important factors through what institutionalized racism operates: the organizational culture of the school, classroom pedagogy and school finance. If these factors favour white people rather than people of colour, this can be considered to be institutional racism. Consequently, the first section will focus on the organizational culture, the second section will focus on classroom pedagogy and finally the school finances will be shortly discussed.

As aforementioned, the first section will focus on the organizational culture of the school and it will specifically focus on unravelling what role the concept of whiteness plays within



the schools in the perception of the educators with a non-white background. I have tried to measure this with the following three questions: 1. What do you think of the current educational system in terms of equality when it comes to the study career of students and also career possibilities for yourself in comparison with your white colleagues? 2. What are your experiences with racism within the school? And the last question was related to the diversity within the school. During the answering of these two questions it was made sure they were asked about white privilege and unconscious racism, in case they did not already mention this.

The first thing that is evaluated in this section is the whiteness of the organization. In the theoretical framework it was mentioned that institutionalized racism stems from the fact that the system was developed and controlled by white people. whiteness as such is an organizing principle which maintains the power and privilege of white people (Blair, 2008, P.249). Consequently, the only thing that is physically measurable in this case is the amount of white educators in comparison to the educators of colour. As aforementioned in the previous section, when we look at the composition of the schools all the educators with the exception of one, mentioned that the team they worked in was predominantly white. The directors and management teams did not seem to be an exception. It must be mentioned that a few educators did not know what the composition of the management teams or directors were but those who did know, pointed out that it was either all white or predominantly white. Consequently, two educators pointed out that they did not think they would be hired for one of those top position within their school because of their ethnical background. One of them said the following: "I do not think I have the same chances as my white colleagues. I feel like when you have second culture you just need to be very lucky that someone wants to grant you a position like that. It might be just a feeling, but I have experienced it with two colleagues that had a different ethnic background and applied. They were rejected and then left. Things like that just confirm my feelings (Interview I, P.172)." Nine other educators generalized it a bit more by pointing out that you have to work harder to get a position in the working field if you are not white. However, five of those nine educators did not feel like this necessarily applied to their school but they were uncertain about it. One of them mentioned that he has been present during job interviews and said the following: they would discuss a few candidates and who they would hire. I noticed that

they unconsciously would always go for a white person. It is not right but is hard to prove and hard to battle (Interview E, P. 120).” Another educator gave an explanation of why he thinks that white people are more likely to get hired in those positions: “ You just want to have the same kind of people around you. Someone you can identify with. So if the established order is white, it will most likely just remain white because they will always go for the same kind people that share their values, style and so on (Interview J, P.187). ”

This entire content shows, as expected, the principle of that whiteness is everywhere and nowhere at the same time because it is invisible. However, it is the standard by which other groups are judged. The main point is that the power within the schools lies with white people. That is also the only visible aspect in this phenomenon. In the context of their jobs, the theory of whiteness seems to apply. However, it is quite a paradox that most of those that mentioned that the management is white and that it is more difficult to get hired as a person of colour, still did not feel like that this also applied to them. There were only two that actually felt like this would affect their chances as well. Moreover, surprisingly four of the interviewees just simply thought that there were no forms of racism in the applications procedures and that they would have equal chances as their white colleagues. One of them even mentioned that he had close contact with the directors of the school and that they acknowledged that the top positions were too white. When it was suggested that they would hire more people of colour, he advised against hiring based on ethnicity but he would rather have them hire people based on their qualities (Interview F, P.130). This makes the situation even more complex because on one side they do show signs of a white organizational culture but on the other hand they are well aware of the fact that it is too white and want to change this. In addition, it becomes questionable if the educator of colour is another factor that is helping to keep the whiteness of the organization intact or are his comments in this case harmless due to the awareness of the white director concerning the composition of his organization? The complexity mostly lies in the fact that awareness does not necessarily remove implicit bias. Hence, despite the awareness this system can still sustain itself. In short, the majority acknowledged the whiteness within the organisation but they were convinced that it had little or no effect on their career opportunities. Despite their conviction that it barely affect their career opportunities, they did believe that there are plenty of other schools where it would affect their career.

One of the developed categories that fits with this section is “colour blindness”. It refers to the lack of multicultural curriculum and intercultural communication in these schools. This was something that was mentioned by nine different educators in different forms.

Intercultural communication will be discussed in the classroom pedagogy section. Most of them felt like students and colleagues lacked the knowledge about others cultures. This in its turn prevents them to understand why people of colour demonstrate certain cultural elements. One of them said:” I think it is a missed opportunity in the Netherlands that those cultural elements lack in the curriculum. However, no one dares to say this because they will immediately be accused of that they are trying to force things upon them or mix things. But it is not about mixing cultures it is about knowing why someone does something (Interview F, P.117). This is another way where whiteness in the system sustains itself. People are not educated about other cultures which causes incomprehension and may eventually lead to implicit bias towards that particular group of people.

Another element of this multicultural curriculum would be that language is mostly used as an indicator of intelligence. Surprisingly, eleven educators did not think that this is was a fair indicator to use despite the fact that it is an objective indicator. They pointed out that if you were raised with communicating in multiple languages, you will certainly develop a backlog. The reason of backlog is not intelligence and thus they find it unfair that it used to measure intelligence. One of the educators took it a step further by explaining that the exams and testing were not “culture proof”. He mentioned that he read several studies, where they show that exams and IQ tests are developed in such a way that it is easier to understand for white children. For instance, the examples that are used in the tests are more identifiable for white children. He gave an example of using words like “poffertjes” which is a traditional Dutch dish. If a child of colour reads this he will be more busy with trying to picture what that is and thus ignore the actual assignment while the white child will easily move on to the assignment (Interview M, P. 232). Another educator pointed out the same thing, except he used his own educational curriculum as an example. He mentioned that that curriculum was developed in such a way that it was easier for women to succeed than men. This also reflected in the results: women had higher grades than men. He explained that for people of colour this is always the case (Interview J, P. 177).

Others stressed that language is frequently used as an excuse to under advice children of

colour when they have to determine their level in high school. One of them specifically pointed out: "If you are white it is called dyslexia but when you are not white it is called language deficiency (Interview A, P.73). " Referring to the fact that with children of colour they will not even bother to determine if they have dyslexia due to their implicit bias. One of the interviewee questioned, without being aware of it, the whiteness of the educational system as such. She mentioned that she wondered why population of students of colour decreased once the educational level was higher (Interview B, P.85). This is a fair question and also shows that it is indeed reasonable to think that these factors that have been mentioned are produced by the organizational culture and that this in its turn sustains the whiteness in the higher educational levels.

Another thing that was frequently mentioned was that the standards of the school is to treat everyone equally and consequently completely ignoring that all the students have a different background and thus a different starting position in life. Surprisingly, next to ethnicity most of them also mentioned that your social-economic status has a huge impact on your level of education. Nevertheless, this starting position of life affects your capacities and brings extra challenges to perform on such a high educational level according to these educators. In the theoretical framework this was referred to as "colour blind". This completely denies the nature of social practices that come with race. By raising one standard for all, instead of differentiating between students, you indirectly imply that all students have the same struggles. When the reality is, that the school experience of people of colour is utterly different than the school experience of white students (Blair, 2008, P.251). This is exactly what the educators were trying to point out. Consequently, they felt like different students, need different treatments.

Summarized, the educators are convinced that the organizational culture does affect the success of the study career of students. The main concept in their explanation is "colour blindness". The concept is then categorized in three topics: intercultural communication, multicultural curriculum and equal treatment. To be precise, considering the answers, institutionalized racism is imbedded in the organization but affects the students more than the employees according to the educators.

The concept of white privilege was central when discussing the classroom pedagogy. The answers concerning the influence of white privilege were quite diverse. One respondent did

not think it had any influence. Five did not know what it was but once the concept was explained to them, four out of five were convinced it did have influence to a certain extent but they could not provide any concrete examples. One of them was convinced it was not present in her school but she believed it could be present in companies. The other eight respondents were all convinced it was an existing phenomenon and even had examples to show how this influenced the classroom pedagogy. One of them simply stated: " When you are white you do not have to prove your innocence, when you are coloured you do (Interview M, P.223). He explained that this was a general statement and therefore applicable for everyday life and thus also applicable for the educational system. One of the most frequent example that was provided by the respondents, was confronting students for sitting together. They explained that they have seen white teachers make comments about the fact that coloured students are sitting together, but somehow they never pointed it out when white students would do exactly the same. All of the interviewees said they simply did not notice although the latter happened far more often. One of the respondents emphasized the following: " They really are convinced that they do not make a distinction between students but they do. It is in the way they approach or talk about them (Interview J, P.177)." This is something several interviewees have noticed too. One of them gave another example about the attendance of two students. She told how she was writing evaluation forms with a white colleague and the colleague said he was going to fail a student, who was coloured, because of her low attendance. So she asked her colleague what he was going to do with another student, of which she knew had low attendance but was white, and he said he was going to let him pass because he attended the classes. When they looked up the attendance percentage it turned out that the attendance of the coloured student was 78% while the attendance of the white student was 38%. She explained that she was sure that he really did not notice because of the shock on his face (Interview H, P.156). This is a perfect example of how subtle and unconscious white privilege is. However, at first these statements seem quite paradoxically . The same people that pointed out that their colleagues that, unconsciously, treat students of colour differently were the same interviewees that advocated that each student needs different treatment. However, this is not, although it looks like it, contradictory. This is a case of equity versus equality. Equality is not effective in this case because you do not have students that have lived equal lives. However, equity is something that should be applied at all times. With this, you avoid playing down their crucial

differences but you still treat them fairly regardless of their ethnicity.

Another thing that was interesting was that those who did not even know the concept or had any concrete examples were still convinced that it was an existing phenomenon.

Another factor that was pointed out the most was that, white teachers seem to have lower expectations for students of colour. This was also discussed in the previous section and it showed how students pick up on this behaviour while teachers are unaware of their attitude. Two respondents also used this example to compare “black” and “white” schools. One of them said the following: “I don’t think that there is always equality. I think it really depends on what school you go to. In larger cities there are black and white schools. I think you have significantly less opportunities when you go to a black school (Interview K, 198) “. The other respondent expanded this statement by elaborating on how both his daughter and niece did internships on both black and white schools and they told him that they noticed in black schools the teachers tend to give up on students a lot faster. They will just say that he or she has reached his or hers limit while in the white schools they put more effort in looking for alternatives to help them (Interview J, P.186).

It seems like white privilege and whiteness displays itself in different forms and as expected it is very subtle and happens unconsciously. Maybe even so subtle that there people of colour that do not notice it. In terms of classroom pedagogy, two things were mainly mentioned: benefit of doubt and lower expectations. Meaning that as a white student you are more likely to get the benefit of doubt when you do something wrong in the classroom. As a student of colour it is more likely that your abilities will be underestimated due to the teachers lower expectations.

Although school finances is an important aspect for indicating institutionalized racism, it is not included in this chapter. Simply because there is no data available. The educators had no clue how the finances are distributed.

#### **§ 4.2.1 Conclusion**

In this section the aim was to answer the following sub-question: *To what extent does institutionalized racism manifest itself in the current education system according to non-white educators?* The focus was on the organizational culture of the school , the classroom pedagogy and the role of whiteness within these two concepts.

As expected the organizational composition of all these school were predominantly white.

Specifically the higher the position, the whiter the compositions seems to become. This however did no or had little effect on their career opportunities within the organization but they were convinced that does not apply for other organizations. This was surprising outcome. In contrary, the educators were convinced that it did affect the study career of the students mainly due to the “colour blindness” of the organization. The educators mentioned that they do believe that their colleagues think that they treat the students equally, but in reality they really do not. At first sight it seemed like educators were contradicting themselves by advocating different treatment of coloured students because it is necessary and on the other hand disapproving the unequal treatment that their students face from their colleagues. However, this is a case of equity versus equality. Equality is not effective in this case because you do not have students that have lived equal lives. However, equity is something that should be applied at all times. With this, you avoid playing down their crucial differences but you still treat them fairly regardless of their ethnicity. The “colour blindness” leads to miscommunication due to the lack of intercultural communicant. In addition, the curriculum is not multicultural and therefore easier to follow for white students. The combination of these factors seems to contribute to institutionalized racism within the educational system according to the educators.

In short, sub-question 2 can be answered as following: according to the coloured educators, institutionalized racism is clearly present within their school. It manifests itself in subtle ways which puts the educators in a difficult position making it hard to battle it. Some have tried but admitted that it was too much work and others are still trying. More interesting, although they are clearly in minority, a few coloured educators do not think institutionalized racism exists. It is questionable if this is due to subtlety of the phenomenon.

#### **§ 4.3 Anti-racism policies**

Unlike the other sections, this section specifically focuses on policies rather than the forms of racism. In the previous sections it has been described what the experiences of educators with several forms of racism was. However, in this chapter we try to unravel if they use policies to battle or prevent different forms of racism and if they do, which policies they use. Moreover, we also take a closer look at how they enforce these policies. Consequently, the sub-question that is going to be answered in this section is: “To what extent are educators, with a non-white ethnic background, aware of existing anti-racism policies and how are

these used to prevent or battle racism within their school?” The structure of this section consists of three components. The first part, is based on the awareness of the interviewees concerning the anti-racism policies. The second part, focuses on how they try to prevent or battle racism without the knowledge of the existing policies. Lastly, the final part consists of a description of the challenges of enforcing the policies.

Surprisingly, half of the respondents had no clue which existing anti-racism policies there were on local, national and school level. Only three respondents were aware of the fact that there was not an anti-racism policy present in their school. However, they had no knowledge on other existing anti-racism policies either. Most of them argued that racism was not really a thing that was visible or something that it displayed itself every day. Hence, a policy like that was not necessary. In the rare cases where there was a racist incident they would have other means to solve the issue. This will be elaborated in the next section. One of the interviewees mentioned that it is just not something that gets a lot of attention and they are not actively informed about anti-racism protocols (Interview A, P.77).

The remaining five interviewees knew what the anti-racism policies in their school entails. It was interesting that in none of those school the policies were actually called an anti-racism policy but it rather was a component of another protocol. Usually a part of the anti-discrimination policy or an anti-bullying protocol. One of the interviewees gave a detailed description about the procedure. He explained that the particular student is removed from the class in order to converse with the victim. The parents are then invited to talk about the incident. Consequently, an appropriate punishment is imposed. In more severe cases, they involve someone with a higher position, in the worst case the director gets involved. They then either get a suspended, a registered letter or the apprentice officer is notified. In the worst case they expelled. The latter has never happened (Interview E, P.117). This shows the complexity of policies and the choices they have to make. Although there is a specific format on how to handle these situation, he uses his discretionary power to handle every case differently. He explained that sometimes the presence of someone with a higher position was necessary in order to have an higher impact on the child to make him understand the seriousness of the situation. In other cases a simple conversation with their fellow student was sufficient. He was definitely not the only one making use of his discretionary powers. Even those who had no idea of what the policies entailed, made



decisions based on the judgement of the severity of the case. It could be as simple as an conversation or severe as sending them to the manager. One thing that all of the educators had in common was that if they ever have to face a racist incident themselves, they are able to approach a confidant within the school. Thus, if they faced any racist incidents themselves they could report it there.

So how and which tools and methods did the other half, who were either not aware of the policies or did not have one in their school, use in order to prevent and battle racism? Surprisingly, despite of not working in the same school, the answers were corresponding. In fact, it broadly corresponded with what the educator, who did use a policy, described. Every educator mentioned that the first step, depending on the severity of the case, would be to converse with the students and teachers involved and see if that would be sufficient to solve the problem. The next step would be to contact the parents if the student is still a minor, followed by either contacting a confidant or manager. If the case would be that the educator is a victim of racism they would engage in a conversation with the perpetrator or go straight to the either the manager or confidant. Only one of the interviewee expressed that she would be willing to go the executive board if she felt like things would not be handled rightfully (Interview H, P.154).

The most interesting part was that only four of the respondents indirectly considered anti-racism policies as a tool to battle institutionalized and societal racism. All the other respondents were only focused on individual racism and consequently they felt like a policy was not necessarily needed or should not be given that much attention. In contrary, the four respondents felt like there needs to be more awareness on this topic and the school policy should adjust to this. As a matter of fact, one of them took matters in her own hands by starting a project. This project focuses on developing interventions in order to lower the dropout rate of students with a non-western background. One of the aspects that is influencing the dropout rate is societal and institutionalized racism. Thus, she is quite literally developing a new policy, with subsidies of the municipality, to prevent and battle this aspect. She explained that this topic is not visible and therefore it is not acknowledged as a problem. Consequently, she is focusing on making it more visible among other educators and the board until they give sufficient attention to it (Interview I, P.166). Another interviewee was planning to take charge as well by adding the topic in her subjects

curriculum. The other two respondents already do this during their classes because it is in line with the subject they teach.

These are good examples of Lipsky's argument that teachers are the true policy makers rather than the actual policy makers. What is interesting about the answers, it supports the theory in two different ways. The first one is a top down approach where the policy makers have developed a policy and the educators use their discretionary power to implement in various ways. The second one is bottom up approach where the educators actually take initiative to do research and develop a policy to prevent and battle racism. This in its turn is presented to those who are in charge of the policy making so that they can make it an official policy.

Lipsky also highlights the human aspect of the situations that educators are put in. He points out that they have to rely on sensitive observations and judgement. In addition, they are dealing with their own emotions but also with the feelings of others because they have to deal with the personal reactions that are a result of their decisions. This seemed to be an issue, to some extent, for half of the interviewees. Despite the difference in the situations that they experience, the root of their hesitation to take action seemed identical. The root problem was that it was hard to prove that it is an actual case of racism. One of the interviewee explicitly said that he found it hard to decide when someone crosses a line. He said: "When do you know it is a joke and when can you actually call it discrimination (Interview E, P.118)?" The others also referred to the sensitivity of the topic and you should be very careful with accusing someone of racism because it is a big accusation to make. This, in combination with the fact that it is a phenomenon that is not very visible and therefore hard to prove has generated cautious behaviour in dealing with this matter. They also mentioned that their ethnic background played a role in their approach. They felt like their comments would come across as offensive or attacking more easily or that, especially students, would consider them to be subjective concerning the topic. Hence, the approach would have to be very delicate in order to avoid incite such feelings. Five of the respondents pointed out, that they found it especially difficult to approach colleagues in cases where they would make prejudiced or stereotyping comments. The cause was that they wanted to spare their feelings. The respondents provided arguments on what kind of feelings they could incite if they would address this or would address it too often. The argument varied from irritation to

actually feeling hurt because they did not realize those were racist comments. One of the interviewees even said he would just feel bad to make them feel like the latter because they are good people and do not have bad intentions with what they are saying (Interview M, P.233).

Only three of these educators mentioned that they try to avoid taking action sometimes because they feel like their emotions might take over or that they fear that this hits closer to home when discussing it with students. Surprisingly, one of the interviewee even specifically said she sometimes ignores offensive comments in class because it just happens too often (Interview A, P.79).

The other half of the interviewees just simply stated that they were not put in a position where they felt like they really had to take action to battle racism. It must be noted that they were referring to individual racism rather than institutionalized and societal racism.

In essence half of these interviewees show that Lipsky seemed to be right about the challenges they face. On one hand, they need to show some compassion and flexibility when applying the rules and on the other hand they must show impartiality and try to apply the rules as much as possible (Lipsky, 2014). However, it is quite surprising that in some cases they are willing to let it completely go by ignoring the comments as one of the interviewees did.

#### **§ 4.3.1 Conclusion**

In this section the aim was to answer the following sub-question: To what extent are educators, with a non-white ethnic background, aware of existing anti-racism policies and how are these used to prevent or battle racism within their school? It is quite surprising to conclude that half of the interviewees are not even aware of the existing policies and three of them stated that there is not a specific anti-racism policy. This means that almost 75% of the respondents do not use an existing policy to battle or prevent racism. However, it does not seem that there is a lack of procedure when they would face, specifically, individual racism. It is quite interesting that the invented procedure was more or less the same despite the fact that these interviewees go to different schools or teach in different subjects.

They, however, did show that they were very cautious with when to apply the existing or invented policies. According to the theory of Lipsky, this cautious behaviour was something to expect. Another expected phenomenon was that they evaluated each situation separately

and took appropriate measures that would suit the situation rather than just blind following the existing policies.

There seemed to be some contradictions in the analysis as well. One of these contradictions lies in the fact that those who experienced prejudiced comments would not always do something about it. Despite the fact that they mentioned that they did find it important to battle racism. A more interesting paradox especially lies in the fact that, few of those who did not know and claimed they were never in a position where they had to use the policies, were the same people who did give description of societal and institutionalized racism that they have experienced in the previous section. This makes one wonder if they are simply not aware of the fact that it is considered to be racism as well or if they feel like it is impossible to prevent or combat it. It can only be concluded that they will take appropriate measures when it comes to individual obvious racism but only three respondents showed some signs of actively battling and preventing societal and institutionalized racism.

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## 5. Conclusion and discussion

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Politics, police, Black Peet discussion and inappropriate schoolbooks. Racism seems to be discussed in every layer of society. A challenging and complex phenomenon that manifests itself in, sometimes very visible ways but mostly in invisible ways. Yet, somehow it still has very limited content in the Dutch scientific world. Especially when you compare this to the American scientific world. A more recent study, that was performed in Enschede at Saxion, showed that unequal treatment towards coloured students played a role in the higher drop-out rate of among students with a non-western background. Although, this was an internal study, thus meant for the school itself, it makes you wonder if racism also plays a role in the educational system.

### **§ 5.1 Conclusion**

In this thesis I tried, to a certain extent, to figure that out. This thesis focuses on the experiences of coloured educators with racism within their school on one hand and on the other hand how policy helps them to prevent and battle this. They are in a unique position as educators that should be able to recognize racism and are more likely to experience it compared to their white colleagues. However, they are also have a position where they can use policy in order to take action against it. The aim was to answer the following research question: *To what extent do educators with a non-white background have experience with different forms of racism within their schools and how do they use existing policies to combat or prevent this phenomenon?* In order to be able to do is three sub-questions were developed and answered throughout the thesis. These were the sub-questions:

1. *To what extent do educators, with a non- white ethnic background, have experiences with individual and societal racism within their school?*
2. *To what extent does institutionalized racism manifest itself in the current education system according to non-white educators?*
3. *To what extent are coloured educators aware of existing anti-racism policies and how are these used to prevent or battle racism within their school?*

The answers to these sub-questions had some expected answers, but there were also quite some surprising and sometimes even paradoxical outcomes. The first part of this section will show the expected and validated outcomes in terms of the theoretical framework, the second part will focus on the unexpected and invalidated outcome of the results. Lastly, we view the results that provided new information outside of the theory in this thesis. This is then used to indicate which components of this research still needs more research.

In terms of individual racism the educators, with the exception of one, considered it to be a rare phenomenon. Specifically, if it did occur it would be covert. Overt individual racism was extremely rare according to the educators. They also seemed to struggle with it because it would be covered in a form of a joke or said very politically correct which made it harder to openly point out that it is racist.

In terms of societal and institutionalized, the low diversity level seemed to play an important role according to the educators. The higher positions, such as management, were predominantly or only held by white people. The mechanism that the concept of whiteness explains seems to be in line in this situation. Not only is the educational system developed by white people, it is also controlled and executed by them. Signs of the former are found in the board and managements team, that the educators claimed to be either all white or predominantly white. The latter, was shown in their own teaching team where they were either the only coloured colleague or one of the few. In short, it definitely looks like whiteness is influencing the organizational culture when the focus is on the composition of the schools. Regardless of whether it is a school with a high or low population of coloured students.

This then seemed to translate itself to white privilege in the classroom affecting the classroom pedagogy. There were two things that were notable: the colour blindness, that their colleagues were convinced they had and the lower expectations that they unconsciously had towards coloured students. In the theoretical framework it was explained that individuals tend to think that not being racist means that they have to be colour blind. However, by trying to be colour blind they are only focusing on the surface and hence ignore the social practices that come with having a different race. Educators seem to be using the same rhetoric and thus try to raise the same standards for everyone rather than differentiating between student. The coloured educators explained that this is firstly, not

effective and secondly, that they are not as colour blind as they think. Hence, they are dealing with implicit bias. Which brings us to the second point about having lower expectations. Most coloured educators felt like that throughout the study career of coloured students are structurally underrated. According to these educators this manifests itself in the under advising of children in elementary school and higher drop-out rates in the higher education . However, they did point out that this is just theory for them. In addition, they did see that the attitude of white educators could be, unconsciously, different towards coloured students because of their deviating norms. It could be detecting in subtle ways or in the comments they would make. This usually led to a behaviour where they would label students quickly as aggressive or incapable. Hence, a classical example of societal racism, where their judgement of right or wrong is based on the norms that are normalized in the Dutch culture which leads to this kind of unconscious behaviour.

These forms of racism and unconscious behaviour seemed to have put most of these educators in a role where they have a monitoring function. Some took this role upon themselves because they felt like it was easier to relate to them and other just did it to make sure that his or her colleague would consider the other side of the story. The results also showed that, according to them, their presence does have a positive effect on students of colour. Although the effects varied from just finding it pleasant that there is “someone like them” standing there to actually motivating them by showing that they can also do it. In terms of executing the anti-racism policies in situations where it was appropriate, it showed that educators indeed seem to struggle to find balance between managing their own emotions, thinking of the emotions of their colleagues or students and the results of taking action. Although the racist incidents were rarely blatant or intentionally there still were moments where they felt like their colleagues or students were out of line. However, each situation was dealt with differently. Showing the incredibly difficult position they are in and how many things they have to consider before taking action. This also show the amount of discretionary power they have and how they use this to take appropriate measures. Hence, the theory of Lipsky on street level bureaucracy seemed to be rather accurate for these educators.

## **§5.2 Discussion**

In short, the beginning of this section shows that there were many aspects of the theoretical framework that the respondents validated with their answers. However, there were also several answers that were quite surprising and sometimes even paradoxical. It already started with the definition of racism. In this thesis racism is solely based on the genealogical connection of the individuals. However, most educators were convinced that Islamophobia was considered to be racism. In addition, as aforementioned individual racism was something that rarely and, in some cases, never occurred according the educators. The schools these educators worked at varied in a lot of aspects. Hence, it also varied in organizational and educational characteristics. However, this did not seem to influence the frequency of the occurrence of individual racism within their schools. Although the sample is too small to generalize that the organizational and educational characteristics does not affect the frequency of individual racist incidents, it did not have an effect in this case. In terms of societal racism, it was quite surprising that the educators did not recognize or acknowledge it as racism but rather reasoned that it was just ignorance or incapability to understand.

In terms of institutionalized racism, there were several educators that revealed that they did not find language to be a fair tool to test IQ, although it is a rather objective mean to measure something. Two educators explicitly mentioned that exams in general where not culture proof and hence, white students were, by default, in advantage compared to students of colour. The theory did not focus on these two components that were mentioned and it is an interesting aspect to put to test. On one hand, it makes sense if you consider the whiteness theory. On the other, hand it is questionable if objective means such as language can be used to contribute to institutionalized racism.

Most of the educators pointed out that having a more multicultural curriculum and training in intercultural contact would help to reduce racism. It seems quite a paradox since on one hand they mentioned that there is barely individual racism and on the other hand most of them would not acknowledge societal or institutionalized racism. Yet, they did find it necessary to add these two things to their school. Moreover, according to the theory something as intercultural training would not be effective because it places the responsibility of combating racism on the white educators rather than making them understand that it is a



systematic problem that they are simply a part of. In contrary, having a more multicultural curriculum would fit better to contributing to that understanding. Thus, this is something that is worth to zoom in on, in order to find out to what extent both things are effective in battling and preventing racism.

Another thing that seemed quite odd was that all educators acknowledged the whiteness of the organization they were working at. However, somehow most of them did not think this would affect their chances in getting a better position in their school. Another thing that is worth noting is that one of the educators pointed out that the management and board of his school found the whiteness of their organization quite problematic and really wanted to change this but did not know how. Other educators also pointed out that they had a lot of colleagues that have educated themselves in interculturalism and therefore were able to recognize the social struggles of coloured student. Which makes one wonder if there should not be more nuance to the whiteness theory that suggests that white people are not able to see their privileges and understand the racial struggles of coloured individuals. These cases show that they do but the question remains which factors contribute to developing this skill. Why are some white people able to recognize this and others are not? In addition, the same problem seems to occur among the coloured educators. Some seem to be recognizing racism, specifically institutionalized and societal racism, rather quickly. While other coloured educators, in some cases do not even realize it is there. It seems that the whiteness theory needs more nuance on both sides and more exploring on what contributes on being able to detect subtle racism.

Although the previous section mentioned the discretionary powers of these educators, it was a quite surprising that most of them were either not aware of the existing anti-racism policy in their school or their school did not have it. Instead they just followed steps that they thought was appropriate or helpful and as such kind of developed their own policy. One of the reasons of the unawareness was because half of them felt like they never have been in a position where they had to take action which was a bit contradictory because the same people provided examples of societal or institutionalized in their answers. This might mean that they just simply did not recognize it as racism but as questionable or inappropriate. Moreover, those who did admit that they have been put in situations where they heard or saw racist incidents, mentioned that they sometimes did nothing about it. They were either

scared to file a complaint or they did not want to interfere because they felt like they would be considered too sensitive about the topic. Finally, the most surprising group was those who did not find it necessary to have specific policy on racism because it was just so rare in their school and they felt like they would be able to deal with it if it did occur.

The last thing that stood out was that most educators also mentioned that they felt like coloured students use racism as an excuse to for their own flaws. Others mentioned that these students sometimes just had issues with self-fulfilling prophecy. Pointing out that this made it much more harder to differentiate real racism from cases where this was used as an excuse. This in its turn, makes them more hesitant to take action.

It must be taken into account that this is just a thesis and therefore a very small study with limitations and weaknesses. Logically, the results of the thesis cannot be generalized due to the size of the research. Another weakness of the thesis, is that after the first few interviews it became clear that some of the educators consider islamophobia to be a form of racism. This deviates from the definition that was used for this thesis. Since this was discovered after a few interviews, it was not possible to find out if the other interviewees included islamophobia in their definition of racism. Therefore, it is good to consider that this may have had an influence on their answers. Another thing to consider is the ethnicity and gender of the interviewees. Those who identified themselves as female and those who had a Turkish background were overrepresented. In addition, none of the interviewees were black. People of colour are not a homogenous group and their ethnicity, skin colour and gender can influence their experiences with racism. It would have been advantageous if there was more variation in gender but also in ethnicity and skin colour. However, in order to achieve that the sample group would have to consist of more people considering there are many different ethnicities in this country and region. Lastly, as aforementioned all the interviewees taught in either Enschede, Hengelo or Almelo. These are only three cities within the region of Twente. Since I was depending on the cooperation of educators and the contacts I had, it was not possible to find educators to interview in different parts of Twente. The ethnic diversity in other cities and villages in Twente are generally little. This could influence the outcome of the results. Some of the interviewees addressed that they did see a difference when it came to students and colleagues that lived in villages but attended their

school. Usually they would be less aware of racism and were more likely to make racist remarks. Hence, it would have been an interesting addition.

Despite the weaknesses this thesis has contributed to the scientific world by narrowing the scientific gap. This thesis explicitly focused on three forms of racism: individual, societal and institutional. By explicitly distinguishing these three forms, I was able to formulate the consequences and the difference in consequence for each form. Moreover, due the distinguishment concrete solutions to battling each form can be eventually formulated. Most researches do not explicitly distinguish these three forms but take racism as a whole into account and therefore the consequences and solutions may become vague. In addition, by focusing on colour rather than specifically ethnicity, the thesis portrayed the collective struggles of being an educator that belongs to a minority group. At the same time it clearly shows why they cannot be treated as a homogenous group despite the shared struggle in some aspects. It is easier to develop communal solutions for the shared struggles and later on develop specific solution for specific groups if necessary than specifically focusing on specific groups and risking that other groups are ignored. Furthermore, considering the difference in culture per region, this thesis has contributed to expanding the knowledge of the influence of racism on the educational system in the region of Twente. Especially since most of the studies conducted in terms of racism have taken place in the west regions of the country. Hopefully, this thesis creates an opening to conduct more researches concerning this topic in this specific area. Lastly, by including policy it has become very clear that we have a long way to go with developing appropriate policy that aims at reducing racism in the educational system. This thesis has made clear that there is a lack of policy or a lack of knowledge surrounding the policy. All in all, this thesis has contributed to shedding light on a theme that has not significantly been discussed in the Dutch scientific world.

Despite the best efforts, the thesis has also raised questions where further research is recommended. This section focuses on formulating recommendations for further research. Firstly, during this research the organizational and educational characteristics of the school did not seem to influence the frequency of incidents related to individual racism. Since the study too small to generalize, it is advised to conduct further research to validate this theory. Secondly, one thing that was also mentioned, was that exams are in the advantage of white students and therefor contributes to institutionalized racism. This is not a component that

was added in this thesis. Hence, it is recommended to explore to what extent exams are in the advantage of white students and how this contributes to institutionalized racism. Another component that was not addressed in this thesis is that being educated in interculturalism as a white teacher contributes to understanding and seeing the privileges of their race. Thus, the whiteness can be nuanced. It is important to explore if being educated in interculturalism has a significant effect on white teachers because in that case it could be used as a policy to battle racism within schools by educating all teachers in this specific topic. Thirdly, when it comes to policy change, one thing that was recommended was to design a multicultural curriculum. It was believed that this would contribute to battling racism in the educational system and would be more effective than an anti-racism protocol. Hence, one of the recommendations is to evaluate different curriculums and focus on making them more multicultural. Afterwards it can be measured whether it really has an effect on reducing racism within schools. Fourthly, nearly all educators argued that there is no anti-racism policy implemented in their school or they were not aware of having one. Logically, one of the recommendations is to design a clear anti-racism policy that can be implemented in the school. In addition, it must be monitored if the educators are well informed about this policy. Lastly, it is recommended to broaden the scope of this research by including schools that are located in villages of Twente and having more variety in the ethnicity and gender of the interviewees.

All in all, this thesis showed that there were many aspects in the results that validated the theoretical framework. However, it also showed that there is a lot of room for more research on this topic. Especially, in the educational system. This thesis uncovered the complexity and the sensitivity of this topic, especially in a context such as an educational environment where you expect no harm and equality. However, it showed that it is far more complicated than that in all aspects. The experiences of the educators had a lot of varieties as well as similarities. However, it makes you question how important policy is for them. It seemed like they did not even need it but on the other still managed to create their own policy. The interviews gave us a unique insight on the problems that educators of colour are dealing with but also their white colleagues. In addition, it showed us that policy, especially with these kind of topics are highly complex. Emotions play a big role and knowledge and clarity on the subject as well. Not only did the interviews show how validated or invalidated the

theoretical framework is but it also exposed knowledge gaps in certain areas. Furthermore, in all of the schools, there are very little tools or instruments to prevent or battle racism. The big question that is hanging in the air is: is racism really that rare in the educational system that it needs this little attention or is it so undetectable and invisible that it is just simple not prioritized?

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