

“And We Neglected The Mind,”

(CLEMENCIA 1999)

THE REPRODUCTION OF COLONIALITY IN LEARNING AND TEACHING PRACTICES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION ON CURAÇAO



Emilie van Heydoorn

RMA Thesis Gender & Ethnicity

Graduate Gender Programme

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Berteke Waaldijk

Second reader: Dr. Rose Mary Allen

Student number: 3870316

August 20, 2017



Utrecht University

ABSTRACT;

Emilie van Heydoorn: The Reproduction of Coloniality in Learning
and Teaching Practices in Primary Education on Curaçao.

(Under the direction of Prof. Dr. Berteke Waaldijk)

The aim of this research project is to explore the ways in which coloniality is reproduced or interrupted in learning and teaching practices in primary education on Curaçao. Two different primary schools with two pupil groups between the ages of eight and ten are analyzed by looking at how colonial legacies play a role in classroom interactions. In this project, I will focus on the behavior of teachers, their interaction with pupils, the behavior of pupils and the content of the curricular materials used for teaching. By implementing the frameworks of decoloniality and intersectionality this research aims at contributing empirical data and theoretical insights to a larger discussion regarding the development of an education that is socially just in the context of Curaçao.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing this thesis has been a challenging and rewarding academic project. However, this work is not the effort of just one person; many debts of gratitude are owed. First of all, I would like to thank the Dean J. Isenia Cannister of the Rosa de Lima College, Dean V.Crispulo-Meijer of Bellefaas Martis, and the pupils and the teachers of both schools for welcoming me and this project to their schools.

I would also like to extend my utmost gratitude to the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) for granting me the Dr. Silvia W. de Groot Fonds. This grant is designed to support young researchers from the Caribbean, in research related to the history or culture of the Caribbean. Without this support this project might not have been possible, so thank you for believing in my project.

I would like to thank my main supervisor Prof. Dr. Berteke Waaldijk, chair of ‘Language and Culture Studies’ at the Faculty of Humanities at Utrecht University, Education Director at the School of Liberal Arts, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, who has guided me through this process. I would also like to thank Dr. Rose Mary Allen for her work as the second reader of this thesis. I am grateful for the sincerity, and generosity with which Prof. Waaldijk and Dr. Allen have engaged with my work.

Along the way many people have offered valuable guidance and feedback. I am indebted to Emeritus Dr. Gloria Wekker, Dr. Aminata Cairo, Dr. Herman Chr. Sniijders and Dr. Jeanne Henriquez. I am forever grateful for being able to work with these inspiring and groundbreaking scholars.

Last but not least, I would also like to thank Coen van der Wals for making this research possible.

Emilie van Heydoorn
Willemstad, August 20, 2017

LIST OF ABBRIVIATIONS

1. St. Rosa de Lima College: RLC
2. Bellefaas Martis: BM
3. Interview Pupil Participant: *PA* to *PJ*
4. Interview Faculty Participant: *PI* to *PI5*
5. Documentation of Course Materials: CM
6. Documentation of Participant Observations: OB
7. Interviewer: I
8. Respondent: R

TABLE OF CONTENT

Abstract	II
Acknowledgements.....	III
List of Abbreviations.....	IV

SECTION 1:

I INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introductory Statement.....	7
1.2 Statement of Problem.....	8
1.3 Objectives of Study.....	10
1.4 Background.....	11
1.5 Significance of Study	12
1.6 Scope and Limitations.....	13

II LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Literature Review.....	15
----------------------------	----

III METHODS & METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design.....	26
3.1.1 RKC Schoolboard and management	27
3.1.2 St. Rosa de Lima College.....	28
3.1.3 Bellefaas Martis.....	29
3.2 Data Collection.....	30
3.3 Data Analysis.....	35

IV (DE)-COLONIALITY IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

4.1 Analysis and Interpretation of Data.....	37
4.2 The Reproduction of Coloniality in Primary Education.....	39
4.2.1 Reproduction of coloniality in course content.....	47
4.2.2 Reproduction of coloniality in composition of curriculum....	59
4.3 The Interruption of Coloniality in Primary Education.....	65
4.3.1 Interruption of coloniality in course content.....	73

V CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings.....76

5.2 Conclusion.....80

5.3 Recommendations.....81

SECTION 2:

APPENDIX¹.....1

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....65

¹ Appendix will be distributed on request.

Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTIONARY STATEMENT

In this thesis, I delve into claims made by Dr. Joceline Clemencia regarding the educational system on Curaçao, stated in the *Education for All the Caribbean: Assessment 2000 Monograph Series*. The monograph was in part facilitated by a financial contribution from the UNFPA Caribbean Regional Office. The monograph was published in 1999 by the Office of the UNESCO Representative in the Caribbean, which shows interdisciplinary and cross-cultural collaborations between the countries of the Caribbean sub-region, the Regional Advisory Technical Group and the EFA Forum Secretariat, and other agencies and institutions, (Power, Deputy Director-General for Education UNESCO, 1999). This work presents an informed overview of the diverse educational and cultural experiences in relation to education system on Curaçao. This knowledge is critical to understanding the social and economic developments taking place on Curaçao. In this chapter I will expand on the problem at hand as it plays out in primary education according to Clemencia. I will elaborate on how this study aims at contributing to this debate and present the objectives of this study. Then I will give more background information and elaborate on the significance and scope of this study.

Clemencia earned a doctorate degree in Spanish literature from the University of Amsterdam. The Afro-Curaçaoan writer, linguist, feminist and independence activist made a strong case for the standardization of Papiamentu as the official language in educational institutions on Curaçao. In the early 1990's Clemencia served as director for the National Institute of the Papiamentu Language and as the director of Institute of Cultural Independence. Clemencia founded the Skol Nobo (New School) where cultural history was taught, including, art, sports,

and nature studies because these courses were often excluded from regular school curricula, (NiNsee 2011). As a member of the Caribbean Association of Women and Scholars, Clemencia's work also covers issues of gender, sexuality and how language plays a role in identity formation in the context of Curaçao.

As a researcher from the island of Curaçao I strongly relate to the work of Clemencia. My interest in primary education comes from my own experiences as a pupil at different schools on Curaçao. I have dedicated several of my own research projects to analyzing issues of exclusion in higher education in the Netherlands. As a research assistant, I was involved in the Diversity Commission at the University of Amsterdam. This commission examined the different forms of diversity, namely in areas of race, ethnicity, disability, gender, class, age, philosophical beliefs and sexuality, (Commissie Democratizing & Decentralizing UvA 2017). I remained very interested in coloniality in the educational system on Curaçao and how this specifically relates to the Netherlands. With this project, I wish to contribute to the development of an education that is socially just in the context of Curaçao.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The educational system of the former Netherlands Antilles derives predominantly from the Dutch educational system, (EP-Nuffic 2015, 7). Approximately 3000 children enroll in primary schools on Curaçao each year. The percentage of pupils who complete elementary school without repeating grades is 39% as stated in the *Education for All in the Caribbean: Assessment 2000 Monograph Series*, by Clemencia. The majority of pupils, approximately 61%, repeat grades once or more during the six first years of their education. According to Clemencia only 50% of the pupils who start in primary school actually graduate. This indicates that the educational system fails to provide the majority of pupils with the means to successfully complete primary education. This problem in turn contributes to larger societal issues at hand on Curaçao.

The massive migration, unemployment, unskilled labor force, demotivated youth, growing crime rate, low income rate, youth pregnancy, cultural disorientation, and incapacity shown to address these crises can be explained from the educational debacle, (Clemencia 1999). Clemencia claims that "while denying colonialism we did not only get scars, but it penetrated deeply into our genes. In a very civilized way, cultivated in our schools, academies, and university, we pass on to our children a very low self-esteem, lack of self-confidence, an

inferiority complex, distrust, fear of responsibility, absence of creativity and initiative, and non-scientific thinking,” (Clemencia 1999, 33).

Clemencia claims that the mind is being neglected and that the educational system does not only fail to educate and give pupils the tools to finish school successfully but also fails to give pupils the tools to deal with societal challenges in the geo-political context of Curaçao. This research explores in which ways a mindset is enforced that contributes to what Clemencia refers to as an inferiority complex, fear of responsibility and lack of self-confidence in primary education, consequently causing pupils to drop out at an early age. I aim at analyzing how practices in teaching and learning in primary education contribute to or interrupt the enforcement of such a mindset.

I add Paulo Freire to this debate who introduces the “banking” model of education in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). This model presents educational practices that reproduce oppressive student-teacher relationships. Implementing educational practices that correlate with the “banking” model can result in the discouragement of critical thinking and knowledge ownership in pupils. As Clemencia states “the output of education proved to be insufficient and inadequate to provide leaders, professionals, and conscious citizens to carry the country through the succeeding 50 years into the new millennium,” (Clemencia 1999, 11). I claim that connecting these authors is valuable because they speak to one another. Freire has developed a great concept to analyze the ways in which education can take on an oppressive form and how this can be pinpointed. Clemencia’s research has made a great contribution in the same direction in the specific context of Curaçao. Both authors reflect on a long trajectory and mechanisms of exclusion that are present in the educational system. This is where I believe they complement each other well and where I would like to add my input. These long exclusive trajectories that influence and live on in our institutions, minds and cultural archive, can also be described using the concept of coloniality. Coloniality refers to a process of systemic violence that is made invisible and unrecognizable through how we think, how we speak etc., (Mignolo 2011). Both Freire and Clemencia do not refer to the concept of coloniality, but I argue that adding this concept will make it possible to specifically analyze the “educational debacle” as presented by Clemencia.

In order to analyze the issues in education, stated by Clemencia more specifically, I refer to the reproduction/interruption of coloniality by focusing on educational practices that contribute to either the banking model of education and/or to critical thinking. The empirical data collected

throughout this study was analyzed by coding specific educational practices that correlate with these theories. In addition, the theoretical framework of decoloniality and intersectionality form a useful lens through which to analyze how the coded educational practices reproduce or interrupt coloniality. The following questions are asked in this thesis:

Main Question: In which ways is coloniality reproduced or interrupted in learning and teaching practices in primary education on Curaçao?

Sub-questions:

- 1) In which ways can the theoretical frameworks of decoloniality and intersectionality help to explain the reproduction of coloniality

- 2) In which ways is coloniality evident in the classroom, from the behavior of teachers, their interaction with pupils, the behavior of pupils and the curricular materials in two different schools in two pupil groups between the ages of eight and ten?

- 3) In which ways is coloniality interrupted in the classroom, from the behavior of teachers, their interaction with pupils, the behavior of pupils and the curricular materials in two pupil groups between the ages of eight and ten?

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

- 1) To identify factors in teaching and learning practices that contribute to the “banking” model of education through the behavior of teachers, their interaction with pupils, the behavior of pupils and the curricular materials.

- 2) To identify factors in teaching and learning practices that stimulate critical thinking in the classroom, from the behavior of teachers, their interaction with pupils, the behavior of pupils and the curricular materials.

- 3) To raise awareness and identify the axes of identity on which mechanisms of exclusion are reproduced and interrupted in a localized context.

The purpose of this thesis is to better understand to what extent critical thinking is stimulated

and the “banking” model can be identified in primary education. Assuming that critical thinking will lead to societal engagement and a sustainable way of relating to differences. The theoretical and empirical research are strongly connected; at an empirical level this research aims at shedding light on pupil’s and teacher’s voices, opinions and experiences in terms of how to improve their education. I aim at voicing the positive or negative feelings toward the available resources for teachers and pupils to learn and teach. From a theoretical perspective, there has been a desire to improve theorization on the educational debacle, mainly regarding extremely high rates of dropouts each year. This research can contribute to the development of an education that presents pupils with tools they need in their direct environment and stimulates pupils to engage socially.

1.4 BACKGROUND

Prior research on primary education on Curaçao focused to a large extent on language. This pertains to authors such as Frank Martinus Arion, Joceline Clemencia, Marta Dijkhoff, Joyce Pereira and Paul Vedder among others who focused on the role of language in discourses of identity formation. Scholars such as Dr. Rose Mary Allen and Rendel Rosalia have dedicated their research to the development of national identities in the context of Curaçao. Rosalia has elaborated on how issues of race and class play a role in Curaçaoan society and different forms of cultural expressions. These authors make a link to a colonial past that lives on today in different ways. Scholar such as Melissa F. Weiner have more specifically focused on topics related to Dutch racism and colonialism in the context of education. She addresses both educational practices taking place in the classroom and curriculum, (Weiner 2014). In this study, I aim at following the work of these authors but more specifically I will focus on the work of Clemencia in the *Education for All the Caribbean*. I see that in this work Clemencia refers to colonialism and the practice of making invisible of colonial practices in education, (Clemencia 1999, 33). Even though Clemencia does not refer to this process as the reproduction of coloniality, she seems to get close to this concept when referring to the reasons why education fails to prepare pupils as critical thinkers who engage with their society.

I make a contribution to these debates by incorporating the concept of coloniality in my analysis of data collected through interviews, participant observations and curricular materials. Coloniality can be understood as the legacies and practices of colonialism that are still present today, for example in the way we produce knowledge or in the form of social discrimination.

Aníbal Quijano states that decolonization did not eliminate coloniality 'it merely transformed its outer form,' (Quijano 1992, 568). I aim at understanding how these exclusionary and discriminatory attitudes continue to exist, in our educational system and how they relate to different axes of identity. In order to understand which axes of identity play a role in the reproduction of coloniality I use the concept of intersectionality. This theory invites researchers to look for facts on how systems of domination and oppression are based on gender, ethnicity, race, class or other axes that can be simultaneously present in regimes and institutions. I aim at analyzing the empirical data by implementing the theoretical framework of decoloniality and intersectionality which helps to understand how legacies of exclusion are evident in our educational practices and on which axes of intersectionality this exclusion is based on. I will elaborate on these concepts in the following chapter.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

Educational institutions have the responsibility to help pupils develop the tools that correspond with the social reality in which pupils will have to function as citizens. We are in a local and global increasingly diverse society, (Mignolo, 2016). Due to this fact, educational institutions have the responsibility to deal with issues of difference and social responsibility. With this in mind, this research investigates how the primary educational system provides pupils with the tools to tackle the challenges that an increasingly culturally diverse society presents. In the specific context of Curaçao, a country home to over 60 different nationalities, cultural diversity is one of the country's strengths but when not approached as such this presents many challenges regarding integration and social cohesion. The persistence of discriminatory attitudes regarding ethnicity and class, can be seen as a hangover from the colonial period. This leads to marginalization, vulnerability and at-risk environments for different young people, (Unicef, 2013). Measures to promote the participation of children are needed since existing programmes focus only on those over age 12. I believe that it is extremely important to start at the level of primary education when dealing with societal challenges in the context of Curaçao, (Unicef 2013). In order to prepare pupils for these societal challenges teaching and learning practices have to foster the tools needed to stimulate social engagement and critical thinking. This is how education can be sustainable, inclusive and foster relational competences that are necessary in a culturally diverse society.

This research presents recommendations on how to move toward an education that is socially

just and inclusive by identifying educational practices that stimulate pupil participation, responsibility and engagement. Different parties can benefit from this research as it can function as a useful source of information for the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture & Sports when developing policies specifically for primary education that stimulate pupil engagement and participation. This is essential for future research and investment in sustainable education and how to deal with the prevention of increase in dropouts and stimulating pupils to pursue a higher education. It also presents useful data for foundations such as Planifikashon di Idioma, Fundashon Material di Skol, Fundashon Tur Ta Konta, focusing on developing Curaçao course materials and promoting the standardization of Papiamentu in the educational system. The RKC Schoolboard can also benefit from this research as it connects religious values and norms to the role of Papiamentu in education and relates to the importance of developing a standardized methodological approach in order to maintain the quality of education. This research can also function as a great tool to develop teacher trainings for primary education teachers. Last but certainly not least, I believe this research is also for the teachers who develop many methodological tools that stimulate critical thinking regardless of the many restrictions that the course materials present.

1.6 SCOPE OF STUDY

On Curaçao nursery, primary education and the core curriculum of secondary schools have been merged into Basic Education (Funderend Onderwijs). This is a continuous educational trajectory for 4 to 12 year olds, divided into two cycles of four years each, (EP-Nuffic 2015, 10). In Basic Education language plays a main role. “Once in primary school at age six, children are expected, without any reason, to be able to perform the basic elements of literacy, that is, reading, writing, and math in a language completely strange and unknown to them. That means that the cognitive skills they need (basic reading, comprehensive reading, composition, oral skills, listening skills) to perform successfully, have to be expressed in a language they are still learning, or even worse, just started to learn,” (Clemencia 1999, 19). I have chosen to do my research at two schools on Curaçao, one with Papiamentu alphabetization and one with Dutch alphabetization. I have chosen the ages of eight to ten because this is close to the last year of Basic Education where most dropouts occur according to previous research. I have chosen two very different schools, namely two schools that differ in social economic background of households and neighborhoods in which they are located (high and low status schools). The

collection of empirical data has been conducted in approximately three months from February to April. The time spend at each school is two days a week from 07:00 to 12:30. During this period data was collected through participant observations, interviews with pupils and teachers and documentation of course materials and curriculum. A total of 25 interviews with faculty/staff and pupils have been conducted, and a total of 14 course materials have been documented and analyzed. With these data, I aim at analyzing in which ways coloniality is reproduced or interrupted in learning and teaching practices in primary education.

2

Literature Review

In the following chapter, I will describe the theoretical framework used to analyze and interpret the empirical data collected throughout this study. Firstly, I will elaborate on the “educational debacle” on Curacao as researched and theorized on by Joceline Clemencia in the monograph *Education for all the Caribbean: Assessment 2000*. I add the work of Paulo Freire – in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* – and bell hooks – in *Teaching Critical Thinking: Practice as Wisdom* – to this debate. More specifically, the “banking” model of education as developed by Freire will be discussed, including his theories about the “problem-posing model.” These theories resonate with the work of bell hooks in that she focuses on exploring the concept of critical thinking as a practice. I will discuss decolonial literature by focusing on authors such as Mignolo, Quijano and Grosfoguel, in combination with Crenshaw’s concept of intersectionality. I will demonstrate how these concepts can be connected to the models developed by Freire, and the concepts by hooks, when examining the empirical data collected in this study. I argue that the combination of these theories and concepts create a useful conceptual framework for testing the hypotheses made in this research. It will also help to expand on the educational debacle as formulated by Joceline Clemencia.

The educational debacle

The monograph *Education for all in the Caribbean: Assessment 2000* is the result of intensive collaboration and efforts between the Caribbean sub-region, the Regional Advisory Technical Group and the EFA Forum Secretariat, as well as relevant agencies and institutions based in the Caribbean (Clemencia 1999, 5). The qualitative research presented in the monograph is based on the experiences of the author, Joceline Clemencia, as a language teacher and dean at secondary level, and her experience in governmental committees and institutions focusing on

the standardization of Papiamentu in the educational system on the island of Curacao (13). In this monograph, education in the Caribbean is approached as practices that aim at improving the quality of life (6). More specifically, this monograph approaches education as “*the focal point that could make a difference in the national development of Curacao*” (Clemencia 1999, 11), but fails to do so. As Clemencia states, the percentage of pupils who complete primary education without repeating the year is 38.8% out of 3000 children who enroll every year (17). In the monograph, Clemencia identifies as a problem in education, the denial of the linguistic context of the Leeward Islands (and Windward Islands). According to Clemencia this denial is kept alive through the reproduction of the Dutch educational system.

Measured on its output, Curaçaoan education is, in its present form, a by the government subsidized, institutionalized crime, kept alive with trained professionals and victimizing yearly thousands of young people. Considering that, of the 145.000 inhabitants of Curaçao, 52.333 – or 36% – rank between 0-19 years, one can estimate the enormous damage done to the population, and, as such, to the country. To strive for the development of a country, especially a developing country, without investing in education, means to strive for no development (Clemencia 1992, 5).

As Clemencia shows in the monograph, education on Curacao has proven to be insufficient and inadequate in providing pupils with the tools to become conscious citizens (11). In this monograph, the absence of the Papiamentu language in schools on Curacao is directly linked to the absence of a driving force to grow as a nation. The absence of a mother tongue in education has led to various substantial objective and subjective features in the population (Clemencia, 13). Clemencia expands on the claims made by Winkel in the article “The Language Problem in Antillean Education,” which explores the effect of determining factors on school success, such as IQ, parental stimulation in family context and language spoken at home. Results showed that the children who did well in school had a stimulating environment in the home as well. The research also showed that, even with cultural stimulation in the home and a normal IQ, pupils failed at school because the language spoken at home did not correlate with the instruction language implemented at school, (Clemencia, 16). In other words, the language spoken at home and in social contexts is Papiamentu, and the language in which pupils are taught at school is Dutch. The children who spoke Dutch at home obtained better results (16).

Clemencia pinpoints an important issue in education: Curacao has an educational system that does not take the geo-political context of Curacao into account, and thus fails to present the tools and/or function as a tool for national development. Several Curaçaoan and international scholars have researched and written about these themes. Dr. Rose Mary Allen, researcher and visiting lecturer in Caribbean Studies at the University of Curacao has worked on numerous books and articles focusing on the cultural and social history of the Leeward and Windward islands, (Duyvendak et al. 2016, 9). Allen and Rosalia explore issues of national development and identity and how these issues manifest themselves in daily life and are expressed through cultural practices. Melissa F. Weiner is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the College of the Holy Cross in the United States. Weiner has published several articles from her fieldwork conducted in the Netherlands. She researched Dutch racism is present in in the classroom and curriculum, (College of the Holy Cross 2017). As Weiner argues, “curriculum teaches children where (and if) they belong to the national (and international) community and the role they should play in it” (Weiner 2016, 3).

In the recommendations made in Clemencia’s report, she refers to a crucial point, namely:

“re-inventing an educational system based on the socio-economic reality of the Antilles and the Caribbean region that grants the citizens aspects like; strong connection with their cultural heritage, mother tongue schools, leadership training directed to control of their own lives, personal and national development, conscience to preserve natural environment, integration of spirituality, information on arts, sports and agriculture among others” (Clemencia 1999, 32).

These recommendations are based on the testimonies made on human resources, economic development, quality of life and the government. These different authors show how the issue of national development and stimulating social engagement through education is a crucial issue to address. In the final section of the research, Clemencia relates the educational debacle to a colonial past and mentality that trains us to “not see colonialism as colonialism” (32). Clemencia points out that “we thought it was not necessary to define ourselves because the good old motherland [the Netherlands] would solve all our problems. We defined neither our culture or language,” (32). I understand this quote as Clemencia pointing out the importance of analyzing how a colonial regime is being upheld by how we are taught to think and act. She argues that by not focusing or recognizing the role that Papiamentu language plays in the

educational system, a colonial ideology is reproduced, that at the same time, enforces a total erasure of a colonial past of Curacao.

This is where I would like to position this thesis. Clemencia has identified the educational debacle on Curacao, and I would like to expand on this debate by approaching the empirical data collected in this study through a decolonial/intersectional framework. By analyzing curriculum, educational content, and interviews with teachers and pupils through this framework I will be able to expand on what Clemencia refers to as the cultivation of a “very low self-esteem, lack of self-confidence, an inferiority complex, distrust, fear of responsibility, absence of creativity and initiative, and non-scientific thinking” (33) in schools. I do so by identifying educational practices that occur in primary education – meant to stimulate both the pupils to be part of a larger community and the practices that discourage pupils to engage socially.

Banking model of education

Freire’s work is based on thinkers such as Althusser, Hegel, Marx and Sartre, and focused on pedagogy that stimulates emancipation and self-actualization. In his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire emphasizes the importance of education as a practice of freedom, which he contrasts with education as a practice of domination (Practicing Freedom 2011). Throughout the years, Freire’s work methods and philosophy have formed a basis for project-based education and critical pedagogy (Practicing Freedom 2011). Freire offers a lens through which to uncover systems of oppression that can be present in the way education is constituted and organized. The educational methods Freire describes in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* were developed in the South American context of 1968, when the exploitation of rural workers was a fact (The New Observer 2012; Freire 1970). Freire connects oppressive structures to a clear relationship between colonizer and colonized, oppressor and oppressed, which remains valuable for us to understand and recognize today. Freire’s work touches on themes that are very valuable to this research. According to Weiner, Freire, among other critical scholars, has extensively theorized the ways in which formal and informal exclusion of oppressed groups’ histories from curriculum, maintain hegemonic power and economic relationships (Apple 1979; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), rather than promoting emancipation (Freire 1970; hooks 1994; Macedo 2006; Weiner 2016). Freire has developed the banking model as a tool to identify practices of teaching and learning that reproduce oppressive power relations in education.

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire elaborates on the “banking” model of education as an instrument of oppression (Freire 1970, 7). The “banking” model of education entails attitudes in education that stimulate a student-teacher relationship based on a narrating Subject (the teacher) and the listening objects (the pupils) (Freire 1970; The New Observer 2011; Shor 1992):

The teacher presents himself to his pupils as their necessary opposite. [...] The pupils, alienated like the slave in the Hegelian dialectic, accept their ignorance as justifying the teacher’s existence – but unlike the slave [enslaved], they never discover that they educate the teacher. (Freire 1970, 53).

In other words, in the “banking” model of education, the student-teacher relationship is a contradictory and dualistic relationship wherein teacher and student can never simultaneously be pupil and teacher. According to Freire, education is suffering from “narration sickness” where the teacher leads the pupil, or, in other words, narrates the content, while the pupil memorizes the narrated content (Freire, 52–53). In this student-teacher relationship, the pupils function as a “container,” an “empty vessel” that is filled by the teacher, like a piggybank (Freire 1970; The New Observer 2011). The scope of “**action**” permitted to student extends only as far as receiving, memorizing, storing and repeating the content (Freire, 53). In this “banking” model of education, **knowledge** is approached as a gift that is bestowed upon those who are considered to be “unknowing, ignorant” (53) by those who possess knowledge or are considered knowledgeable. In this way, educational practices or attitudes related to the “banking” model of education reproduce an oppressive ideology.

The banking model relates to attitudes toward learning and teaching that stimulate this dualistic and oppositional relationship through specific attitudes implementing in education. According to Freire these practices mirror oppressive society as a whole (53). Freire adds that, the more pupils are encouraged and approached as empty vessels or adaptable, manageable beings, the less they will develop a critical consciousness that would otherwise result from their interaction and transformative attitude toward the world around them. The implicit assumption in the “banking” model is based on a dichotomy between human beings and the world in which the person is merely *in* the world and not *with* the world; a spectator not a re-creator (55). In other words, attitudes that contribute to the “banking” model of education relate to the action of

learning as a process of receiving and filling, and reproduces the objectification of pupils. This research aims at identifying these educational practices. Thus, by using what Freire calls the “banking” model of education into my analysis of the empirical data collected, I will be able to identify educational practices that reproduce oppressive and exclusionary regimes. In the following paragraph, I will discuss more in-depth how critical thinking, in addition to the banking model, can be used as a framework through which to analyze the empirical data.

Critical thinking and problem-posing model

bell hooks is an acclaimed intellectual, feminist theorist, cultural critic, artist and writer. The American author, social activist and feminist examined the varied perception of black women writers and the development of feminist identities (Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica 2017). hook’s writing has focused on the intersectionality of race, capitalism and gender and the ways in which systems of oppression and class domination are produced. hooks has dedicated many writings to the teaching of critical thinking. I argue that hooks brings an essential contribution to this debate – the experiences of black women/women of color, and the specific ways in which these experiences inform practices of critical thinking. As hooks states, “[...] racism is perpetuated when blackness is associated solely with concrete gut level experience conceived either as opposing or having no connection to abstract thinking and the production of critical theory” (hooks 1994). hooks helps to analyze the role of gender from the standpoint of black female experience, and the dualistic assumptions that are assigned to knowledge, blackness, and the axes of intersectionality that play a role in this configuration. Among other scholars, bell hooks has theorized on educational practices that stimulate pupils to participate and engage in learning.

According to bell hooks, in *Teaching Critical Thinking: Practical Wisdom*, critical thinking is understood as “thinking as action,” the place where visions of theory and practice come together (hooks 2010, 7). What is at the core of this process is the longing to know: “an interactive process, which demands participation on the part of pupils and teachers alike” (hooks 2010, 9). hooks points out that one of the first steps to encourage critical thinking in pupils is for them to learn to embrace the joy and power of thinking itself. A teaching strategy that can be employed to achieve this is “engaged pedagogy,” which aims at pupils’ self-actualization (hooks, 8). hooks approaches critical thinking as an action that takes place, which calls for everyone in the classroom to participate and think passionately, to question and share ideas and take

responsibility in creating a learning community. hooks claims that critical thinking is organically predisposed in us and crosses the boundaries of race, class, gender and circumstance. Across these boundaries, children enter the world of language consumed with a desire for knowledge (7).

[...] critical thinking involves first discovering the who, what, when, where, and how of things-finding the answers to those eternal questions of the inquisitive child-and then utilizing that knowledge in a manner that enables you to determine what matters most. (hooks 2010, 9)

hooks also refers to a definition of critical thinking employed by Paul and Elder, who define it as “the art of analyzing and evaluating thinking with a view to improving it” (Paul and Elder 2008, 2). As educational psychologist and president of the Foundation for Critical Thinking Linda Elder has developed concepts and tools for critical thinking, alongside Richard Paul, (Paul and Elder 2015). In *The Miniature Guide to Critical Thinking: Concepts and Tools*, Paul and Elder state “that everyone thinks. However, our thinking is biased, distorted, partial, uninformed or even prejudiced. Yet the quality of our life and that of what we produce, make, or build depends precisely on the quality of our thought” (Paul and Elder 2008, 2). As hooks emphasizes (2010, 10), “[...] critical thinking requires us to use our imagination, seeing things from perspectives other than our own and envisioning the likely consequences of our position.”

I connect these definitions with the “problem-posing model” as developed by Freire. The problem-posing model entails a method of teaching that emphasizes critical thinking. When it comes to the dialogical character of this concept, this correlates with hooks’ critical thinking. As Freire points out, problem-posing education makes pupils into *critical thinkers* (Freire, 64). Freire’s definition relates to hooks’, which is also referred to as a method that encourages what Freire calls *conscientização*: “learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and take action against the oppressive elements of reality,” (Freire, 17). Critical thinking builds on the problem-posing model, and emphasizes the process of self-reflection and self-questioning – without reducing it to nihilism – as a process that is always already present within individuals. According to Freire, problem-posing theory and practice takes people’s historicity as their starting point. It constitutes an education that affirms men and women as beings in the process of *becoming* – unfinished or uncompleted beings in which education is constantly remade (Freire, 65).

In short, critical thinking entails a more reflexive attitude or way to approach circumstances around us. The model of problem-posing as developed by Freire, and by many other authors later on, is a method of teaching that emphasizes critical thinking. The essential connection that I have identified is that both hooks and Freire refer to education that takes into account the geopolitical context in which it takes place, and how this contributes to engagement and critical thinking. I combine these theories in order to identify specific educational practices that stimulate critical thinking and in turn social engagement. So far, I have discussed the banking model, critical thinking and the problem-posing model. These models and concepts form a useful framework through which I am able to analyze the behavior of pupils, the behavior of teachers and their interactions with each other in the classroom. When it comes to analyzing the content of the course materials I would like to add the concept of modernity/coloniality. In the following section I will elaborate on how this concept can be useful for my analysis.

Modernity/coloniality

The concept of “modernity/coloniality” was first introduced by Aníbal Quijano, and later on developed by Walter D. Mignolo. The Peruvian sociologist, Quijano, is well-known for developing the concept of “coloniality of power.” Mignolo’s body of work has been dedicated to understanding and unraveling the historical foundation of the modern/colonial world system and imaginary since 1500, (Duke University). These authors emphasize how modernity and coloniality are always connected. There is no modernity without coloniality – coloniality is constitutive not a derivative of modernity, (Duke University). They are always interconnected and operate simultaneously. This concept brings attention to the relation between the reproduction of coloniality and the narrative of modernity. Modernity is approached as the epistemological frame that is always connected to the European colonial project (Mayblin, 2017). Modernity can be understood as the project of the West to bring civilization to other parts of the world. Of course, this can take many different forms. If we try to understand the modernity/coloniality concept, it is important to point out that the starting point is 1492. This is the moment in which the Americas were “discovered,” and an epistemological design to order social life was set in motion, which went hand in hand with the demise and dismissal of non-Western cultures and histories. Europe was established as the center of the world, so we cannot understand Europe without the conquest of the Americas. The idea of Europe as the center of the world was made possible through conquest. Mignolo expands on the work of Enrique Dussel who states that “modernity appears when Europe affirms itself as the ‘center’ of a World

History that it inaugurates: the ‘periphery’ that surrounds this center is consequently part of its self-definition” (Mignolo 2008, 453).

Coloniality is understood as “the invisible and constitutive side of modernity” (Mignolo 2008, 451). According to Mignolo, understanding how coloniality is produced presents possibilities for the re-construction of silenced histories, repressed subjectivities and subalternized knowledges that were made invisible under the name of modernity and rationality (451). Modernity contains a rational understanding of emancipation, which we encourage, while, at the same time, developing an irrational myth that justifies genocidal violence. Coloniality is the making invisible and unrecognizable of this systematic violence that is present when we strive for modernity. Building on these authors, Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni explains, in “Why Decoloniality in the 21st Century,” that coloniality is a leitmotif of global imperial design, an epochal condition and epistemological design that lies at the center of our current world order (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013, 10-15).

This current order is described by Ramon Grosfoguel (and used by Ndlovu-Gatsheni) as a racially hierarchized, imperialistic, colonialist, Euro-American-centric, Christian-centric, hetero-normative, patriarchal, violent and modern world order that came together after the “discovery” of the “New World” by Columbus (Grosfoguel 2013, 79-90). According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni, race is the organizing principle central to coloniality. These principles hierarchize people according to dualisms of primitive vs. civilized and developed vs. underdeveloped (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). Grosfoguel adds “that genocides and epistemicides are constitutive of the racist/sexist epistemic structures that produced an epistemic privilege and authoritative position of the Western man’s knowledge production in relation to the inferiority of the rest” (Grosfoguel, 79-90). To sum up, coloniality is a condition and practice that survives colonialism, which goes hand in hand with modernity. These colonial matrices continue to exist in the minds, lives, languages, dreams, imaginations and epistemologies of modern subjects (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). The concept of modernity/coloniality forms a useful concept for analyzing the course content and educational practices reproduce coloniality. I will elaborate on the implementation of these theories in chapter three.

De-coloniality

In the previous section, I have discussed coloniality and how decolonial scholars such as Mignolo connect this to modernity. In the following paragraphs, I would like to go into a more in-depth discussion of de-coloniality and what this concept entails. Decoloniality is a term that aims at understanding modernity in the form of critical theory, applied on ethnic studies (Mignolo 2008, 449). It presents analytic and practical options that problematize the colonial matrix of power. I have explained that the concept of modernity/coloniality helps to understand a world order that is based on racist/sexist epistemic structures. Decoloniality entails understanding “this world order,” which is racialized but also connected to other axes of identity that play a role in mechanisms of exclusion. As Grosfoguel argues, it is important to understand how this world order is connected to the modernity/coloniality system by focusing on how the plurality of knowledge, cultures, histories and experiences, are made invisible. Decoloniality refers to socio-economic and political practices that contest the modernity/coloniality system that Western civilization is built on.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni explains that decoloniality is premised on three concepts: coloniality of power, coloniality of knowledge and coloniality of Being as stated by, (11). This first premise entails “[...] learning how modernity strived for progress, civilization, modernization and development to the Euro-American world or Zone of Being, (11) while at the same time executing the slaves trade, colonialism, imperialism into the non-Euro-American world or the Zone of Non-being,” (11). The second premise goes deeper into epistemological issues and the politics of knowledge. Who are the ones producing knowledge, and for what purpose is it produced? It “investigates epistemicides and how the Euro-American centric character of the production of knowledge is constituted while moving other knowledges to the margins. It examines how knowledge has been used to contribute to colonialism and imperialism” (10-11). The third premise focuses on how whiteness gained ontological concreteness, and how Cartesian philosophical traditions have contributed to the production of a ‘colonizer and colonized’ articulation of subjectivity and being (12). This premise is essential because it investigates how humanity is questioned and in which ways the processes take place that contribute to the objectification of non-white individuals, or, as Césaire calls it, the ‘thingification’ (Césaire 2000, 62) of non-white people.

According to Vazquez, decoloniality entails “a critical understanding of modernity, the acknowledgment of the implications it has with coloniality and the recognition of the silenced histories, knowledge, voices” (Vazquez 2015). Hence, decoloniality is about unveiling and making visible the colonial wounds with the possibility of healing. I use this definition of decoloniality, as implemented by the decolonial authors I have discussed.

Intersectionality

The coining of the term intersectionality is usually ascribed to the black feminist movement in North America, with its roots in identity and standpoint theory (Crenshaw 1991; Collins 1998). The concept of intersectionality was in the article “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics.” The term was introduced and developed in a legal context by Crenshaw. It shows the efforts to develop a Black feminist critique by revealing the problematic consequences of implementing a single-axis analysis on the multidimensionality of black women’s experience by dealing, for example, with race and gender as separate categories on which oppression is based (1989, 139). Crenshaw states that multiple axes of oppression operate simultaneously. Intersectionality is a concept through which forms of oppression or domination based on different axes of identity (gender, class, ethnicity, race, age, sexual orientation, religion etc.), whether biological, social or cultural, can be examined. Crenshaw states that discrimination can be experienced in a various ways (149) but cannot be addressed as separate categories – they are always in intersection with other axes of identity. The concept of intersectionality is analytically useful because it presents the possibility to make multiple analyses that take into account the complexity of socio-cultural categories of identification and how they are connected to existing regimes of power. I argue that it is essential to add this concept in the analysis of the empirical data collected at the two primary schools. I will elaborate on the necessity of implementing this concept in the framework used for this study in the next chapter.

Methods and Methodology

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

In this research an analysis is made of the ways in which specific educational practices can reproduce mechanisms of exclusion. I refer to this as the reproduction or interruption of coloniality through practices of teaching and learning. In this research, I not only analyze the curriculum but also the behavior of teachers, their interaction with students and the behavior of students. In order to analyze the collected data, I have translated the theories I have discussed in chapter two to specific attitudes, (Appendix, 7). First of all, I have translated the banking model to specific attitudes in teaching and learning that reinforce a dichotomous student-teacher relationship, (Appendix, 7). Secondly, I have combined the problem posing-model with the concept of critical thinking, which I translated to attitudes in teaching and learning that stimulate a reflexive way of learning where student participation, engagement and self-questioning is encouraged, (Appendix, 7). I used these theories to examine the semi-structured interviews and participant observations made in the classroom. To examine the documentations made of the curriculum and course content, I have translated the concept of modernity/coloniality and intersectionality to aspects that might be represented in the course content, (Appendix, 7). In addition, by implementing these concepts in my analysis it becomes clear in which ways the theoretical framework of decoloniality and intersectionality help to explain the reproduction of coloniality at the two primary schools that were researched. Decoloniality allows the opportunity to uncover the ways in which power differences, exclusion and discrimination are linked to legacies of coloniality that are evident today in learning and teaching practices in primary education on Curaçao. Intersectionality allows the examination of the axes of identity which inform the experiences of faculty/staff members and pupils,

(Diversity Commission 2016, 10) at the two primary schools. The combination of decoloniality and the concept of intersectionality form an essential framework through which to analyze the empirical data. This study sheds light on ways in which oppression, discrimination occurs or is contested in learning and teaching practices by identifying the various axes of identity that inform the experiences of faculty/staff members and pupils of Bellefaas Martis and Rosa de Lima College.

This chapter clearly defines the research methods used to conduct this study. Further elaboration is given on how the empirical data were collected in order to address the research objectives and research questions. The literature review has functioned as one of the methods to collect data that are necessary for answering the main question of this research which is; “In which ways is coloniality reproduced or interrupted in learning and teaching practices in primary education on Curaçao?” Other empirical materials were collected at two primary schools, the St. Rosa de Lima College and Bellefaas Martis, by conducting semi-structured interviews, participant observations and the documentation of course materials and curriculum. In the following section I will share more information about the two schools and then elaborate on the different methods that have been implemented in this research. First I will give background information about the two schools where the data was collected. Then I will elaborate on the methods implemented in this research. In the last section I will explain how I have implemented and translated the different theories mentioned in chapter two to develop a coding framework for the analysis of empirical data.

3.1.1 RKC Schoolboard and Management

All elementary schools on Curaçao are under regulation and management of a schoolboard. This is not limited to only primary education (Funderend Onderwijs) but also covers secondary education, vocational education, higher vocational education and special education, (VPCO, 2017). In total there are 4 schoolboards, (InfoNu, 2017):

- Stichting R.K. Centraal Schoolbestuur (RKCS), Roman-Catholic education, (27 primary schools).
- Vereniging Protestants Christelijk Onderwijs (VPCO), Protestant Christian education, (2 primary schools).

- Dienst Openbare Scholen (DOS), Public education, (15 primary schools).
- Stichting Nederlands Onderwijs in het Buitenland (NOB), Private schools, (3 primary schools).

The RKC Schoolboard Foundation initiated in 1969 when 10 Catholic schoolboards came together as one board. A total of 27 primary schools (Funderend Onderwijs) on Curaçao are now under the management of the Catholic foundation, (RKC, 2017). The RKC Foundation aims at sharing and caring for the interests of the Roman Catholic Church in education by giving pupils the opportunity gain sufficient knowledge, insights and motivation when it comes to religious matters and values of the Catholic Church, (RKC, 2017). The RKC Foundation aims at “an education that teaches the pupils how to recognize, respect, preserve and fulfill the religious dimensions of life,” (RKC 2017). The role of the teacher in this case can not be seen as separate from this philosophy. It is exactly this attitude or mindset which determines the nature of the influence the teachers and the board have on the pupils. As stated by RKC “the school’s Catholic philosophy should be expressed in the teaching of religious courses, philosophy of life and in the promotion of these values in education and in-school activities. In this way pupils recognize and appreciate the religious dimension of life. The Foundation aims at achieving its goal, by establishing and managing schools with the Catholic norms and values and appointing teachers who teach in the RKC spirit, (RKC, 2017).

The schools that were chosen for this research are under regulation of the RKC Schoolboard. The motivation to research these schools lies in the amount of schools that are managed by the RKC Schoolboard which by far reaches the most primary schools on the island of Curaçao. The two schools where empirical data was collected, St. Rosa de Lima College located in Salinja and Bellefaas Martis (College) located in Santa Rosa, were selected according to their availability. The purpose of this research is not to function as a comparative study but to document the different didactic approaches that the schools implement.

3.1.2 St. Rosa de Lima College

The St. Rosa de Lima College is an elementary school that is under the RKC schoolboard regulation and management and works with a Dutch alphabetization system. The school counts eight groups, of each one class with all the pupils from group one to group eight together in one

school. The groups one and two have an extra playground because the majority of their school activities take place outside. The school counts eight teachers and one principal. There is a total of approximately 213 pupils at this school between the ages of 4 and 14. These pupils are divided in eight classes, with each class approximately consisting of 25 to 30 pupils. The school is open from Monday to Friday, from 07:30 to 12:30. From 14:00 to 17:00 a small group of pupils stay at the school for afterschool activities for example drama, music and crafts. To a certain extent these services offered by the school and other school foundations, also function as an after-school care programme for pupils with working parents.

The school houses pupils from a diverse socio-economic background, (RLC, P15: 63). The majority of the pupils are from the neighborhood surrounding the school, which indicates that the majority is from a lower to middle class, socio-economic background, (RLC, P13: 61).

Most pupils are middle-class. Their parents work and they have enough money to be comfortable. So not saying rich. But there are also some poor pupils. And you need to take this into account some pupils will come to you to tell you this or ask for food and thank god we receive extra lunch from organizations on Curaçao, (RLC, P14: 62).

Next to the teachers and principal the school also works with two interns from the University of Curaçao. The group that is selected for this research is group 7, with pupils between the ages of 10 and 12. This group has 27 pupils and one teacher. The majority of the pupils are from Curaçao with approximately two to three pupils per class from other Spanish-speaking countries such as Venezuela, Columbia and Dominican Republic.

3.1.3 Bellefaas Martis

The second school chosen for this research is Bellefaas Martis (College) which works with a Papiamentu alphabetization system. This school is in comparison to St. Rosa de Lima College twice as big and counts approximately 16 groups. The nursery school is not officially part of the school but is housed in a separate building next to the school, (BM, P7: 54). For the process of data collection this means that only teachers from groups 3 to 8 were interviewed. Of each class this school has two groups, (groups A and B). Other staff members at this school include a secretary, a social worker and one principal. This school also has extra teachers for gym class,

English classes and two interns. The majority of staff and faculty members are female with one exception, which is the English teacher. This is slightly different than St. Rosa de Lima where all faculty and staff member were female. The school counts approximately 238 pupils (BM, *OB*: 9), minus the groups one and two in nursery school. Each group consists of approximately 17 pupils. This school provides a similar after school programme which offers drama, sports and music classes to pupils. This school also offers English classes starting in group 7, (It is common that pupils receive English classes in group 8 not group 7), (BM, *PI*: 47).

The school is located in Santa Rosa, nearby Seru Lora. According to participants this school is known as a “buurtschool,” which can be explained as a school that recruits its pupils from the immediate locality of its fortified place, (BM, *P7*: 52). As teachers pointed out “economically the pupils and their families are not doing well, this has serious implications for their education. Several teachers and the school principal shared that their school does not have a high status on Curaçao and that the school has the reputation of being a “bad” school hosting the most pupils with behavioral problems on Curaçao, (BM, *OB*: 9). Many pupils are from Colombia, Venezuela, Haiti, Dominican Republic and speak Spanish. The parents are often from a low economic background, (BM, *OB*: 9). This school is an interesting choice for the research because it portrays a completely different environment than St. Rosa de Lima.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION

The methods implemented for collecting empirical data are taken from the Social Sciences and the Humanities. Qualitative methods used include a literature review, participant observations made in the classroom, interviews with faculty/ staff and pupils, course material and content documentation. These methods focus on collecting empirical data on practices of teaching and learning as they take place at the two schools on Curaçao. Data was collected on practices of teaching and learning by documenting and focusing on *how* the materials is taught, implemented and the interaction between teachers and pupils and *what* is taught and the methods that are developed in teaching. In order to achieve this the educational practices that correlate with the definitions of the banking model, critical thinking and modernity/coloniality that I have explained in chapter two were documented, (Appendix, 7).

Literature review

The first method implemented was the literature review. The literature review has been a useful method for collecting theoretical data on the role of education in national development specific to the context of Curaçao. Data has been collected on theories focusing on educational practices that contribute to oppression in education and practices that encourage critical thinking, like the banking model and critical thinking. This has been valuable in formulating a coding framework for the analysis and interpretation of the empirical materials collected throughout this study. I have elaborated on this in chapter two, (Appendix, 7).

Semi-structured interview with faculty/staff and pupils

Semi-structured interviews, (Appendix, 32 – 65), are ideal for collecting data on individuals' personal histories, experiences and perspectives, especially when collecting data on sensitive topics. This method allows for the participants to voice their concerns in their own words, (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey 2011). Conducting interviews is a way to voice the opinions, experiences and expertise of a significant segment of the school population, (Trochim 2006; Clemencia 1991). This research instrument measured the ethnic, socio-economic background and gender composition of faculty/staff members and pupils. This method has also allowed the exploration of specific experiences and recurring topics that are present among pupils and faculty and staff in primary education on Curaçao. A total of 25 semi-structured interviews were conducted with faculty, staff and pupils St. Rosa de Lima College (RLM) and Bellefaas Martis (BM) with a duration of 15 to 30 minutes depending on the participants. The interviews were conducted in Spanish, Papiamentu, English and Dutch and were all recorded throughout. Eight interviews were conducted with the staff and faculty members and five interviews with pupils of RLC which indicates a participation rate of 61.5% among faculty and staff. Among pupil respondents this is a participation rate of 18.5%. At BM seven faculty and staff members and five pupils were interviewed, which indicates a participation rate of 46.6% among faculty and staff. Among pupil respondents this is a participation rate of 29.4%. All staff and faculty members of both schools were women with the exception of the English teacher at Bellefaas Martis.

I have divided the semi-structured interviews into sections focusing on improvements teachers and pupils would like to make in teaching, course materials and the school itself, parent

participation in relation to educational progress of pupils, pupil participation in class, languages in teaching, background of the teachers and pupils, economic status of the school, neighborhood and pupils and how these themes relate to their educational process. Through these interviews the experiences and expertise developed in education and voices of the teachers and pupils was documented. Data was collected on how the material is taught according to the teachers and pupils of both schools. Participants shed light on teaching methods that encourage and stimulated pupil participation, the specific issues that arise in their specific context, how teaching methods and materials are developed and received. Participants shed light on the educational practices that did not work for them and why this was the case.

Documentation of participant observations

Participant observations, (Appendix, 9 – 21) have proven to be a valuable way of obtaining data in this research. The empirical data collected serves as a check against participants' subjective reporting of what they believe and do. This method is useful "for gaining an understanding of the physical, social, cultural, and economic context in which participants function by focusing on the relationships they have with people around them, norms, ideas, events and observing behavior and activities and the context in which they take place," (Mack et al. 2011, 13). In addition to the semi-structured interviews, observations have been made in the classroom in order to document the context in which educational practices take place, how pupils react to a particular teaching method in relation to pupil participation, student-teacher relationships, and specific attitudes toward learning and teaching that are implemented in the classroom. In other words, this method has been appropriate for collecting data on naturally occurring behaviors in their usual contexts.

Observations were made in group 7 at both schools during a period of two weeks, twice a week for full school days. Approximately 25 to 30 hours of observing has taken place at the two schools. During this procedure, I observed the classroom as a space, looking at all the materials that are in and around the classrooms and which materials are used for teaching and learning. Observations were made of how pupils interact with course materials and course content during class and how the pupils interact with the teacher and vice versa. Data was also collected on how teachers related to the different educational areas and the courses these areas consisted of and how the materials developed by the school was set into practice. In short, this method has

been useful for documenting the ways in which the course material is being taught at the two primary schools, by looking at the role of the teachers, the behavior of teachers in relation to the pupils and situations that occur in the classroom, and in which way teachers and pupils are encouraged (or not) to manage.

Documentation of course materials and curriculum

I have analyzed and documented a total of 14 course materials (books and stencils) in order to formulate concrete examples of how pupils are invited to approach and identify with the course materials, (Appendix, 4). I have documented quotes taken from the analyzed books and stencils that correlated with the concept of modernity/coloniality and intersectionality, (Appendix, 21). I have examined the books used at the two primary schools published approximately between 1989 to 2014. The course materials consisted mostly of stencils and books belonging to each educational area. The curriculum is divided in eight educational areas which are again divided in different courses. When it comes to the curriculum, I have documented the composition of educational areas, the instruction languages assigned to these areas, and the amount of courses taught, (Appendix 4). I collected a schedule with timetables of the courses that are taught, (Appendix, 3). This gave me the possibility to analyze how often certain courses take place, which books are used the most, in which language these courses are taught and to which educational area these courses are assigned, (Appendix, 4).

These educational areas, were established by the Ministry of Education, (VPCO, 2017) and regulated by RKC, that were divided in the following courses.

	<u>Educational areas:</u>	<u>Courses:</u>
1	Language, Literacy and Communication	Dutch language Papiamentu English (only at Bellefaas Martis in group 7)
2	Mathematics	Contextual Math
3	Humans and society	History Geography Social studies

4	Humans, Nature and Technology	Biology Chemistry Physics
5	Cultural and Artistic Education	Music Drawing, Crafts Drama Dance
6	Health and Physical Education	Healthy lifestyle P.E. Traffic
7	Social-emotional Development	Norms and values of the Catholic education system, (specifically for primary education under RKC regulations).
8	Philosophy of life	Religion Bible studies

The majority of the courses, are taught using stencils and copied materials in binders that are distributed among the pupils of each school by their teachers, (RLC, *P11* :58). Often materials were developed by the school itself when material was missing causing for some educational areas to receive less attention than others. Educational areas such as “Mathematics” and “Language, Literacy and Communication” have specific books that are available to all the pupils. I have listed how often each course takes place every week, (Appendix, 3). Course materials mainly consisted of Dutch primary schoolbooks and Dutch stencils. The documentation of the course materials also presented the opportunity to examine the content of the books and stencils by focusing on the representations of aspects correlating with modernity/coloniality and axes of intersectionality, (Appendix, 7). I will elaborate on how the process of data analysis took place in the following section.

3.3 DATA ANALYSIS

The empirical data collected through semi-structured interviews were analyzed by importing the data into Nvivo. The documentation of participant observations and the documentation of course material and examination of course content took place manually using a coding system. I have formulated a coding system informed by the different theories and concepts elaborated on in chapter two. I have translated the theory of Freire, hooks, into a coding framework, (Appendix, 7) used to firstly analyze the behavior of teachers, their interaction with pupils and the behavior of pupils during participant observations and secondly to analyze the interview transcripts. Freire's banking model consists of a list (Appendix, 7) of attitudes in education that according to Freire reproduce an oppressive regime. I have used these attitudes to code the interview transcripts and participant observations and translate Freire's work to elements in education on Curaçao that correspond to the banking model. I have identified these elements in chapter 4. Freire has developed the problem-posing model which according to Freire, consists of attitudes in education that stimulate critical thinking. I have combined his model to the theory of critical thinking as developed by hooks, among other authors that have theorized on the concept of critical thinking. I have used their definitions of critical thinking (Appendix, 7) to code the interview transcripts and documentations made during participant observations. When using these theories I have focused on the data collected through the methods of interviewing and participant observations because these theories focus on student-teacher relationships not educational content. To analyze the educational content I find it more useful to work with the concept of modernity/coloniality and intersectionality. I have translated the concept of modernity/coloniality and intersectionality into codes, (Appendix, 7) that I have used to analyze the course content and curriculum.

By implementing an intersectional approach to the analysis of course content I aim at uncovering in which ways legacies of coloniality are present in teaching and learning practices. I used Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality to ask questions about the representation of axes such as gender, race, ethnicity and class in course content. The main hypothesis of this study is; to what extent coloniality is reproduced or interrupted through practices of teaching and learning in primary education. In order to test the hypothesis made in this study it is essential to understand on which axes of identity the power relations are based on and how the representation of these axes in course content relate to modernity/coloniality. I made an analysis

of how these different axes of identity are represented through images, language and signs. My method is put into action by asking the following questions; which axes of identity are referred to in the course content, in which context and how do these axes intersect? I conclude that how these axes are represented, and talked about in teaching and learning practices shows traces of coloniality in different ways.

Limitations

- ❖ School vacations limited the time to schedule the interviews.
- ❖ The schedules of teachers is busy which limited the time to schedule interviews.
- ❖ Access and availability of books and course materials and educational plan is limited or non-existent.
- ❖ The schools do not have much quiet spaces where the interviews can take place which formed limitations for transcribing the semi-structured interviews.

(De)-Coloniality in Primary Education

4.1 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

In this chapter I will discuss the educational practices that correspond to the banking model and critical thinking by presenting quotes taken from the semi-structured interview transcripts (Appendix 34 – 65), the documentation of participant observations (Appendix 9 – 21) and the documentation of the course content and curriculum, (Appendix 21-31). Freire and hooks focus on attitudes in education that relate to student-teacher relationships and developing a community of learning in the classroom. These theories alone are not enough to analyze the specific educational content and how it can contribute to or interrupt coloniality. I add the concept of modernity/coloniality to the analysis of the findings in order to understand in which ways educational practices and educational content reproduce or interrupt coloniality. I combined the concept of modernity/coloniality and the different axes of identity, as presented in chapter two and three, to code the content of the course materials and analyze the ways in which coloniality is reproduced and or interrupted in how differences are represented in course materials, (Appendix 21).

The focus of this analysis is on the ways in which educational practices and educational content, that I have coded using Freire, hooks, intersectionality and decoloniality, relate to the reproduction and interruption of coloniality (Mignolo 2011; Quijano 2000). In this way I give answer the following questions; (1) in which way is the reproduction of coloniality evident in the classroom, from the behavior of teachers, their interaction with pupils and the curricular materials, and (2) in which ways is the interruption of coloniality evident in the classroom, from the behavior of the teachers, their interactions with pupils and the curricular materials.

Consequently, the answers to these two questions refer to the third question namely; (3) in which ways can the theoretical frameworks of decoloniality and intersectionality help to explain the reproduction of coloniality in primary education.

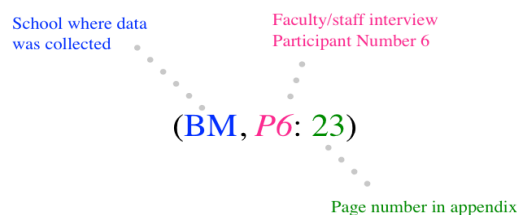
Several quotes and passages taken from the collected empirical materials will be referenced in this chapter and function as concrete examples of practices that interrupt or reproduce coloniality. All the quotes and examples used will be referenced using a code combination that shows where the quote can be found in the Appendix, the school it was collected and the method through which this information was collected. The semi-structured interviews and the participant observations made, will be referenced firstly with the name of the school where the data was collected using the abbreviations BM and RLC, (Bellefaas Martis: BM and St. Rosa de Lima College: RLC). The code combination continues with the P (for participant) and the number or letter of the participant in *italic*. Letters signify pupil participants and the numbers signify the faculty/staff members who were interviewed. Then the code combination is completed with the page number where the quote can be found in the Appendix. In the following table I give a short overview of the codes and what they mean.

List of code abbreviations

The schools:	
Bellefaas Martis	BM
Rosa de Lima College	RLC
Empirical data collected:	
Student participants of Semi-structured interviews,	Letter A to E
Faculty/staff participants of Semi-structured interviews,	Numbers 1 to 8
Documentation of course materials	CM
Documentation of participant observations	OB

A complete code combination, would look as follows; (BM, *P6*: 23). The same system will be used to refer to the participant observations made in class, for example (BM, *OB*: 23) and the documentations of the course materials (*CM*: 23). When referencing the documentation of the course material no school names will be used due to the overlap in educational areas and teaching materials used at both schools.

Example 1:



Firstly, I will present examples of educational practices that contribute to the banking model and how these attitudes in education reproduce coloniality. These examples are taken from interview transcripts and the documentation of participant observations. Then I will present examples of educational content that reproduces coloniality by looking at the representation of differences, thus, who/what is represented/not represented/how is it represented? In the second section of this chapter I will present examples of educational practices that stimulate critical thinking and how these practices interrupt the reproduction of coloniality. Then I will shortly focus on the educational content that invites a critical attitude in learning and teaching. In order to present the findings more concretely these sections are divided in subsections corresponding to the different methods used for the collection of empirical material thus; (a) semi-structured interviews, (b) documentation of participant observations and (c) documentation of course materials and curriculum.

4.2 THE REPRODUCTION OF COLONIALITY IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* Freire identifies specific attitudes that contribute to the banking model. According to Freire attitudes that contribute to the banking model reproduce a dualistic and hierarchal relationship between teacher and pupil, (Freire 1970). In this section I will go in-depth on the attitudes in education that I have coded (Appendix, 7) as corresponding to the banking model. The different examples I will present in this part are solely taken from the semi-structured interviews and documentation of participant observations. I will first discuss the main attitudes in education that reinforce this specific student-teacher relationship. After discussing all the aspects of the banking model that I have coded in the semi-structured interview transcripts and documentation of participant observations, I will explain how these attitudes in primary education reproduce coloniality by relating these findings to the concept of modernity/coloniality.

Freire formulates several attitudes related to the banking model. The following attitudes have been identified in the empirical data collected; (1) the teacher disciplines and the pupils are disciplined, (2) the teacher chooses the programme content, and the pupils (who were not consulted) adapt to it. According to Freire these two attitudes in education reinforce a dichotomous relationship between pupil and teacher where the pupil is approached as ignorant and unknowledgeable. First of all, what I believe is important to take away from the statements made by Freire about the banking model are attitudes related to penalization and punishment and how this influences education. Secondly, I argue that it is important to look into how pupils are excluded from contributing to educational content and curriculum and how this influences their education.

Attitude 1: The teacher disciplines and the pupils are disciplined:

The first attitude corresponding to the banking model that I have coded in the empirical data collected is “the teacher disciplines and the pupils are disciplined.” From the interviews held with faculty and staff members five participants elaborated on the influence that “bad” behavior or pupil’s “behavioral problems” have on their educational process. I have coded the following quotes, taken from semi-structured interviews conducted, as attitudes toward teaching and learning practices that resonate with the banking model of education.

R: The parents and schools keep saying that these are problem children with behavioral problems but I disagree. These are parenting problems and has to do with upbringing, (RLC, P11: 58).

R: And unfortunately, we also have many pupils with behavioral problems, so if you look at all these things including the language there are many reasons why the process of their education is interrupted or limited, (BM, P7:53).

Teachers pointed out that the behavior that pupils show play a key role in their educational process. At both schools, teachers explained that pupil’s behavioral problems had to do with their home situation. For instance, missing a structured and familiar environment in the home causes pupils to seek these boundaries at school. Pupils seek these boundaries in different ways but mostly, as teachers pointed out, by seeking “negative attention,” (RLC, P11: 59). This is countered at one of the schools with punishment and penalties.

From the interviews with pupil participants, five pupils clearly stated their disagreement with how they receive punishment, the behavior that they are punished for and the negative influence that this has on their educational process.

I: Does it occur that you receive punishment in class? R: Yes, sometimes. When I am angry about the behavior of one of the pupils I always say something about this to them, or I school them. The teacher doesn't like that so she gets mad at me, because I don't know how to stop. I: When you think, this is unfair do you say something about it to the teacher or when you feel like you are sad or angry, do you feel you can tell the teacher about it? R: No. I: Why not? R: Because I get more punishment. This happened once and then the teacher yelled at me in front of all the pupils. I really dislike when this happens, (BM, PB: 35).

R: If you state your opinion they [the teachers] will punish you more. They have no respect for what I say. It is my word and I want to express myself and I get punishment for it, for saying what I want to say. And I feel bad, that's why I don't want to talk about it. I: Do you tell your parents? R: No, I don't, if I tell my parents then they will get mad and come to school and get into a discussion I don't want this. If I want to tell someone, I tell my older cousin who helps me out with these situations. He tells me to just be nice and tell the teacher I'm sorry and not look for trouble, (BM, PD: 37).

I: Does teacher yell at you? R: Yes. I: And what do you think about this? R: It makes me very sad. I: Do you tell the teacher that you are sad because of what she did? R: No. I: Do you tell your parents? R: No. I: Why not? R: Because I am afraid. I: Why? R: Because I am afraid that if I tell her that I am sad, she will do it again, (RLC, PI: 44).

In the process of observing in the classrooms, I coded the behavior of the teachers, their interaction with the pupils and the behaviors of the pupils, either as corresponding to the banking model or critical thinking. Approximately 25 to 30 hours of observing have taken place at both schools. The data collected through these participant observations did not contradict what the pupils pointed out in the semi-structured interviews. At one of the schools specifically, behavior that was considered “bad” was; talking in class and contradicting the teacher, (RLC, OB: 17). When this occurred the “bad” behavior was emphasized and took much of the time of the class. For example, when one pupil fails to pay attention, punishing this pupil would result in punishing the entire class, (RLC, OB: 17). Most of the pupils who received punishment

would be sent out of the classroom or had to stand in a corner of the classroom and would remain there sometimes for hours or a half-day. These pupils would not be allowed to participate or interact in any form with pupils in or outside of the classroom. (RLC, *OB*: 16). Observations made it clear that it was always the same boys who received punishment on a daily basis and that how the teacher responded to their behavior repeated itself everyday. For instance, the teacher responded to their behavior by making pupils leave the class, giving pupils penalties, making pupils stand in the corner or by themselves or threaten with excluding them from school trips or calling their parents, (RLC, *OB*: 17). These forms of punishment were implemented on a daily basis at one of the schools. At the other school that was researched, such punishment methods did not occur what so ever even though the school housed a majority of pupils who were considered to have behavioral problems. At the other school behavioral problems were approached completely different with lasting success. I will refer to this in the second section of this chapter.

To sum up, these quotes which were both taken from the semi-structured interviews and participant observations, show that pupils are punished for contradicting, speaking their minds or intervening when they disagree with the teacher. Pupils are reluctant to intervene due to fear for the negative repercussions. Half of the pupils interviewed showed great discontent with these educational practices which shows the ineffectiveness of these methods when it comes to disciplining pupils in a positive way. I argue that this attitude related to discipline and punishment in education reinforces a dualistic and hierarchal relationship between pupil and teacher by discouraging the act of thinking for yourself, taking responsibility or contradicting an “authoritative” figure. The teacher is not to be contradicted solely because of their role as teacher. In this relationship pupils are taught that only those with authority have or need to have a voice. A fear of having a voice and speaking out independently is cultivated when punishment is the consequence. This reinforces the idea that the act of thinking cannot be enjoyed and voicing your opinion is not necessary, valuable or positive, but punishable. Another point I would like to add is that this attitude toward punishment in the form of excluding pupils, or making them stand in the corners, reinforces the idea that when pupils fail to conform to the rules of the authoritative figure that they will be excluded, or not longer be part of a community. There will no longer be space for them if they fail to “play by the rules.” Pupils are not invited to self-question or question the authority of the teacher or contribute to their educational process.

Attitude 2: The teacher chooses the programme content, and the pupils (who were not consulted) adapt to it:

The second attitude I have coded in the semi-structured interviews and documentation of participant observations is, “the teacher chooses the programme content, and the pupils adapt to it.” How pupils are excluded from influencing educational content, both in how the material is taught and what is taught, corresponds with attitudes that reinforce the banking model of education. In order to explain how this attitude corresponds to the banking model, I will first present quotes as an illustration of how these attitudes are present in the two schools. Then I will explain how the attitudes I have identified, reproduce a student-teacher relationship that is contradictory and dichotomous, as explained by Freire.

Out of 10 interviews conducted with pupils at both schools, 8 pupils pointed out that they would like to make improvements to the school both content and curriculum, (Appendix, 34 - 47). However, when pupils were asked whether they had the opportunity to share their opinions about possible changes to educational content and curricula they stated that this space was often lacking.

I: Do you think you are allowed to participate freely in class? And make the changes you want? R: Sometimes but usually no because the teacher decides what we do. The teacher doesn't like it when we say what we want to do because she says that this is her job and that she decides this. I: What do you think about this? R: I think that we also have things to say, and that we should have the opportunity to do that in class and say something, (BM, PB: 36).

In addition, the interview conducted with the principal of one of the schools revealed how faculty perceives pupil involvement in educational content. When asked whether pupils have any say in the educational content or their educational process, the participant pointed out that when it comes to faculty and staff members the organization is non-hierarchical but when it comes to pupils having a say in the educational process this is not stimulated or seen as an option.

I: And the school culture? R: Anyone can discuss anything. I don't believe in managing in ways that are hierarchical. I: And the pupils interact with their education? Do they have a say in how and what is taught?

R: No not really, it is also our culture because we want pupils to respect the teachers. I think in the Netherlands the pupils are very rude to teachers. They don't listen to the teachers and they think that kids have so many rights and can do these things, (RLC, P15: 64).

The quote above illustrates an attitude that is present in education related to the exclusion of pupils from influencing educational content. In other words, pupils have limited influence in *what* they are taught and having an opinion about the educational content can be seen as disrespectful to the teacher. Before explaining how this attitude reinforces a student-teacher relationship that is contradictive, I will give some examples of attitudes that relate to *how* pupils are taught. Teaching the course content by repeating the material is a second attitude in teaching and learning that I have coded, that reinforces the idea that pupils only need to adapt to educational content.

In all 15 interviews conducted with faculty and staff members, participants stated that repeating the course materials is a predominant method for teaching and learning, (Appendix, 47 - 65).

R: We actually have enough time to prepare but we don't have enough time to repeat the work. Thus, pupils forget it more easily. [...] we need the time to repeat because then you increase quality of the education and they [the RKC Schoolboard] are working on quantity instead of quality of education, (RLC, P10: 57).

Observations made in the classroom showed that pupils seemed proud when they knew the rows by heart and seemed very content when they got high grades for repeating the material, (BM, OB: 12). Much of the learning practices rely on repeating also when it comes to courses like Philosophy of Life and Bible studies, even though these are a couple of the few courses where dialogue and personal experience is encouraged, (I will elaborate on this in the second section of this chapter). The pupils who were already doing very well and knew the material would feel more open to raise their hands. At one of the schools also pupils who did not know the material were stimulated to participate and find the right answers together with the teacher. When it comes to the teachers attitude toward repeating the material, observations showed that when pupils fail to repeat it correctly, the teacher would react negatively. In some cases, repeating the material would even function as a way of punishing the pupils when they fail to do their homework.

I: Do the pupils do their homework for example? R: No they don't for example for today they had to write down a few words in English and Dutch and nobody does the work. So, I give them detention-work to do, where they repeat the material they were supposed to learn at home. And I have to wait till they do it. I only received one pupil's work out of 17 pupils, (BM, P1: 47).

The curriculum consists of eight educational areas, (Appendix, 4). Observations made, showed that the areas where repetition of course content did not play a predominant role were “Cultural and Artistic Education” and “Health and Physical Education” (BM, *OB*: 11-12), (Appendix, 4). It is important to mention that these educational areas take approximately three hours of the curriculum each week, (Appendix, 3) if they are not cut. One school week is approximately 25 to 30 hours, so three hours a week is very little time spent on these activities. These are also the areas that are cut first due to time limitations. In all the other educational areas learning by repeating plays an essential role. The specific courses where repetition of content was explicitly present were; Math, Dutch language, English language and History, (RLC, *OB*: 14-21). These courses, except History, also take most of the time in the schedule, approximately 2 to 3 hour a day, (Appendix, 3). Regardless of the content of the materials pupils are asked to repeat the material. The knowledge is successfully transmitted when the pupils repeat the information correctly or as accurate as possible. Needless to say, the repetition of course material takes the majority of time scheduled for teaching.

Even though repeating the material is perceived as a valuable teaching and learning method according to faculty members, they have also voiced their discontent with this method. In all 15 interviews conducted with faculty and staff members, participants stated that repeating the course materials is a method that takes an excessive amount of time which the schools do not have. Repeating the material at home and doing homework in general has proven to be ineffective due to the home situation of most pupils, (BM, *P7*: 54). The result of this is that teachers have to take more time to repeat the material at school. Consequently, this means that due to time limitations educational areas like “Cultural and Artistic Education” and “Health and Physical Education” are cut in order to spend more time repeating Math, Dutch language and Papiamentu language.

To sum up, there are four aspects that I have discussed which reinforce the attitude implemented in education where pupils are require to simply adapt to what is taught. (1) The lack of pupil contribution to curriculum and course content, (2) the repeating of course content as primary

teaching practice and (3) cutting other valuable programmes from curriculum as punishment or due to time limitations without consulting pupils. I have also discussed attitudes regarding (4) penalization and punishment when pupils contradict the teacher. I argue that these attitudes correspond to the banking model of education. First of all, pupils are excluded from the opportunity to contribute and take responsibility for their own educational process. Pupils are not stimulated to take action or taught that their input is valued. As Freire states, the more pupils are encouraged and approached as empty vessels or adaptable, manageable beings the less they will develop a critical consciousness that would otherwise result from their interaction and transformative attitude toward the world around them, (Freire 53). Secondly, pupils' educational progress and development is judged based on how well they can repeat the material. All pupils are expected to perform in the same way. This approach does not focus on the development of individual talents and richness of diversity among pupils. These teaching methods influence pupil participation in a negative way by dividing those who know from those who do not know even though, as teachers have pointed out, mastering the material is influenced by several complicated factors like their domestic situation, the language they speak at home, their environment or their mental and physical state. The scope of **action** that pupils are permitted extends only as far as receiving, memorizing, storing and repeating the content, (Freire, 53). Thirdly, other essential courses are cut because repeating the material takes too much time. In this way education fails to offer pupils a variety of life skills, ways of learning, different ways of expressing themselves, different ways of relating to the world, and skills that they might need in their direct environment. I have coded these aspects as corresponding to the banking model because they reinstate a student-teacher relationship that is dichotomous and contradictive by assigning a passive role to pupils without giving pupils the tools to imagine other roles, take responsibility, and have agency.

I have used the work of Freire to code different attitudes in primary education that correlate with the banking model. The attitudes that I have coded in the previous sections are; (1) attitudes related to punishment and discipline and (2) attitudes related to pupils adapting to course content and curriculum. I believe the implementation of these attitudes in primary schools reproduce coloniality in different ways. The ineffectiveness of these attitudes has been made evident in the classroom observations, semi-structured interviews when the pupils showed great discontent and frustration with the passive role that they are assigned on a daily basis.

The dichotomous relationship that is reproduced through the student-teacher interaction builds on principles that hierarchize people according to dualisms of passive vs active. These attitudes stimulate pupils to integrate into structures of oppression instead of handing pupils the tools to transform that structure. These attitudes reinforce the idea that knowledge is neutral, unchangeable and universal. This relates to the point Mignolo and Ndlovu-Gatsheni make about the coloniality of knowledge. In this case, it is important to ask what the purpose is of the knowledge that is produced and which other knowledges are moved to the margins. This is what I have tried to show with the examples I have discussed so far. By striving for one way of knowing, and being instead of learning from the multiplicity of knowledges and letting different people contribute to the process of knowledge production, these teaching and learning practices contribute to the epistemicide of knowledge produced on Curaçao, voices and experiences. They exclude specific individuals (in this case young pupils) from the process of knowledge production. The role of education in this sense is simply to bestow knowledge on “unknowledgeable” people. These attitudes in primary education relate to modernity as they reinforce the idea that knowledge is a singular, a-historical, objective, detached concept that belongs to only a few people (Mignolo 2007).

4.2.1 Reproduction of coloniality in course content

In the previous sections I elaborated on the data collected by through interviews and participant observations. In this section I will focus on the empirical data collected through the documentation of course materials and content. In a period of two weeks at each school, approximately 8 books and 5 stencils were analyzed. Both schools made use of similar course materials, (Appendix, 4). The amount of courses that are taught within a specific educational area differs per area. Approximately there are 14 courses that I could identify within 8 educational areas, (Appendix, 3 - 4). For instance, the educational area “Language, Literacy and Communication” consists of the three courses: Papiamentu, Dutch and English. All these courses had one assigned book, meaning that this educational area implemented three books. Out of the 8 educational areas only two areas (Language, Literacy and Communication & Mathematics) had books to work with. These educational areas take up more than half of the curriculum in terms of time, (Appendix, 3). All other course materials consisted of the Bible or exercises found on the internet, often outdated stencils and printables copied and developed by the teachers. (Appendix, 4). This means that more than half of the curriculum does not consist of standardized books with didactic methods, thus methodological guidelines for teachers to

work with. After making a documentation of the course materials, the educational areas and the courses these areas consist of, I focused on analyzing the content of course materials.

A content analysis was implemented by using the theories, to code content that relates to modernity/coloniality and intersectionality, (Appendix, 8). As mentioned in the third chapter I have focused on the context in which the different axes of identity and aspects of the concept of modernity/coloniality were represented in the content of course materials. In the following section I will present examples that show the problematic representations that are present in course materials. I have coded the collected data by pinpointing the representation of axes of race, ethnicity, gender, religion and class and aspects of modernity/coloniality similar to; (1) the representation of Europe as the center of the world, (2) how content relates to historicity of pupils (3) representations of differences among cultures, histories and peoples, and (4) the ways in which knowledge is presented and related to other ways of knowing, (Appendix, 8). By focusing on these aspects when coding the content of course materials, I have found examples of representations of aspects that relate to modernity/coloniality. I will expand on how these aspects relate to the different axes of identity. First of all, I have coded the exhibition of difference and erasure of borders. Secondly, the representation of the Dutch colonizer's perspective on the enslavement of Africans. Thirdly, the dominant presence of human rights discourses indicating progress and modernity and fourth, the dominant representations of Dutch culture. I will present quotes and passages taken from the semi-structured interviews and observations but I will mainly refer to the documentation of course material content to illustrate these coded representations.

1. Exhibition of differences and erasing borders

One the first course materials analyzed was the book used for the educational area "Language, Literacy and Communication" specifically for teaching Papiamentu Language. The book used in this course, *Fiesta di Idioma* was published circa 2010. The exact date has been difficult to track down because the book has different editions and no specific recorded date of publishing. As stated by the government of Curaçao these books have been developed on the island for group 6 to 8 and present modern didactic methods that speak to the perception of the pupils, (Gobiernu di Korsou, 2010-2013). This book is used everyday, approximately an hour a day and are completely in Papiamentu, (Appendix, 3 – 4).

The book is divided into modules. For example, one module focuses on different cultures while others focus on nature. The first problematic aspect arises in the division that is made in the different modules in the book where pupils first encounter and learn about people of African descent in the sections about wild life and nature. A clear link is being made between blackness and nature, wild animals and tribes both through images and text. This is supported by images of people in huts accompanied by the title “Pigmeo den selva tropikal di Afrika,” [Pygmy in the tropical forests of Africa. Pupils first learn about people of African descent in terminology that is problematic and representations of black/people of color in an exhibitiv way. First of all, as Weiner shows in her own research terms like tribe “are a problematic conception that ascribes negative stereotypes to “tribal” people, including timelessness, savagery, and primitiveness,” (Weiner 2016, 3). In the example, I am discussing, this is also the case when referring to Pygmy people. Secondly, black/ people of color are represented as inherently, connected to nature. Thus, reinforcing the idea that these groups of people do not have culture. Thirdly, these representations of Africa portray the idea that Africa is one homogenous country resulting in the erasure of the many differences among cultures, people and countries. The pupils have to do exercises based on these images and short stories accompanying these images where questions are asked about “tribes in Africa” without specifying the countries that are talked about in Africa. Solely, questions are asked about the animals that live here and “how tribes in Africa” work with the animals, (CM: 28). Weiner states in her article “Colonized Curriculum” that these kinds of racializing discourses of Africa in textbooks is attributed to Western liberal thought, rather than the rejection of colonialist oppression by African nations, (Weiner, 3). African nations are approached as “politically backwards” (Weiner 2016) and as the opposite of Western civilization (Mignolo 2011).

These examples do not only apply to African nations but also to other parts of the worlds. Another problematic example taken from the same book is how the **forests** in South-America and Central-America are represented in the course materials. Differently from representations of African nations, these parts of the world are referenced by their specific country not the continent as a whole, (CM: 28). However, when referring to the peoples living in these forests words are used like “Indians” to refer to the communities living in these vast areas. The same kind of exhibitiv characters are assigned in representation of communities living in other parts of the world. Tables are used to divide different people while connecting them to nature, forests, wild life etc. For example; “Forests and Indians, Forests and Aboriginals/Original inhabitants

of what is now called Australia, forests and Africans, forests and New Guinea or Indigenous,” (*Fiesta di Idioma*, 105-199), (Appendix, 28).

To sum up, people of African descent and Indigenous communities are represented as backwards, primitive, savage, un-developed and uncultured based on the axes of ethnicity, race and nationality. The logic of modernity (progress, civilization, modernization and cultural development), (Mignolo 2011) is assigned to Western parts of the world, while those who “lack” these attributes are linked to nature. At the same time borders are erased and populations are represented as homogenous. By denying to acknowledge the differences among people, for example gender differences, ethnic differences, cultural differences and national difference pupils are taught by using stereotypical representations that are not often contested. This contributes to the objectification of non-white individuals or as Césaire calls it, the ‘thingification’ (Césaire 2000, 62) of non-white people. Thus, these representations contribute to the project of modernity and reproduce coloniality in the form of erasure of cultures and histories of people of African descent and Indigenous communities. As I have mentioned in the introduction of this section, pupils are exposed to these problematic representations on a daily basis.

2. Dutch colonizers and the enslavement of Africans

The following example focuses on how the Dutch colonial expansion and enslavement of people of African descent are represented in the course materials. The educational area of “Humans and Society” consists of courses like History and Geography, (Appendix, 4). The whole area receives one hour and 15 minutes of time each week as presented in the schedule, (Appendix, 3). In a school week of 25-30 hours, this is considerably limited time to spent on History. This time is divided between History and Geography, meaning that time spent on teaching History is even more limited. The History course does not have assigned history books, but stencils and copied materials that are provided by the teachers, (Appendix, 4). This means that there aren’t any methodological guidelines for teachers to follow that are standardized. Pupils have very limited time to learn about history. I argue that when pupils do learn about historic events like the Dutch colonial expansion taking place on Curaçao, they learn about it from the perspective of Dutch colonizers. The examples that I will discuss covered the majority of the course content and are certainly not exceptions.

The History stencils present different ways of speaking about and illustrating the enslavement of Africans and the Dutch colonization that took place on the island of Curaçao. First of all, Dutch trade is represented as a larger global commerce while minimizing the Dutch nation's involvement in slavery. The WIC [West Indian Company] is referred to as "a company," (CM: 22). Phrases like, "trading slaves went so well for the Dutch that more than 4000 slaves were imported," also reinforces the representation of the WIC as a company importing goods. The years previous to the revolts that would take place are described as "the bad time that continued causing traders to retreat." "The government wanted to better the living conditions of the slaves and didn't want more revolt so they changed the laws," (CM: 22-23). Passive language is used to describe these events for instance, "it seems that in 1778 the last slave ship left the harbor of Curaçao," (CM: 22). There is a strong emphasis to represent Dutch colonizers as sympathetic toward enslaved peoples. "As soon as the ship was docked, the slaves were taken to slave camps. In the camps the slaves could take a breath and they were well fed. This only happened because a well-fed slave raised more money," (CM: 22). The extreme conditions Africans endured when transported to the plantations is left unmentioned.

When it comes to the Dutch colonizers, they are referred to in the course material by their names and/ or profession, for example: "House of the owner, Master van Uytrecht, Johannes de Veer, Nederlandse Troepen, the Master, the Warden, the Supervisor, Commandant Baron van Westerholts," (CM: 22). This representation is opposed to the poor representation of enslaved peoples. The language used to describe enslaved people and the harm inflicted on them by white colonizers are the following; "rebels, insurgents [opstandelingen]," while stating that "the slaves received a salary for their work." "Many things had to happen before the slaves were ready to be sold. They were shaved, branded and stripped of their clothes" (CM: 23). This picture below belongs to this passage as it can be found in the course materials. In this picture black women, children and men are depicted. They are described as "slaves," a dehumanizing term that reduces humans to commodity, thus the thingification of non-white people, (Césaire 2000, 62). I would like to stress the homogeneous character of this representation that comes about when using the word slaves which is reinforced by the picture. The term "slave" has negative connotations which are reinforced by the picture below where black women, men and children are portrayed and referred to as "the slaves."



Picture 1: Educational Area: Humans and Society, Course: History, Course materials: stencils.

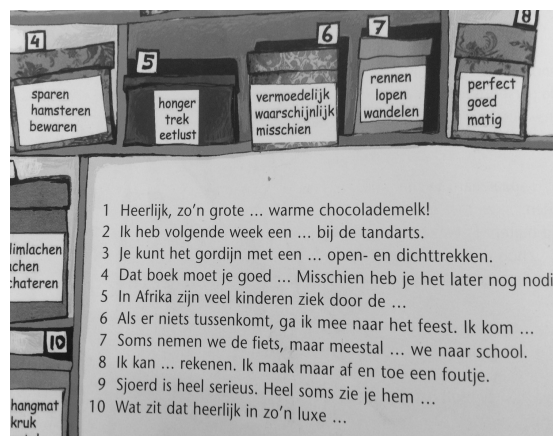
Enslaved people of African descent are also described as rebels, without any means for self-empowerment. The justifications for their enslavement, based on racial differentiation, is presented in the course materials and illustrated in the following quote; “The planters did not want to do the heavy agricultural work themselves so they went to look for Negroes in Africa, who could work as slaves in the hot sun,” (CM: 23). This quote does not question the role of the Dutch or why whites couldn’t do the work themselves. Continuing with: “They got the slaves from negro-villages in Africa, at the time the Portuguese were in charge in Africa. They then sold the slaves on the markets in Portugal,” (CM: 23). This reinforces the inferiority and the justification for enslavement. The accomplishments of Curaçaoan freedom fighters are diminished, not taken seriously and their accomplishments are even assigned to the Dutch government. “Their captain was killed, causing the slaves to [get] confused. Without a captain, the rebellious slaves were not worth much. The uprising was soon contained,” (CM: 22). The names of freedom fighters like Tula are often not mentioned, and other voices are not heard.

These examples illustrate how the Dutch colonial expansion and slavery are represented from the perspective of Dutch colonizers. These problematic representations glorify and justify the enslavement of people of African descent by the Dutch. I agree with Weiner when she states that similar representations obscure the inextricable links between the trade in peoples of African descent and the Golden Age,” (Weiner 2014, 10). These representations of Dutch colonial expansion as a successful company contributing to progress and development speaks to the modernity project of the West, (Mignolo 2011). This erases and excludes the voices and histories of people of African descent. In this way coloniality is reproduced through these representations. To refer back to the point made about the schedule and curriculum. I would

like to emphasize that the limited time that pupils have to learn about history, is filled with these representations.

3. Human rights discourses as mark for progress

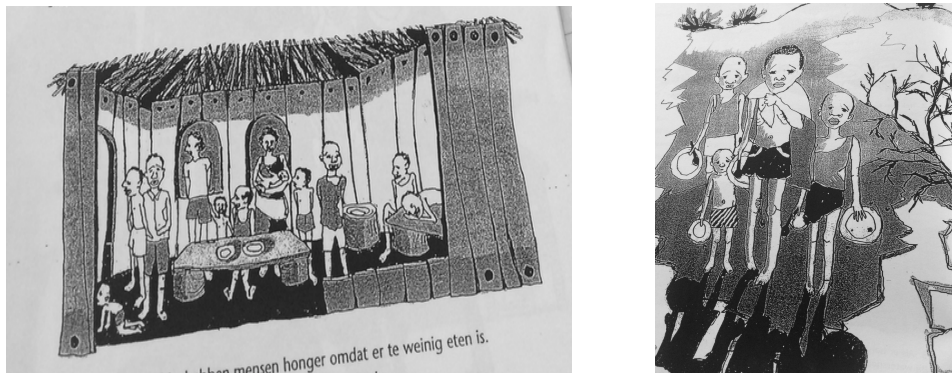
The third example I will discuss is taken from the book *Taal Actief*. This book corresponds to the educational area, “Language, Literacy and Communication” specifically for teaching Dutch Language, (Appendix, 4). This book was published in 2012 and developed in the Netherlands. The Dutch language course is taught every day for approximately one hour. The *Taal Actief* method consists of books, working books and online educational exercises. I have specifically analyzed the books, (Appendix, 4). The *Taal Actief* course content presents several problematic representations of parts of the world that are placed in contrast to the Netherlands. An example is one of the vocabulary exercises where pupils have to fill in the blanks, in order to understand what words like poverty and hunger mean.



Picture 2: Vocabulary exercises. Educational area: Language, Literacy and Communication, Course: Dutch language, Course Materials: *Taal Actief*.

Pupils learn about Dutch cultural practices and fill in the blanks. One of the sentences pupils have to fill in reads: “In Africa many children are sick because of ...?” Where pupils have to fill in the blanks with the word: “hunger.” As mentioned before these representations reinforce the idea that Africa is a homogenous place characterized by hunger, famine, underdevelopment, primitiveness. Meanwhile the Netherlands is represented as a diverse society that is marked by progress and development. These exercises are accompanied by images of people living in poverty. These images show huts with thatched roofs and individuals with wide noses, black

hair living somewhere on dry land or in the woods. Black/people of color are directly linked to poverty and starvations. What I have noticed in the depictions in *Taal Actief* is that white individuals are not depicted in these situations.



Picture 3/4: Depiction of different peoples in Vocabulary exercises. Educational area: Language, Literacy and Communication, Course: Dutch language, Course Materials: *Taal Actief*.

Another example from *Taal Actief* is the exercise where pupils practice receptive reading. Pupils are asked to read the text about children's rights across the world and make assignments about this. When referring to child labor and War child, examples of children of color and continents like Africa and South-East Asia are used as examples of "the worst parts of the world to be a child," (CM: 28). Pupils read about how children from the Netherlands need to help these children because they have the tools to do so. These images and the way they support the exercises reinforces the idea that in the Netherlands there are enough resources for children to live a happy life and child labor is prohibited while whole continents such as Africa and South-East Asia are portrayed as poor, and in need of European aid.



Picture5: Depiction of South-Asian population. Educational area: Language, Literacy and Communication, Course: Dutch language,

The image above is used in *Taal Actief*, as illustrations for similar exercises. This exercise starts with a short story which pupils have to answer questions about. This exercise examines to which extent pupils understand what they are reading. The content of the story tells pupils how to raise money for “poor children,” with an image of who these children are, (children of color). The text puts emphasis on reminding Dutch kids to acknowledge “how well kids in the Netherlands are living,” and how they have the means to help “the poor,” (CM: 27). The story also elaborates on how the Netherlands has developed the proper knowledge to use agriculture to their advantage, and how these “poor peoples” need “our” expertise, (CM: 27). These texts are accompanied by stereotypical representations of people of color sitting with a pile of rice without clothes on, with behind them landscapes of rice fields. The body of color is directly linked to poverty and starvation. What pupils learn and see about these places in the world is limited to these representations.

This analysis shows that these human rights/aid discourses characterizes how modernity is strived for. Europe is represented as the “white savior” bringing modernity, peace, emancipation, rights to other parts of the world. According to Weiner “emphasizing individual rights, rather than those of the community, reveals Eurocentric neoliberal individualism subliming community desires,” (2016, 9). Weiner states quoting Escobar and Popke that, “these global discourses of Africa and South-East Asia, in textbooks rhetorically marginalize and subjugate people in “underdeveloped” nations using discourses, rooted in colonialist ideologies. This perpetuates global historical conceptions in Western terms, with all other nations needing to catch up to their technology, knowledges, and modernity,” (Weiner 2016, 11). The modernity project of the West, (Mignolo 2011) is evident in these discourses which go hand in hand with the reproduction of coloniality. The coloniality that this reproduces is the reinforcement of these racist discourses that places the Western white savior at the top of the highly racialized and hierarchal system while diminishing the agencies of peoples in these communities, their histories and differences among people, (Quijano 2000).

4. Dominant representation of Dutch culture

As I mentioned before in the section, “Dutch colonizers and the enslavement of Africans,” the History course content shows the process of delinking Dutch historic events like the Golden Age from the colonization of territory and enslavement of people of African descent. In this section I will discuss a few examples taken from other course materials that emphasize this

delinking process which is accompanied by a dominant self-flattering representation (Wekker 2016) of Dutch history and culture. I will elaborate on how this relates to the concept of modernity/coloniality. This fourth example is taken from the Math book *Alles Telt*. This book corresponds to the educational area, “Mathematics” (Appendix, 4) and was published and developed in 2013 in the Netherlands. This course is taught on a daily basis for approximately 45 minutes a day, (Appendix, 3) meaning that this course belongs to one of the major educational areas the curriculum consists of, next to “Language, Literacy and Communication.”

In the interviews conducted with faculty and staff at each schools approximately, 13 participants voiced their frustration toward the educational content, specifically *Taal Actief*, and *Alles Telt*, (Appendix, 47 - 65). Teachers have pointed out that the dominant representation of Dutch culture shows many limitations for learning the materials as it fails to speak to the perception of the pupils and the world around them. Teachers point out that they need more materials that relate to the Curaçaoan culture and the direct environment of pupils. This would make the educational process happen easier and more comfortable for the pupils.

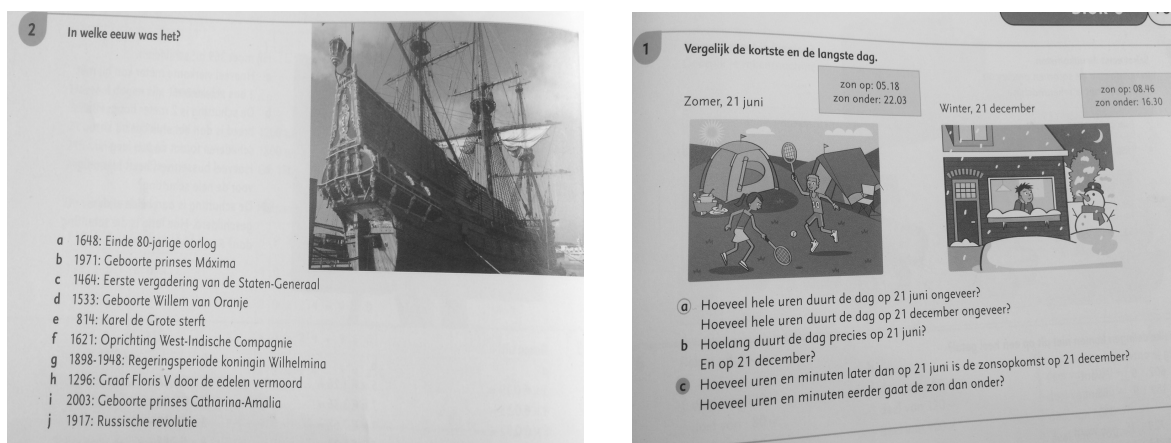
I: Were the books you use developed in the Netherlands or Curaçao? R: The Netherlands. This is what we are required to work with. I: Do pupils do worse with Dutch books? R: Well if you have to learn about winter, snow etc. in class while you have never experienced this, of course the pupils won't do well. I use the internet to show them, because they have never experienced this. Only the pupils who have been to the Netherlands might have. [...] R: Snow, ice, autumn or even a Mayor for example, are things we don't have here. Also in the Math book, "Alles Telt," the currency is in euro's. And then I say to the pupils to try to imagine that this is the guilder. And that the euro is from the Netherlands not here. Clothing, like hats and scarfs, you are so busy with these things. I: So, it is necessary to explain that in Curaçao these things are different? R: Yes, I have to keep explaining this so the pupils understand that in Curaçao this doesn't happen. (RLC, P14: 62).

R: Do you know the book "Taal Actief"? This is a method taken from the Netherlands that we have to work with at our school. But this method and the course material do not fit our culture! Even the Math books. We have to teach Geography and History in Dutch. Even though the most children speak Papiamentu. To name an example in "Taal Actief" they speak about winter, but we don't have winter on Curaçao. We have to still teach this and the pupils have to learn something they have no idea about or have never seen. We need material that connects to the world in which we live. This also

means that with every course we teach we need extra materials to get the course content across. (RLC, P13: 60).

R: Because it corresponds with the experiences of the children, those they have here, and the world around them. The language is also less hard for the kids, and the kids understand it better, like prepositions. The kids understand the exercises about grammar and spelling and learn more about making sentences and formulating this when the material speaks to them. I: This has to do with relating to their experience? R: Yes! An example is that I had to explain and teach the course material and I had to know what a [silo] was. And I did not understand what this meant so I looked it up and it meant; A large building that is used as storage space for granular goods like grain, sand, gravel and feed. This space is used by farmers. We don't have that on Curaçao, so this does not connect at all. That means that you also have to put a lot of time into these things but also that you have to prepare your lessons very well, because you might get questions about this, (RLC, P15: 63).

These examples and issues that teachers point out are not the exception but occur throughout the day during each course and on a daily basis. This influences education negatively because the content does not contribute to a comfortable and efficient learning and teaching process. It presents many limitations that result in cutting courses, extra work for the teachers and poor pupil results and lack of participation. The images below illustrate what the teachers are referring to as the dominant representation of Dutch culture in teaching Math and language. The course material that was analyzed, *Alles Telt*, entirely consisted of representations of Dutch culture. For instance, pupils learn Math by relating to Dutch places, cities and cultural practices, (*Alles Telt*, 7; *CM*: 25). Curaçao, more specifically Willemstad, was referenced once in this book.



Picture 6/7: Educational area: Mathematics, Course: Math, Course material: *Alles Telt*

Pupils are asked to solve mathematical equations by answering questions like “how much do “we” [the Dutch] like to bike and camp, where do we like to go on vacation, which animals do you like to keep as pets, what is our favorite transportation vehicle, how much water do we use,” and so on and so forth, (*Alles Telt*, 114; *CM*: 25). Pupils learn about Dutch television shows (*Alles Telt*, 7; *CM*: 25), countries close to the Netherlands, Dutch weather, *CM*: 25. Dutch products and foods (*CM*: 25) and how big the Dutch population is and more. Pupils are required to refer and understand Dutch cultural practices in order to solve the Math equations.

Pupils learn about Dutch accomplishments completely out of the context in which they took place. For instance, as image 6 illustrates, pupils learn about Dutch royalty, wars, and the establishment of Dutch West India Company as accomplishments or important historic events. Pupils do not learn how these historic events are connected to events that took place on Curaçao and other parts of the world. Pupils learn about Dutch “accomplishments” which neglect to acknowledge the horrific deeds that accompanies Dutch history and how it relates to the demise of non-white peoples, histories, stories and cultures specifically the Curaçao culture and history. Pupils do not learn about these things in the context of Curaçao. This is skipped in the only book in Papiamentu they have, which is *Fiesta di Idioma*. In order to understand these questions and what precisely is asked of them to calculate, pupils have to master the Dutch language on a higher level. As teachers state, pupils do perform poorly in Math because of the Dutch language. Pupils learn more about Dutch culture, history, national heroes, etc. without learning about positive representations in Curaçao history.

This is where I argue that again a process of delinking and erasing other histories takes place and coloniality is reproduced. Secondly, these examples, show how teaching these courses is not neutral but exposes pupils to dominant representations of Dutch culture and daily cultural practices. Pupils do not recognize themselves or their culture in the content of the course materials. Pupils are forced to relate to Dutch cultural practices and not to their own community and cultural practices. I link this to Mignolo and the claims he makes about the coloniality of knowledge. What I take from this is the importance of questioning what the purpose is of the knowledge that is produced. What is the purpose of pupils learning and internalizing Dutch cultural practices? The way in which Dutch culture is made indispensable, for teaching courses such as Math, moves other cultures to the margins. In this way, the knowledge that is produced in these educational areas contributes to the reproduction of coloniality.

4. 2.2 Reproduction of coloniality in the composition of curriculum

In the following section I will focus on the composition of the curriculum and how these relates to issues of language. The two primary schools that were researched differed in alphabetization. The schools that implement Dutch alphabetization teach all the courses in Dutch starting in group 3. The schools that implement alphabetization in Papiamentu start teaching in Dutch in group 5, (BM, P7: 52). As I have mentioned before, the curriculum consists of eight educational areas which are divided in several courses. In this section I argue that the composition of the different educational areas and the specific instruction languages assigned (Appendix, 4) to these areas reproduce coloniality. I will first elaborate on the division of educational areas. Then I will discuss the limitations that a bilingual curriculum presents, according to teachers and pupils. Thirdly, I will discuss how discrepancies between languages spoken at home and school has an influence on education. Different passages taken from semi-structured interviews and documentation of participant observations will be used as examples to illustrate this claim.

1. Division of educational areas

The two schools where empirical data was collected differed in alphabetization. One of the school started teaching fully in Dutch in group 5, meaning that this school implemented a system of alphabetization in Papiamentu from group 1 to 5. The other school started in group 3 with books fully in Dutch meaning that the school implemented a Dutch alphabetization system. However, the groups that were researched were both already learning fully in Dutch with the exception of a few courses. The educational areas that remained completely in Papiamentu at both schools were Social-emotional Development, Philosophy of Life and to some extent Cultural and Artistic Education, (Appendix, 4). The courses that these educational areas cover are courses like norms and values, religion and arts and crafts. These courses are taught without a standardized methodology. Course materials consist of The Bible and outdated stencils copied and developed by the teachers. The material that is available is offered by the RKC schoolboard, which implement a Catholic philosophy at the schools they regulate.

All the 15 teachers interviewed at the both schools pointed out that knowing Papiamentu and Dutch is essential in teaching. The courses that are taught in Papiamentu are the social courses focusing on norms and values and philosophy. Participant observations showed that

Papiamentu is also spoken to discuss teaching methods in an informal way. Papiamentu is used when pupils interact with other pupils and in interaction with the teachers when they don't understand the material. Teachers also interact with each other in Papiamentu, (Appendix, 15 - 16; RLC, *OB*: 16). Even though the alphabetization at both schools differed the language spoken the most was Papiamentu.

R: In group 5 and in group 6 they are working in Dutch completely. I: Do you notice that pupils have difficulties with this transition? R: Yes. What I have to do is keep using Papiamentu for them to understand it, or else you are just talking to yourself. I know it is not allowed but I still feel the necessity to do it. (BM, P3: 49).

I: Which courses are in Papiamentu? R: Social-emotional Education, the Papiamentu language course and Philosophy of Life. The rest is all in Dutch. (BM, P5: 14).

Next to Papiamentu and Dutch being used for different purposes, in an informal and formal matter, I believe that the curriculum composition divides these languages in different ways. There is a clear distinction made between Dutch and Papiamentu and the educational areas that they're assigned to, (Appendix, 4). Out of the eight educational areas Dutch is used to teach approximately five of them. Thus, Dutch is the dominant language in primary education. Referring to Papiamentu only when teaching social sciences or during informal interaction with pupils reproduces a hierarchical relationship between Dutch and Papiamentu. Dutch is developed as an essential language for certain fields while Papiamentu remains an informal, social language. Another point is that the courses that are taught in Papiamentu usually reference the Bible as a course material. The only other book in Papiamentu is *Fiesta di Idioma*. This also contributes to the development of the Dutch language as the language used for scientific knowledge. These two points I have discussed result in the marginalization of Papiamentu language. I will elaborate on how this reproduces coloniality after I have discussed two more points regarding language in education.

2. Limitations of bilingual curriculum

Learning and teaching in two languages, (Dutch and Papiamentu) has proven to be essential for a successful completion of primary education and enrolment in secondary education. Pupils are

required to pass a Dutch test, Papiamentu test and Math, (RLC, P11: 59). Pupils and teachers have pointed out that this forms many limitations for the work that pupils can do at school, the work they can do at home and the way in which the materials can be taught. Half of the pupils interviewed claimed to have difficulties with the two languages in their education, especially when it comes to Spanish speaking pupils. Teachers stated that pupils perform worse in Math when they have to read the instructions in Dutch. I have personally experienced at both schools, while conducting interviews with pupils and faculty, that communicating in Dutch has proven to be difficult. Both pupils and teachers seem to prefer to speak Papiamentu. The pupils were asked in which language they would like to do the interview and almost all the pupils chose to do it in Papiamentu with a few exceptions when interviewing Spanish and English speaking pupils.

I: When you have the Dutch classes at school and you don't understand something, does this happen a lot? R: Yes, definitely. And it makes me sad and it puts me down because I don't know how to do it. [...] I: What about your grades? R: They are not very good actually. I: Why you think this is? R: Because of the language, because all the courses even Math is in Dutch, (RLC, PH: 42).

I: Do you notice that the pupils have difficulties with this [switching from Papiamentu to fully Dutch education] transition? R: Yes. What I have to do is keep using Papiamentu for them to understand it, or else you are just talking to yourself. I know it is not allowed but I still feel the necessity to do it. [...] If you translate it to Papiamentu we have a completely different way of telling time, for instance, than Dutch people do. So if you translate it, it is much more confusing but they do not have a way of linking it to previous knowledge so you have to teach it from scratch without relating to Papiamentu. [10 past, ten to]. I can't teach digital hour if they can't even tell time. So you stay behind. R: [...] I have to read the text to them or with them, then they translate it and then they can make the Math equations. This doesn't work if they have to do it on their own. I have to keep asking what does this mean and what does that mean before they even start. So especially in Dutch you have to read beforehand and of course this also takes a lot of time. I don't translate it for them though, I say it in Dutch but use my intonation etc., (BM, P3: 49).

R: When the pupils speak a lot of Papiamentu you have to do everything in Papiamentu and then you have to translate it to Dutch. In this you already see that it influences how you teach, what you teach, whether the pupils understand the material and how to make it understandable for them (RLC, P8: 56).

R: I try to speak Dutch as much as possible but we also have pupils from Colombia who don't know Dutch or Papiamentu so that means that sometimes I need to also speak Spanish. So you are teaching in three languages to get the information across. You have to keep helping the kids. The pupils need extra work and in the beginning this is hard, (RLC, P14: 62).

R: We have pupils who speak Spanish so it is up to the teacher to know how to teach these pupils and get the material across, (RLC, P11: 58). [...] I would actually like for the schools to be completely in Papiamentu. But we don't have enough course materials in Papiamentu. The pupils speak Papiamentu so they should be taught in Papiamentu. And this makes education easier for them and also more comfortable to learn. And Papiamentu is not so easy, by the way, so we really need material to be developed in this language. Also writing is difficult, they also have trouble with this. I think it would be better to do it completely in Papiamentu, (RLC, P11: 59).

R: You have to do the Dutch exam so pupils eventually do not have a choice. The schools in Papiamentu take longer to teach Dutch. We are stuck with these things in the school methods. But how can I teach the kids Dutch when the books are not made for them. For example, if I have to teach Spelling, sometimes the pupils don't even know what the words mean. Then I also have to change how I teach because I have to explain it and I have to make sure they understand. If you don't watch out you will make the mistake of turning these Spelling classes into Vocabulary. This happened so many times to me, and I would never finish on time. So now I let them look for the definitions themselves, and tell them that they do need to wait for the teacher. In this way, they learn to do it individually, (RLC, P11: 60).

Having two languages in which to teach also shows its implications for the methods of teaching that can be implemented or what teachers resort to in order to fulfill the educational requirements that are set by the schoolboards. For instance, repeating the materials takes much more time than most teachers have to fulfill the requirements. This time is also limited by the time spent on translating all the Dutch material. Teachers have pointed out that they “often can't live up to the schedule because it takes much more time for the pupils to learn the material and they need more time to repeat,” (RLC, P11: 54). The teacher has to translate the materials from Dutch to Papiamentu which is also time consuming. As I mentioned in the section “Attitude 2: The teacher chooses the programme content, and the pupils (who were not consulted) adapt to it” this results in cutting other essential educational areas. The educational areas that are cut first are “Health and Physical Education” and “Cultural and Artistic Education,” which include

courses like, arts and crafts, music and P.E. During the participant observations it became evident that a few pupils only participate when they get to do these courses. If these courses are cut pupils miss out on learning how to express themselves in a different way and they miss out on other skills that can enrich their education. Teachers also state that cutting these courses has a negative influence on education, (BM, P7:23).

R: We try not to cut the courses, if we can. Especially "Cultural and Artistic Education," because the pupils really need them. Those are the lessons that really makes them develop their personality and who they are as a person, I believe. Dutch, Papiamentu and Math are really important but the other courses are also very important like gymnastics. We need that. I try to encourage the teachers to keep these courses even when they are very busy or don't have the time. It is essential, (BM, P7: 54).

These examples show the limitations that a bilingual curriculum presents and how this influences education in a negative way. It causes much time to be wasted on translation and repetition which results in cutting valuable courses. Pupils are limited in their access to knowledge and learning valuable skills that they might need in other aspects of their lives and development.

3. Discrepancies between languages spoken at home and school

Teachers stated that pupils do better in school when they are in an environment where they can practice Dutch. My analysis supports research done by Clemecia and other scholars on this topic. What I would like to add is that discrepancies between languages spoken at home and school are related to issues of class which reproduce coloniality. The pupils were asked which languages they speak at home and whether they needed or already had help with doing their homework in Dutch. Pupils were also asked to elaborate on whether they think being taught in Dutch and Papiamentu is difficult and which language they prefer to speak. Approximately 4 out of the 10 pupils interviewed claimed that they had Dutch speaking relatives at home. Often these pupils did better in school, (RLC, P12: 60).

I: Which languages do you speak at home? R: A little bit of Papiamentu and a little bit of Spanish. I: What about Dutch? R: We don't speak Dutch at home. I: And what do you do when you have to do your homework in Dutch at home. R: I have a teacher who helps me out and she explains to me what I don't understand, (BM, PH: 42).

I: Do you think that Math is difficult or easy? R: I think it's easy. I: Also in Dutch? R: No. Even though I was born in the Netherlands but we moved back to Curaçao some years ago and I forgot how to speak Dutch. I: So you enjoy doing Math but the language [Dutch] makes it hard for you to understand the equations? R: Yes, (BM, PB: 35).

During the observations made in the classroom it became evident that Papiamentu, Dutch and English are essential languages for teaching. On the blackboard there are homework assignments in Dutch, English and Papiamentu written down, (BM, OB: 10). Pupils are required to learn two or more languages in order to fulfill their education. For instance, Spanish speaking pupils are required to learn Papiamentu before they start speaking Dutch but do not have the environment at home where Dutch is spoken on a daily basis. Thus, the pupils who have Dutch speaking parents tend to do better, (Prins Winkel 1995; Clemencia 1999). The Dutch language becomes essential for pupils to go to secondary education and pursue an academic career. The pupils who have an environment where Dutch is spoken are most likely to continue their studies. Analyzing the intersection of (Dutch) language and class this means that class mobility, economic mobility and national development is linked to how well pupils master the Dutch language. Papiamentu does not function as a tool to stimulate class and economic mobility. In turn this leads to the marginalization of the Papiamentu language.

In this section I have given examples of the role that language and composition of curriculum plays in the educational success of pupils. I have discussed three situations that result in the marginalization of the Papiamentu language and culture which are; the division of the educational areas, the implementation of a bilingual curriculum and the discrepancies between the language spoken at home at the instruction language at school. These points show how there is a clear preference toward the development of the Dutch language in comparison to the national language of Curaçao. Pupils are required to master the Dutch language in order to be successful in their education. This is of course also the case because of the required tests that pupils need to take in order to complete primary education successfully and pursue a higher education. In this case the Papiamentu language is excluded from the possibility of being implemented in certain fields of education when used for the transmission of Dutch material, which reduces Papiamentu to solely a functional language implemented in social context. This limits the development of Papiamentu in higher education and scientific education because pupils learn to speak and relate to the Dutch language as their educational career progresses,

(Clemencia 1999). Papiamentu is excluded from other fields of knowledge production as it is considered to only be implemented and developed within the Curaçao community, on a social level. This reinforces the idea that Dutch is essential in order to have access to scientific knowledge, social mobility and economic mobility. In short, language functions as a way to structure an education that reinforces the idea that progress, valuable knowledge and development is directly linked to the Dutch language and the Netherlands.

4.3 THE INTERRUPTION OF COLONIALITY IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

In chapter two I have discussed several authors focusing on critical thinking, mainly bell hooks. I have combined these definitions with the problem-posing model as developed by Freire. In this section I will go in-depth on the educational practices that I have coded as stimulating or encouraging critical thinking, (Appendix, 7). The different examples I will present in the following sections are taken from data collected through interviews, participant observations and course materials. What I take away from hooks' concept of critical thinking and Freire's problem-posing model are educational practices related to stimulating dialogue, self-questioning and engagement in learning as a community. I have coded the following practices as attitudes that encourage critical thinking and correlate with the problem-posing model: (1) teaching and learning in dialogue, (2) situating knowledge in historical context, (3) implementing diverse teaching methods, (4) incorporating background in teaching, and (5) encouraging pupils to influence course content and curriculum. These attitudes have become evident from the behavior of teachers, their interactions with pupils and the behavior of pupils in the classroom. After discussing these aspects, I will elaborate on how course content stimulates critical thinking by giving examples taken from the documentation of course materials and analysis of content. After discussing the content of the course materials, I will explain how these practices in primary education interrupt the reproduction of coloniality. What I believe is important to take away from theories of critical thinking and the problem-posing model are practices that encourage dialogue, stimulate pupils to learn in a community and how this influences education in a positive and sustainable way.

1. Teaching and learning in dialogue

The first practice that I have coded is teaching in dialogue, (Appendix, 7). Both hooks and Freire claim that teaching in dialogue entails educational practices that stimulate and encourage

critical thinking. According Freire thinking does not occur in an ivory tower but always through the communication with each other, (Freire 1970, 58). hooks claims that by committing to openness and self-questioning, the integrity of critical thinking is maintained, (hooks 2010, 8). Through participant observations, I have been able to identify a teaching method that I believe correlates with teaching in dialogue, which is story-telling. This teaching method took place mostly in the educational area “Humans and Society,” at one of the schools, (BM, OB: 12). Story-telling also was implemented when teaching Vocabulary in Dutch and Papiamentu, (BM, OB: 9) and Philosophy of Life, when teaching from the Bible, (BM, OB: 11; Appendix, 3). During the interviews three teachers specifically pointed out the importance of story-telling as a teaching method and explained why they felt it was important to incorporate this method in their teaching.

R: All my lessons tell a story. All the lessons are stories. I tell these stories in relation to their own experiences. I ask them to also connect it to themselves and what they have encountered. You always have to look for that link. And in this way engagement with the lessons is encouraged. I notice they want to talk about it more. But what I then try to do, is get them to stick to the material so that I can make sure that they are getting out of it what they are required to learn, (BM, P6: 52).

Four out of ten pupils interviewed shared that they enjoyed this teaching method.

R: I like the stories of the Bible and Jesus, and the stories about the slaves and what they have been through when we have Humans, and Society, (BM, PE: 39).

R: I like it when the teacher reads the Bible and tells us stories. Because you learn what happened to Jesus and they teach you how to go about to not fall into evil and bad things. (BM, PC: 37).

At both schools storytelling or learning by sharing stories, was an often used teaching method that encourages pupils to learn new material through dialogue and discussion with each other. For instance, pupils had to refer to their own connotations and experiences they had with certain words and concepts. They would share this in the classroom and other pupils and the teacher could respond or share their own story. Teaching Vocabulary for instance is mostly taught by talking to the children instead of constantly repeating the materials, (BM, OB: 11). The pupils read the material and then share their own stories and experiences about what they have read. In this way, the teacher can also get to know the pupils and how they perceive things and how

they relate, interpret and understand the course material. As the participant observations have shown, engagement with the course content and participation in the classroom is encouraged when pupils have the opportunity to share their own stories, (BM, *OB*: 12). Out of 10 interviews with pupils approximately 4 pupils pointed out that they enjoy this teaching method and participate more when this is implemented. These courses show the highest participation in comparison to other courses for instance where learning by repeating the material is the main teaching method implemented, (BM, *OB*: 10-11).

Teachers pointed out in three interviews that pupils learn faster when they learn in dialogue and that pupils learn remember the content of what has been taught more easily, (RLC, *P9/P10*: 57. As hooks states, learning in dialogue also stimulates pupils to think independently (hooks 2010, 10) and develop their own voice as valuable. In this way pupils learn to enjoy the action of thinking and participate in the classroom as part of a learning community. I believe that this teaching method gives pupils the opportunity to influence the content of the course materials. As the quotes show pupils enjoy learning through stories but I want to emphasize that it is important to also analyze what kind of stories are told. For example, religion plays an important role in disciplining the pupils through stories. I believe using the Bible as a teaching method can presents it own limitations in teaching critical thinking. I will elaborate on this in the section “Interruption of coloniality in course content.”

2. Situating knowledge in historical context

The second practice that I have coded is, situating knowledge in historical context, (Appendix, 7). Placing the content of the material -more specifically the knowledge that is produces- within a geo-historical context, allows for an understanding of knowledge that does not claim to be universal, (Haraway 1989; Vazquez 2015; Mignolo 2011). I have coded practices where teachers stimulate pupils to think about their own position and where pupils are stimulated to place what they are learning within its historical context. This occurred during the educational area “Humans, Nature and Technology” and “Humans and Society.” The participant observations showed how the teacher played an important role in stimulating this way of thinking. For instance, one teacher taught pupils about different cultures by encouraging pupils to think about their own position and question what is “normal” or “traditional,” when teaching Geography, (RLC, *OB*: 20). This method stimulates pupils to recognize the differences they

have in comparison to other pupils, as positive aspects. I believe that in this way pupils learn to see or understand the world as a plurality of experiences and approach differences as non-hierarchical.

Another example of a teacher who practiced her own way of situating knowledge in a specific historical context is the following. The teacher referred to specific historic events in the context of Curaçao during the History course where pupils had to learn about racism and colonialism. The teacher would ask the pupils to situate these events today by asking them to share stories of how they have experienced racism in their lives, (BM, OB: 12). In this way, the teacher aims at a deeper understanding of concepts such as racism, as it has taken place in the history of Curaçao, and stimulates pupils to think about what racism can mean today. Pupils learn about racism not only as belonging to the past or only as linked to slavery but learn to understand this concept in relation to their own position. Pupils learn that what we know about racism or how we define as racism depends on specific historical contexts. During this exercise the participation in class is significantly higher, (BM, OB: 12).

One last example is taken from the semi-structured interviews. The teacher shares that she emphasizes teaching strategies that stimulate pupils to use what they have learned in school outside of this context. In this way the teacher wants to teach pupils that what they learn in school is useful for them outside of school.

R: I have strategies I work with, for example; referring to what they already know in order to explain new things, so that they don't think it is too hard. And what I also do is, when they have Math I let them use the formulas in everyday life, showing them that it is not something that you will only need for Math but something that is everywhere and you can use everywhere. I see this also as a learning goal that they learn to be able to apply this knowledge and make it useful. In this way, they also understand how to make the equations in a different context, (BM, P6: 16).

These attitudes in teaching increase pupil participation while teaching pupils that knowledge is transformative (Freire, 58) and situated. I believe these attitudes illustrate how critical thinking can be encouraged in the classroom.

3. Implementing diverse teaching methods

The third practice that I have coded is, implementing multiple ways of knowing, (Appendix, 7). By offering different ways of learning and relating to the material I believe a reflexive attitude toward learning (hooks 2010, 10) and gaining knowledge is encouraged. Out of 15 teachers who were interviewed, 10 teachers pointed out that it is essential to stimulate engagement and participation in the classroom in different ways, (Appendix 47 – 65). For instance, one teachers shared that it is required to “incorporate the pupils as much as you can for example by sending them to the blackboard to write,” (BM, P2: 48). Teachers also see improvement in the pupil’s educational process when pupils are encouraged to work with technology. “This really stimulates them in a different way and they participate more. For example, working with computers, beamers, white board etc. This also helps a lot when doing grammar and makes it easier for them to learn,” (BM, P3: 49).

At both schools the majority of teachers stated that dramatization worked exceptionally well in stimulating participation in class. This method was incorporated in different groups at both schools. By implementing this method teachers aim at relating to the pupil’s perception of the world through exercises. This method was mostly implemented in the educational area of “Cultural and Artistic Education” and “Language, Literacy and Communication,” (Appendix, 4). “I try to speak to how they see the world. They pay much more attention when I do it like this,” (BM, P4: 50). Also using music, poetry, story-telling, instruments, are ways to relate more to the perception of the pupils and in this way getting them closer to the material, (BM, P4: 50). Kindergarten teachers state that they “[...] have to make the methods very attractive for the pupils. For instance, “the pupils really like puppet-shows, singing, playing with instruments and dance. I also dance with them,” (RLC, P9/P10: 57). Teachers have stated that they need to incorporate different ways of getting information and educational content across that speak to different perceptions of the pupils.

R: For example, they need to physically work with the materials, really touch it and feel it and have instruments to learn with where they can physically engage with mathematical equations [breuken]. I only have one on my desk and I think if I would have enough for all the pupils to work with on their own desks they would engage more. They’ll experiment with it for example, (BM, P5: 51).

In order to stimulate more active participation and interaction with the material that is taught, teachers implement approaches emphasizing pupil's own exploration of the material. At the same time examples show that teachers take into account that pupils relate to course content in different ways.

R: For example, I work a lot with strategies. I do not explain everything that is in the book. When you know what is really important to know and what the pupils have to learn then you can get the information across in different ways depending of what works the best for the class, (BM, P6: 51).

These teaching and learning practices have proven to be very effective in how pupils understand the materials and enjoy thinking and learning, (BM, OB: 12). Active participation is stimulated and pupils learn to be part of an active learning community (hooks 2010) that is not solely based on who memorizes or repeats the materials the best. Teachers encourage different ways of learning for example using the body and including different ways of accessing and producing knowledge. They are not solely focused on repeating the material but on implementing methods that focus on the diversity of pupils in the classroom.

4. Incorporating background in teaching and learning

The fourth practice that I have coded entail attitudes in teaching that incorporate the pupil's background in teaching, (Appendix, 7). Both Freire and hooks state the importance of taking into account the historicity of the pupils in teaching. In all the interviews teachers stated that the background of the pupils is essential to take into account when preparing the lessons and getting the content across, (Appendix, 47- 65). Relating to the experiences of the pupils and making a link with the materials, can be achieved by taking into account the background of the pupils.

I: Does the background of the pupils play a role in your teaching? R: Yes definitely, especially the situation at home because the parents are not there to help the children with their homework. And to check the work. The economy is bad and the parents have to work two jobs. They usually come home very late. And don't have time to really check the work. So what happens is that the pupils just say that they did it or they just write something down because it is not checked. Also we have to make sure that pupils for instance have had breakfast before we start the class, (BM, P7: 53).

The majority of teachers at one of the schools, point out in the interviews, that they understand that pupils have difficulties at home that influence their educational process negatively. The teachers react to this by identifying the problem areas and developing and incorporating methods in the curriculum that can address these problems. One of the methods that have been developed and implemented in group 7 and 8 at one of the schools is quite-time. This method is implemented everyday for approximately 15 minutes.

R: The thing that needs to change is the behavior of the pupils. This would make it much easier for me to teach. Their behavior causes them to do less well in school and causes them to show less improvement. But the school is also taking measures to improve this for example by trying the "quite time"-method after the breaks. This helps the pupils to calm down after the break because the more calm they are the better they pay attention during the classes. I have already noticed that this really helps some pupils. What I also try to do is to have one-on-one interaction so I can give each pupil personal attention. I do this because I have noticed that most pupils really need love. Everyday I ask a different pupil to sit with me. I have noticed that this really worked well to get them to pay better attention to their work. If they receive more attention they do better and their behavior improves a lot. The thing is that you really need to keep trying and not give up on them. Especially if this will result in better grades, (BM, P4: 50).

Teachers at the school that implements the quite-time method, pointed out that this method is a very effective way of letting pupils relax before starting the class again. These exercises are incorporated to better the behavior of the pupils and stimulate participation in the classroom. The participant observations also showed that this method had a positive effect on pupil's ability to concentrate, (BM, OB: 10). The teachers received a training to be able to do these exercises with the pupils in each class, (BM, P7: 54). The exercises are implemented by guiding to pupils through a process of mindfulness, for instance by doing visualizing exercises, (BM, OB: 10). The incorporation of this method shows how teachers take into account the domestic situation of different pupils that might have an impact on the behavior they show at school and their educational process. Through this method the background of the pupils is made essential for teaching and learning.

5. Encouraging pupils to influence content and curriculum

The fifth and last practice that I have coded entail attitudes in teaching that stimulate pupils to influence content and curriculum, (Appendix, 7). Even though this teaching practice does not occur concretely at the two schools, I would like to emphasize that teachers are making changes in this direction. hooks states that encouraging pupils to take responsibility for their learning process, (hooks 2010,) is and an important part of teaching critical thinking. Half of the pupils who were interviewed stated that they would enjoy seeing improvement in the school environment when it comes to games that are provided during recess and sports. They would like to spend more time on courses such as arts and crafts and would like to have the opportunity to work more with technology, (RLC, PG: 41). The majority of the pupils interviewed did not feel like their opinion on course content and materials was much appreciated. At both schools, pupils shared that they have valuable input that they would like to share about their education. The times they actually get to do this is very limited. Teachers have pointed out that it is important to ask the pupils what they need at school and implement other techniques that would make their educational process more comfortable and enjoyable. “[...] With this we also think about what the pupils would like to do themselves, for example play cards, domino’s, volleyball, soccer etc. This is for the kids,” (BM, P5: 51). Pupils learn to take responsibility for their education when they are invited to influence curriculum and course content. This contributes to dismantling the dichotomous and hierarchal relationship between pupil and teacher, (Freire 1970) where the pupil is perceived as un-knowing and unable of producing (or already having) valuable knowledge.

4.3.1 Interruption of coloniality in course content

The educational practices and attitudes in teaching that I have discussed so far were taken out of semi-structured interview transcripts and documentations of participant observations. The theory of critical thinking and the problem-posing model function well when analyzing how critical thinking is encouraged in the behavior of pupils, teachers and their interaction with each other. In the following section, I will discuss the analysis made on the content of the course materials. I have focused on the concept of modernity/coloniality to look into course content. This entails an analysis of ways in which the course materials (1) represent Curaçao (2) how contents relates to the historicity of pupils, (3) how differences among cultures, histories and

peoples are represented, and (4) the ways in which knowledge as a concept is approached, (Appendix, 7).

All the teachers interviewed stressed that, due to the course materials being in Dutch and the content referring to Dutch customs and culture, they are required to situate the course content within the context of Curaçao. This is mainly the case when teaching “Language, Literacy and Communication” and using the *Taal Actief* method. This is also the case when teaching other languages like English. All teachers stated that it is essential to make a connection between experiences of the pupils and the course material and content. This is essential for pupils to understand the material but takes much time out of the schedule that can be used for other courses. As one teacher states during English class:

The books are from England so what I do is always try to make a link. For example, by asking them whether we have these things here? How do you or would you describe this word or this object in Papiamentu? Do we have these things here? Is it something you can name in your surroundings? I always try to make a link,” (BM, P1: 48).

Teachers have different ways of approaching the inadequate course content. Firstly, by situating what the pupils read. For example, by asking pupils how these events occur on Curaçao and making them aware of differences, for instance, between how society is structured in the Netherlands and how it is structured on Curaçao. And secondly, by incorporating books that speak to the perception of the pupils and their experiences. I have discussed this first point in the previous paragraphs. The second point relates to course content and the books used in primary education.

The books (Appendix, 4) that were analyzed show that Curaçao is only referenced once in the Dutch textbooks, *Alles Telt*. Only two books that are used, refer to Curacao more frequently. The first book is *Zonnig Nederlands*, which refers to cities, and towns that are located in Curaçao, and depicts cultural and religious practices that correlate with the social reality of Curaçao for example, “Barrio San Amigu, San Pedro, Santa Rosa, Santa Maria,” traditions such as carnival, Tumba music, foods (aros brua), but also nature. (CM: 9). *Zonnig Nederlands* is a book for teaching Dutch language, with methods developed in 1954. These books are considered didactically completely outdated but are still being used in many lower schools due to the absence of a contemporary alternative, (Langelaan 1993). The books are out of circulation

and are not being reprinted. The majority of teachers at both schools use old samples or photocopies of these books. The second book that represents some aspects of Curaçao culture is *Fiesta di Idioma*, which I have discussed in the first section of this chapter. I have also explained that *Fiesta di Idioma* illustrates problematic representations of other cultures and people. Specifically *Zonnig Nederlands* is used in combination with *Taal Actief* because *Taal Actief* does not speak to the historicity of the pupils making it harder for teachers to get the material across. In the *Zonnig Nederlands* book the Curaçao people and culture is more elaborated on, for example with depictions of houses that are common on Curaçao, floating markets, Curaçaoan news and plantation houses, (CM: 29). Pupils learn about issues that are part of the lived reality on Curaçao and how to address them for example by referring to Kompa Nanzi.² “What did Kompa Nanzi say: We should make a better Curaçao an island without lazy people and thefts, breaking-ins, accidents, and where plants are protected and no goat, donkeys and pigs just walking around,” (CM: 29). The course content presents exercises with questions where the answers are already stated such as; “What can we help Curaçao with? No more spilling oils in Nature and oceans, no more trash in the woods.” Pupils are stimulated to think about their environment and how to help Curaçao. However, the cultural and natural norms and values that these stories try to promote are not analyzed or questioned. As I have mentioned before this is also the case with using the Bible as a teaching tool.

Critical thinking and the problem-posing method strive for a way of teaching that is dialogical and at the same time stimulates pupils to think ‘outside the box’ and learn from ‘uncomfortableness.’ Critical thinking entails a more reflexive attitude or way to approach circumstances around us. The materials I have analyzed such as *Zonnig Nederlands* refer, to the lived experiences and cultural perception of the pupils, something that Dutch textbooks fail to do. However, this is done in such a way that discourages critical thinking by asking pupils to simply repeat and memorize the materials. Meaning that pupils are limited in “learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and take action against the oppressive elements of reality, (Freire, 17). This issue also shows how limiting the representation is of Curaçao culture and heritage in the course contents that are available to pupils in primary education. As I have mentioned before teachers have influence on the framework in which learning in dialogue can take place. The RKC schoolboard has influence on the implementation

² Kompa Nanzi tells different tales of a spider. These stories are educational for children. They contain a combination of teaching and entertainment. They are a source of Not only do of myths and religion and explain some cultural and natural norms and values. The original Anansi stories originated in Ghana in West Africa.

of the Bible as a teaching tool in the educational areas “Philosophy of Life” and “Social-emotional Development.” No other material has been developed for teaching the courses these educational areas consist of. Approaches such as storytelling, learning from experience and quite- time present teachers with the possibility to encourage critical thinking. However, this is not stimulated or enforced by the course materials and content. In fact it depends on the teachers own way of relating to the world and the norms and values, whether they question the materials or not.

Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Throughout this study different teaching and learning practices in primary education were researched. The ways in which teaching and learning practices reproduce or interrupt coloniality were explored and several findings have come to light. In this chapter I will summarize these findings by answering the main and sub questions asked in this study; (1) in which ways is the reproduction of coloniality evident in the classroom, from the behavior of teachers, their interaction with pupils and the curricular materials, (2) in which ways is the interruption of coloniality evident in the classroom, from the behavior of the teachers, their interactions with pupils and the curricular materials, and (3) in which ways can the theoretical frameworks of decoloniality and intersectionality help to explain the reproduction of coloniality in primary education. I will dedicate the last section of this chapter to formulating short recommendations that can encourage implementation of teaching and learning practices that interrupt the reproduction of coloniality in primary education.

In this study, I aimed at identifying factors in teaching and learning that contribute to the “banking” model of education and practices that encourage critical thinking. I aimed at identifying the axes of identity on which mechanisms of exclusions and oppression are reproduced and/or interrupted. I have examined how oppressive regimes are constituted by implementing the concept of de-coloniality. In this way, I expanded on the educational debacle as formulated by Clemencia where she explores how a mindset is cultivated which limits pupils in showing social engagement and participate actively in society. I have categorized the findings under the following sections, (1) the reproduction of coloniality in behavior and interaction of pupils and teachers, (2) the reproduction of coloniality in curriculum and (3) the

reproduction of coloniality in educational content. I will first shortly, summarize these findings than I will elaborate on educational practices that interrupt coloniality categorized under the following sections; (1) the interruption of coloniality in behavior and interaction of pupils and teachers, (2) the interruption of coloniality in course content.

1. The reproduction of coloniality in the behavior and interaction of pupils and teachers

A few practices have been identified that relate to the banking concept of education. Participant observations made and semi-structured interviews that were conducted shed light on attitudes regarding (1) penalization and punishment, (2) the exclusion of pupils from contributing to content and curriculum, and (3) implementing teaching methods based on repetition and memorization of content. These attitudes correlate with the banking model and reproduce coloniality by approaching pupils as unknowledgeable and adaptable beings. The historicity and diverse backgrounds of the pupils are not incorporated in these practices of teaching. Knowledge is approached as unchangeable and singular concept. Pupils are not invited to be part of a learning community. In this way pupils learn to adapt and just be in the world instead of transforming and participating in the world. This attitude also contradicts fostering epistemic diversity and discourages the participation and accessibility of different actors in the process of knowledge production.

2. The reproduction of coloniality in educational structure and curriculum

I argued that three aspects in the structure of the curriculum can be linked to the reproduction of coloniality. Firstly, the division of the educational areas reproduces a dichotomous and hierarchal relationship between Papiamentu and Dutch. This is due to the instruction language assigned to each area. All the areas are taught in Dutch except those focusing on social skills and Philosophy of Life. This hierarchal relationship is reinforced by the fact that the courses in Papiamentu often lack course materials and the standardization of methodologies for teaching. For instance, the Bible is used as a course material and the methods to teach are developed by the teachers. This reproduces coloniality by marginalizing the Papiamentu language, thus excluding pupils from the production of scientific knowledge in their own language. Secondly, I have shown how a bilingual curriculum reproduces coloniality by restricting pupils in their educational progress. The many limitations that a bilingual curriculum presents limits pupils in obtaining a diversity of skills needed for further development. Thirdly, I have shown how

discrepancies between languages spoken at home and the instruction language at school contribute to upholding class differences and the devaluation of the Papiamentu language.

3. The reproduction of coloniality in educational content

Implementing the framework of decoloniality and intersectionality made it possible to analyze representations and discourses in course content that contribute to the modernity project and reproduces coloniality. I have described four elements that contribute to modernity. Firstly, the exhibition of differences present in the way the course modules are divided. By analyzing the intersection of ethnicity, race and class it has become clear that coloniality is reproduced through homogenization of different cultures and histories while representing diverse communities as underdeveloped, and primitive. Secondly, the course content represents the perspective of Dutch colonizers when it comes to the enslavement of people of African descent. Thirdly, it has become clear that course contents contain human rights discourses that contribute to modernity based on the intersections of ethnicity, race, and class. This reproduces the silencing of emancipation struggles and agency of the communities that are represented. Fourth, I elaborated on the dominant self-flattering representation (Wekker 2016) of Dutch history and daily cultural practices. This speaks to modernity in that it presents Dutch culture as a tool for progress regardless of the geo-political context in which pupils are taught. This reproduces coloniality by moving other cultures to the margins and devaluating Curaçaoan cultural practices as a source for gaining and producing knowledge. As I have shown, the specific situation and geo-political context of Curaçao, (cultural traditions, diversity of peoples, etc.) is underrepresented in the course materials.

1. The interruption of coloniality in the behavior and interaction of pupils and teachers

I have identified attitudes in teaching and learning that stimulate critical thinking. I have also explained how these practices can contribute to the interruption of coloniality.

(1). Firstly, I have identified practices such as story-telling as practices that stimulate learning and teaching in dialogue. This method approaches pupil and teacher interaction as non-hierarchical dialogue and stimulates the production of knowledge as a collective process. This method reinforces the idea that knowledge is transformative, changeable and that pupils have

valuable input to share. Coloniality is contested through this because pupils learn to take responsibility and be part of a learning community.

(2). Secondly, teachers have shown different ways of situating knowledge within a historical context by emphasizing teaching strategies that stimulate pupils to use what they have learned in and outside of school context. Teachers showed how they explain big concepts such as racism by letting pupils share how they experience racism and how this relates to racism as it was present in colonial times. These strategies encourage self-questioning of what pupils know and what is taught. This interrupts coloniality by motivating pupils to use their experience as a valuable source of knowledge and learn from the diverse perspectives that are equally valuable.

(3). Thirdly, teachers have shared the effectiveness of implementing diverse teaching methods and tools such as music, poetry, dramatization, technology and materials pupils can engage physically with. Teachers create an active learning community where experimentation and different ways of accessing knowledge are encouraged. This interrupts coloniality by focusing on the diversity of pupils, and diversity of ways to gain and reproduce knowledge which are equally valued in the classroom.

(4). I have coded attitudes in teaching that incorporate the pupil's background in teaching. Teachers incorporated the "quite-time" method to address the influence that pupil's home situation or behavioral problems have on their educational progress. This attitude implemented in teaching reinforces the idea that the pupils background is essential for teaching. These methods can encourage the interruption of coloniality by emphasizing that the pupil's identity and specific background is important for their education.

(5). Teachers are open to pupils influencing content and curriculum. However, a concrete realization of this attitude has not been identified. When it comes to the pupils, they have voiced their opinions on what to improve and what they would like to contribute to in terms of content and curriculum. This attitude shows that pupils feel they have valuable input and opinions to share and contribute to their own education. This can encourage pupils to take responsibility in their education and stimulate engagement in their community. In turn these attitudes can interrupt coloniality by motivating pupils to take on an active role instead of adapting to the world around them.

2. The interruption of coloniality in educational content

The only course material that I have identified as contributing to the interruption of coloniality is *Zonnig Nederlands*. I have to add that this book also contains methods that do not encourage critical thinking. This book speaks to the historicity of the pupils which is an essential contribution according to the teachers using this method. Curaçaoan cultural practices and daily lived reality is represented in these books. In this way coloniality is interrupted to a certain extent by teaching pupils that their environment, culture and lives can form a useful source of knowledge. However, these books and the majority of stencils used in primary education are extremely outdated and in need for replacement.

5.2 CONCLUSION

The theoretical frameworks of decoloniality and intersectionality help to explain the reproduction of coloniality in two primary school classes. The combination of decoloniality and the concept of intersectionality has proven to be a useful framework that sheds light on ways in which oppression and discrimination take place in learning and teaching practices by identifying the various axes of identity that inform the experiences of faculty/staff members and pupils of Bellefaas Martis and Rosa de Lima College. Through this framework the exclusionary mechanisms present in primary education are unraveled and connected to the long history of colonialism on which these exclusionary mechanisms are grounded. In this way, we learn which axes of identity play a role, in the continuous and invisible reproduction of mechanisms of exclusion resulting in the silencing and marginalization of different cultures, peoples, histories, stories, narratives, and knowledges. Through this framework we can start to give voice to the silenced stories and identify which areas in primary education can be improved to contribute to an education that is inclusive and socially just.

Throughout this study data has been collected at two different primary schools, with two pupil groups between the ages of eight and ten. There are different ways in which coloniality is evident in the content of the course materials, and how the material is taught. Coloniality is evident from the interaction of pupils and teachers and their behavior in the classroom, by the hierarchal student-teacher relationship that is reinforced. This is reinforced by attitudes toward penalization and punishment, exclusion of pupil contribution to curriculum and teaching methods emphasizing repetition and memorization. Coloniality is evident in the content of the

course materials by how differences among people are exhibited which is in contrast with the dominant self-flattering of Dutch culture and the Euro-centric character of the knowledge that is produced. Coloniality is evident in the composition of curriculum by how the Papiamentu language is pushed to the margins of what is considered valuable for the production of knowledge. Methodological tools and books in Papiamentu are not available or extremely outdated. Coloniality is interrupted through the implantation of educational practices that encourage teaching in dialogical, practices that take into account the historicity of pupils and encourage pupils to contribute to curricular content. These practices motivate pupils to be part of a community, take on responsibility, learn from different perspectives and approach knowledge not as something to adapt to but as transformative and changeable.

It is important to take into account that all the practices that interrupt or reproduce coloniality influence each other and are always in connection. What has become evident is that the course materials present the most evidence that coloniality is reproduced and that content of the course materials limits the teachers in their work. At the same time there are some practices that teachers implement that contribute to the interruption of coloniality. Finally, both schools present the same issues relating to the reproduction of coloniality. In the following paragraph, I will focus on recommendations that can improve and contribute to a more socially just education.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

These recommendations focus on the further development of the expertise that is already present in both schools. The recommendations focus on the interruption of coloniality by implementing methods that encourage and enhance pupil participation and critical thinking. The importance of this lies in teaching pupils to not just adapt but transform their environment as active actors and through this process developing the tools needed for self-actualization and social involvement. These recommendations also relate to areas that need further research in primary education.

(1) Encouraging critical thinking

- Investing in educational practices that stimulate critical thinking that are already

working in primary schools by making it easier for teachers to incorporate these practices in their teaching. An example is offering trainings to further perfect the ‘quite-time’ method.

- Investing in materials for teachers to learn about critical thinking and building an active learning community.
- Investing in more comfortable classrooms, by putting in air-conditioners. Physically being in a comfortable environment is essential for the educational progress of pupils.
- Addressing effects of ‘aid’ on the community of Curaçao. Pupils learn about ways to help the community and how they can be part of this.
- Developing activities that pupils can do in order to learn about impacts made in the community.
- Investing in a teacher training that emphasizes the development of tools for critical thinking.

(2) Diversifying course materials and content

- Investing in materials that take into account the Curaçao culture and heritage. Sharing stories of national heroes, historic events and accomplishments of Curaçao. For instance, by learning about histories of people of African descent prior to colonialism, or hearing other voices by letting pupils tell historic events in their own way or having speakers from the community who are doing great work to come and talk to the pupils.
- Investing in positive representations in textbooks of different cultures, peoples, ethnicities, genders and other axes of identity. In addition, investing in representation of a gender diverse composition of faculty and staff members.

- Investing in workshops and trainings for teachers where they can learn about decoloniality and intersectionality and how to analyze course content.
- Making other course materials and media available like film, theatre or music that tell different stories. This is also a way to offer teachers more course materials to work with that are free.
- Investing in course materials that are up to date and in Papiamentu. Many educational areas still do not have books. Or invest in stencils that hands teachers the tools to develop teaching methods based on critical thinking or the problem-posing model.

(3) Addressing limitations of curriculum

- Moving from two bilingual instruction languages toward language electives.
- Investing in the development of the national language on a scientific level.
- Encouraging pupil input in educational process by letting them voice their opinions on improvements for the school and curriculum.
- Opening curriculum to different perspectives, not only European textbooks and stencils.
- Standardization of educational guidelines and methods for teachers in primary education.
- Incorporate exercises in the curriculum that focus on connecting body and mind, how to take care of the environment around us and how it takes care of us.
- Investing in the standardization of sports and the arts in schools so that these courses

cannot be cut.

- Working together with cultural organizations to provide course materials or cross-cultural projects pupils can benefit from. In this way pupils can get interested in arts and culture or even have job prospects.

These recommendations can also be implemented in pre- and after-school care, educational programmes offered by cultural organizations, foundations, scouting or in collaborations with local and community based initiatives on Curaçao.

Further research

Further research should focus on the development of Papiamentu course materials and the ways in which this influences the educational development of pupils in primary education. Further research should also focus on the role of parents in the educational system. This has not been highlighted in this study but nonetheless has proven to play a significant role in the educational progress of pupils. I have mentioned how important the role of teachers is due to the gap between course content and the perceptual experience of pupil. Thus, focusing how to train teachers who know how to stimulate critical thinking and educational practices that take the historicity of pupils into account is essential. The next important step we need to take is toward an analysis of stories we tell and how they teach us about different axes of identity such as gender, class and race. I also believe that further research is important in the field of language and how it relates to student-teacher relationships.

Appendix (on request)

TABLE OF CONTENT³

1.	Curricular schedule and educational areas.....	3
2.	List of analyzed curricular materials	4
3.	List of conducted interviews.....	6
4.	Coding matrix.....	7
5.	Documentation of participant observations.....	9
	A. Bellefaas Martis.....	9
	B. St. Rosa de Lima College.....	14
6.	Documentation of course materials and content.....	21
7.	Bibliography course materials.....	31
8.	Semi-structured interview questions.....	32
9.	Semi-structured interview transcripts.....	34
	A. Pupil interview transcripts.....	34
	B. Faculty interview transcripts.....	47

³ Appendix will be distributed on request.

Bibliography

Allen, R. M. 2010. "The Complexity of National Identity Construction in Curaçao, Dutch Caribbean," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 89: 117-125.

Apple, Michael W. 1979. *Ideology and Curriculum*. London: Routledge.

Barnett, S.M. and Ceci, S.J. 2002. "When and where do we apply what we learn? A taxonomy for far transfer," *Psychological Bulletin*, 128 (4): 612–637.

bell hooks Institute Berea College. "About." *bell hooks Institute*. Accessed June 5, 2017
<http://www.bellhooksinstitute.com/#/about/>

belle hooks. "Postmodern Blackness." 1990. Accessed June 5, 2017
http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Postmodern_Blackness_18270.html

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Jean-Claude Passeron. 1990. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. 2nd ed. London: Sage Ltd.

Césaire, A. 2000. *Discourse on Colonialism*. Césaire, Aimé. Discourse on Colonialism. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Clemencia, J. 1999. "Language is More Than Language in the Development of Curaçao." In *Education for all in the Caribbean: assessment 2000 monograph*, edited by Lynda Quamina-Aiyejina. Trinidad: F.A.S.T.E.R. Publishing Services.

College of the Holy Cross. 2017. "Sociology and Anthropology," *College of the Holy Cross*, Accessed August 7, 2017 <http://www.holycross.edu/academics/programs/sociology-and-anthropology/faculty/melissa-f-weiner>

Commissie Democratisering & Decentralisering UvA. 2017. "About us," *CommissieDD* Accessed July 11, 2017 <http://commissiedd.nl/about-us/>

Crenshaw, K. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review*, 43 (6): 1241-1279.

Cultuurschakel. "Kompa Nanzi," *Cultuurschakel* Accessed August 10, 2017
<https://cultuurschakel.nl/cultuuronderwijs/cultureel-aanbod/regulier-aanbod/kompa-nanzi>

- Dijkhoff, M. & Pereira, J. 2010. "Language and Education in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao." In *Creoles in Education: an Appraisal of Current Programs and Projects*, edited by Bettina Migge, Isabelle Leglise & Angela Bartens. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Diversity Commission, Wekker, G., Slooman, M., Icaza, R., Jansen, H. & Vazquez, R. 2016. "Let's Do Diversity: Report of the University of Amsterdam."
- Dussel, E. 1995. *The Invention of the Americas*. New York: Continuum.
- Dussel, E. 2008b. "A New Age in the History of Philosophy: The World Dialogue Between Philosophical Traditions," *Prajñā Vihāra: Journal of Philosophy and Religion*, 9, (1): 1-21.
- Duyvendak, J. Geschiere, P. & Tonkens, E. *The Culturalization of Citizenship: Belonging and Polarization in a Globalizing World*. London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd.
- Elder, L. and Paul, R. "Universal Intellectual Standards," *The Critical Thinking Community* Accessed on August 17, 2017 <http://www.criticalthinking.org/pages/universal-intellectual-standards/527>
- Escobar, A. 2004. "Beyond the Third World: Imperial Globality, Global Coloniality and Anti-Globalization Social Movements," *Third World Quarterly*, 25 (1): 207.
- Freire, P. 1973. *Education for Critical Consciousness*. New York: Seabury.
- Freire, P. 1996. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. London: Penguin Books.
- Gobièrnu di Kòrsou. "Skolnan Publiko." *Dienst Openbara Scholen*, 2013. Accessed May 6, 2017. <http://www.gobiernu.cw/web/site.nsf/web/4B459A6D4259A8F304257943004A31DD?OpenDocument>
- Gobièrnu di Kòrsou. 2010-2013. "Minister Interino di Enseñansa, Siensia, Kultura i Deporte a risibí dos buki pa Enseñansa di Fundeshi di FPI," *Gobièrnu di Kòrsou* Accessed July 11, 2017 <http://www.gobiernu.cw/web/site.nsf/web/9CC794FB355CE30804257C37004E94DC?opendocument>
- Grosfoguel, R. 2007. "The Epistemic Decolonial Turn: Beyond Political-Economic Paradigms," *Cultural Studies*, 21 (2-3): 214.
- Grosfoguel, R. 2013. "The Structure of Knowledge in Westernized Universities Epistemic Racism/Sexism and the Four Genocides/Epistemicides of the Long 16th Century," *Human architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*, 11 (1): 73-90.

Haraway, D. 1988. "Situated Knowledges: the Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies*, 14 (3): 575-99.

hooks, b. 1994. *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York: Routledge.

hooks, b. 2010. *Teaching Critical Thinking: Practical Wisdom*. New York: Routledge.

<https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/1993/06/24/zonnig-nederlands-10443593-a1371622>

Kavita. 2017. "Curaçaoese school leert leerlingen over verschillende rassen op merkwaardige manier," *Fun X* Accessed August 7, 2017 <http://www.funx.nl/news/omg/31754-school-op-Curaçao-leert-gekleurde-kinderen-dat-ze-minder-waard-zijn>

Langelaan. M. 1993. "Zonnig Nederlands," *NRC* Accessed July 11, 2017

Levana. "Pedagogy of the Oppressed – What is it and Why is it Still Relevant." *Practicing Freedom*, 2011. Accessed June 5, 2017 <http://www.practicingfreedom.org/pedagogy-of-the-oppressed-what-is-it-and-why-its-still-relevant/>

Macedo, Donaldo. 2006. *Literacies of Power: What Americans Are Not Allowed to Know*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Mack, N., Woodsong, C., MacQueen, M. K., Guest, G. & Namey, E. 2005. *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide*. United States: Family Health International

Maldonado-Torres, N. 2011. "Thinking Through the Decolonial Turn: Post-Continental Interventions in Theory, Philosophy, and Critique- An introduction," *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of Luso-Hispanic World*, 1 (2): 1-15.

Mayblin, L. "Modernity/Coloniality." *Global Social Theory*. Accessed May 3, 2017.

<https://globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/colonialitymodernity/>

Mignolo, W. D. 2007. "Introduction: Coloniality of Power and De-colonial Thinking," *Cultural Studies*, 21 (2-3): 159.

Mignolo, W. D. 2008. "Delinking," *Cultural Studies*, 21 (2): 449 – 514.

Mignolo, W. D. 2011. *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books.

Nationaal Instituut Nederlands Slavernijverleden en Erfenis. "Joceline Clemencia Overleden." 2011.

Accessed June 5, 2017 <https://www.ninsee.nl/news/Joceline-Clemencia-overleden>

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, J. S. 2013. "Why Decoloniality in the 21st Century?," *The Thinker for Thought Leaders*, 48: 10-15.

Nimako, K. and Willemsen, G. 2011. *The Dutch Atlantic: Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation*. London: Pluto Press.

Prins-Winkel, A. C. 1955. "The Language Problem in Antillean Education," *Christoffel*, 1 (2): 68-78.

Quijano, A. 2000. "Modernidad, colonialidad y America Latina," *Nepantla: Views from South*, 1 (3): 533-580. Shor, I. 1992. *Empowering Education: Critical Teaching for Social Change*. United States: The University of Chicago Press.

Rosalia, R. 2001. "Rumbo pa independensia mental: "Konosé bo historia i kultura pa bo konosé bo mes" : "plan di maneho i akshon di kultura pa Kòrsou Kòrsou". Willemstad, Curaçao: s.n.

Stichting R.K. Centraal Schoolbestuur Curaçao. "Oprichting." *RKCS*. Accessed May 3, 2017. <http://www.rkcs.org/index.php?pageid=op>

The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. "Bell Hooks." *Encyclopedia Britannica Inc*, 2017. Accessed June 5, 2017 <https://www.britannica.com/biography/bell-hooks>

The New Observer. "Review of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed." *The New Observer: Critical Theory in the Tradition of Foucault and Ullich*. 2012. Accessed June 5, 2017 <http://thenewobserver.co.uk/review-of-paulo-freires-pedagogy-of-the-oppressed-2/>

Trochim, M. K. W. "Selecting the Survey Method." *Research Methods Knowledge Base*. 2006. Accessed June 28, 2017 <https://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/survsel.php>

United Nations Population Fund. "About UNFPA Caribbean." Accessed June 4, 2017. <http://caribbean.unfpa.org/en/about-unpfa-caribbean>

Vedder, P. H. & Kook, H. 1993. "Early Childhood Care and Education in Curacao," *International Journal of Early Years Education*, 3 (1): 29-34.

Vereniging voor Protestants Christelijk Onderwijs op Curaçao. "De Scholen." 2017. Accessed May 6, 2017. http://www.vpco.org/?page_id=10

Weiner, F. M. 2014. "(E)racing slavery: Racial Neoliberalism, Social Forgetting, and Scientific Colonialism in Dutch Primary School History Textbooks," *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research*

on Race, 11 (2): 329-351.

Weiner, F. M. 2016. "Colonized Curriculum: Racializing Discourses of Africa and Africans in Dutch Primary School History Textbooks," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*: 1-16.

Wekker, Gloria. 2016. *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.