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WORK AND EDUCATION IN THE KNS TEXTBOOKS OF THE "NEW STYLE" *INBURGERING* PROGRAMME:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSES USED TO CONSTRUCT THE EDUCATIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL
PROGRESSION OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS.

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I dearly thank my mother, Marigula, for her unconditional faith and support. Also my grandfather, for his life has been an inspiration of perseverance for me. I thank Prof. Dr. Gloria Wekker for her guidance and wise words. And last, but not least, I dearly thank Martijn, for holding my hand in those stormy days...

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

From where I stand

In the summer of 2009, I came across the *Inburgering* programme for the first time. I was following a course of semiotics in audiovisual texts in the University of Utrecht, and one of our assignments brought us face to face with one of the films used to introduce Dutch cultural practices to individuals migrating to the Netherlands in the context of the *Inburgering* programme. My first impression incited me, six months later, after moving to the Netherlands, to voluntarily follow the programme¹. It was then when I started encountering in the textbooks we used, a variety of cultural representations of the immigrant Body² -particularly that from developing countries- which contradicted my own experience while growing up as a third-generation migrant in Cuba, granddaughter to working-class immigrants.

I am a white half-Greek, half-Cuban woman, born and raised in Havana. As a daughter and granddaughter of immigrants, I grew to feel amused and amazed by the fact that each generation in my family was born in a different land from the next generation and spoke one extra language different from that spoken by the next generation, with Greek being the only common language for at least the last four generations. My mother was the first one to attend and graduate from university in a long working-class family line which experienced many wars -among them, World War II and later the Greek Civil War- and the difficulties of exile.

Years of feminist practice, particularly after the input given by standpoint feminism, have taught us about the influence our experiences, our particular lives and our social position have on the manner that we experience and verbalize reality (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2007, pp. 77-78). Our particular positioning in a specific environment at a specific historical moment will greatly inform how we come to experience and how

1 I was assigned to one of the schools offering this programme to highly educated individuals, and from January of 2010 until September of the same year I came to experience the *Inburgering* programme in my own flesh as well as a researcher.

2 I use Body in this context as a non dichotomous entity in which mind and flesh are forever interconnected, forever influencing and dependent of each other. I intend to avoid the Cartesian tradition which splits body and mind and establishes a hierarchy between them, privileging the mind over the body and the emotional realm (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2007, p. 6).

we come to relate with those around us. In my case it is no different. I felt drawn to explore in this research one of the components of the *Inburgering* programme³ in the Netherlands for a variety of reasons. Some are more personal while some others are rooted in my interest as a researcher, in the crossing point where feminist research and representation theory meet each other.

The present research has been inspired in the position that feminist postmodernism defends regarding the necessity to critically approach those narratives about reality which are traditionally taken as neutral and objective, in order to uncover the power relations reinforcing them (Idem, p. 88). This research emphasizes also the inter-relation and co-dependance -among other axes of signification- of cultural and/or ethnic origin, gender and class (Wekker, 2009, p. 102). Foucault's theory that all produced knowledge is imbedded in particular networks of shifting power relations (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2007, p. 89) has been crucial to establish a theoretical framework from which to question how the particular body of knowledge produced by the *Inburgering* program is affected by and/or (re)produces specific power relations.

In my research I will be specifically approaching the field of education and work progression as presented to newcomers in seven textbooks used in the *Inburgering* programme. I will be working with key concepts on education introduced by Paulo Freire, bell hooks, and Pierre Bourdieu. The notion of *abjection* as defined by Julia Kristeva will be crucial to explore the nature of particular jobs used in these textbooks to introduce newcomers to their future positioning in the Dutch labour market. Sandra Harding's work on how colonial representations permeate the manner in which immigrants from developing countries are envisioned by the developed West, will be critical to look into the link these textbooks establish between what counts as (il)legitimate knowledge and newcomers from developing countries.

In order to trace in these textbooks those cultural representations which might reinforce gender and ethnic stereotypes detrimental for the successful integration of non-Dutch newcomers in the Netherlands, I have come to perform a discourse analysis of the texts and a visual analysis of the pictures used in those sections where narratives establish a more evident link between knowledge and immigrant Bodies, specifically in the fields of work and education.

Assimilationist migrant policies on integration in the Netherlands

When addressing integration processes of migrants from developing countries in the developed countries of the West, Vani K. Borooah and John Mangan (2009) define two main tendencies. They assert that

³ The integration program third-country immigrants are requested to complete in order to legally remain in the Netherlands.

developed countries of the West tend to position themselves somewhere between an assimilationist and an integrationist migrant policy on integration. According to the authors,

“Integration provides for the coexistence of minority cultures with the majority culture. Assimilation requires the absorption of minority cultures into the majority culture. In simplistic terms the aim of assimilation is a monocultural, perhaps even monofaith society; the aim of integration is a multicultural, pluralist society.” (2009, p. 34)

Since the present research aims to analyze didactic material currently being used on the *Inburgering* programme, I consider it essential to briefly explore which is the current position of the Netherlands regarding the integration of migrants from developing countries in Dutch society. Has such position become evident in these textbooks?

The Netherlands has been since long historically linked to migration. Until the 19th century it was essentially an immigrant nation although -as metropolis- it also provided a constant source of emigration towards its colonies. The 19th century and the first fifty years of the 20th century posed the Netherlands predominantly as a source of migration. The post-World War II period and the independence of the former colonies came to change the direction of migration movements again, transforming the Netherlands from source of migration to destination (Penninx, 2005, p. 37).

But, since when are *integration policies* present in the public and political debate in the Netherlands? Rinus Penninx (2005) and Peter Scholten (2011) assert that there has been a major change -almost per decade- in the discourse on integration policies in the Netherlands, starting from the 1970's. It means that it is impossible to speak about “one” Dutch integration policy which has remained coherent along the years.

From 1945 and until mid 70's the Netherlands attracted a large variety of immigrants. Among them, were repatriates from the decolonized Dutch Indies⁴ and Surinam, refugees and asylum seekers, and temporary (guest) immigrant workers -*gastarbeiders*- attracted to cover for the lack of labour force in a quickly growing Dutch industry⁵. Refugees and post-colonial migrants were particularly highly educated (Lucassen and Lucassen, 2011, pp. 104-147). Nevertheless, this period didn't conceive a structured and cohesive integration policy for such a variety of non-Dutch newcomers. Public authorities were refusing to see the Netherlands as a country of immigration (Scholten, 2011, pp. 80-81).

4 Including Dutch, Indonesians and Moluccans.

5 In that period the public authorities constantly dwelt between the fear of an overpopulated Netherlands, the responsibility of the Netherlands towards the repatriates of its former colonies, and the evident necessity of labour force in the increasingly developing Dutch labour market (Lucassen and Lucassen, 2011, pp. 104-147).

In the 80's the term 'temporary' changes into 'long term' to address the post-World War II migration to the Netherlands. Therefore this decade saw a minority policy being developed. That particular policy invested on improving the social-cultural position of immigrants and their families in order to improve their social-economic position. It promoted the idea of a mutual adaptation in a country defined as multicultural (Idem, p. 81). Nevertheless programs to improve the teaching of Dutch to non-Dutch (new)comers were still not coherently developed by public authorities and the government (Lucassen and Lucassen, 2011, pp. 62-100). In the 90's, the minority policy was reframed into the integration policy. Active citizenship was requested from immigrants residing in the Netherlands -*allochtonen*- and emphasis was given into improving their social-economic position in order to improve their social-cultural position in the country, as to protect the Dutch welfare system. The year 2000 saw a major shift into a clearly more assimilationist integration policy: the 'New Style' integration policy in which a great emphasis is given to the necessity of promoting a common citizenship. *Allochtonen* are requested to adapt to the Dutch norms and erase as much as possible their dissonances with them in order to promote social cohesion and preserve the Dutch national identity. (Scholten, 2011, pp. 81-83)

The *Inburgering* programme

This particular research focuses on the *Inburgering*⁶ programme which is a part of the “New Style” integration policy in the Netherlands. In April 2007 the *Inburgering* law is introduced. The law establishes the mandatory character of the *Inburgering* programme for third-country immigrants coming to the Netherlands. In order to legally remain in the country, third-country immigrants need not only to follow the *Inburgering* programme, but they also need to successfully pass the *Inburgering* exam⁷.

The textbooks currently used to follow the *Inburgering* programme are constructed around the format of the *Inburgering* exam as crafted by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. The examination is divided in two sections: an electronic exam also divided in three sections and a spoken exam which involves discussing, with a jury, a portfolio created by the *inburgeraars* following the program including a number of

6 I will be using the term *Inburgering* instead of translating it into *Integration* for two reasons: the term *Integration* exists also in Dutch and it refers to a wider set of practices to (re)integrate individuals, not necessarily immigrants, in the Dutch society. The term *Inburgering*, not only refers exclusively to practices involving the integration of immigrants in the Dutch society, but in my opinion, it reflects better the assimilationist tendency of the current integration policy since, translated into English, it carries an amalgam of meanings being *habituation*, *adoption*, *becoming a citizen*, among them.

7 Until 2011 this program received subvention from the State. On June 17 a motion to change the *Inburgering* law was presented by the Council of Ministries. According to this motion third-country immigrants who are by law bound to follow the course and pass the examination will need to cover all the expenses by themselves. Only individuals in a precarious economic situation will be eligible to request a special loan. More information on this matter is available in <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/inburgering/documenten-en-publicaties/persberichten/2011/06/17/eigen-verantwoordelijkheid-en-sociaal-leenstelsel-bij-inburgering.html> (last accessed 22.06.2011).

written proofs testifying that they have spoken about specific everyday life's situations with, preferably, Dutch individuals.

The electronic exam is formed by three individual exams. One of them aims to test the knowledge acquired by *inburgeraars* which allows them to deal with practical situations in everyday life. The second one, known as KNS⁸, introduces *inburgeraars* into the history and geography of the Netherlands. It also emphasizes, among others, Dutch practices on education and upbringing, and on work and income.⁹ The last exam aims to test the capacity of the *inburgeraar* to comprehend and produce oral speech in the Dutch language. Of the three exams, the last one is more centered in developing language skills.

This research is centered exclusively on critically approaching the textbooks used for the KNS section. I have particularly selected it because it is the most clearly centered on (re)producing and presenting specific Dutch behavioural models, practices, and cultural representations to be adopted by the *inburgeraar*.

Seven KNS textbooks: selection criteria

The present research has taken as an object of study seven textbooks specifically orientated to prepare the *inburgeraar* for the KNS section of the *Inburgering* exam. The textbooks in question are:

“Kom verder!”, by Ad Bakker (2006), “Nederland in zicht”, by Ad Bakker (2008), “Bagage”, by Nelleke Koot (2009), “Kleurrijker KNS”, Kleurrijker group, (KNS module as conformed in 2010), “Nieuwe Start KNS”, by Britt Westerneng and Merel Louter (2010), “Wegwijzer”, by Jenny van der Toorn-Schutte (2010) and “Welkom in Nederland”, by Marilene Gathier (2010). In the Appendix section the reader will find a brief description of the basic features of each textbook.

One of the most important criteria to select my object of study has been their publication date. The textbooks I intended to critically approach should not be older than 5 years. Behaviours, practices and cultural representations are not fixed. They refer to particular geographies and particular historical moments. It was therefore pertinent to have them reflecting the behaviours, practices and cultural representations of this particular period in the Netherlands, particularly after the implementation of the *Inburgering* law.

The second criterion to select my object of study was the target group of the textbooks in question. The majority of the KNS textbooks tend to define as their target group *inburgeraars* in the range of low to middle

⁸ Kennis van de Nederlandse Samenleving, or Knowledge of the Dutch Society.

⁹<http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten-en-publicaties/vragen-en-antwoorden/hoe-ziet-het-basisexamen-inburgering-eruit.html> (last accessed 06.07.2011).

educated. Thus I also included in my research a KNS textbook that exclusively addresses low-educated individuals and one KNS textbook exclusively addressing high-educated individuals.

A third criterion was their format. They needed to be self-sufficient textbooks or learning methods in printed format. Those methods available only through an activation code, online, fell out of my object of study. While developing my research, I was not able to find an official or structured database available for researchers including all the didactic material for the *Inburgering* programme currently in the market. The web page of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science¹⁰ does not mention any preferred didactic material for the *Inburgering* exam. The Dutch State's official web page includes as only reference to didactic methods for the *Inburgering* program, a link to “Naar Nederland”¹¹. This fact has influenced my selection. On researching the titles which I would use as my main object of study, an important reference was the research developed in 2009 by CINOP¹². In that research, a large number of the currently existing self-taught methods used in the context of the *Inburgering* programme are named and described.

Structure and objectives

The present research focuses on exploring the ways in which educational and professional trajectories of non-Dutch (new)comers are discursively fabricated in the KNS textbooks used in the context of the *Inburgering* programme. I have engaged into finding out how is the immigrant's Body discursively fabricated in the textbooks upon which I have based my study. Is it posited as a knowing Body, possessor of a valuable cultural and scientific capital¹³? Or is it constructed otherwise? I give particular emphasis to the roles that gender, ethnicity and class have in such discourses. This research approaches critically its objects of study not with the intent to negate their social relevance in bridging the life experience of non-Dutch (new)comers and the Dutch society, but with the intent to draw attention to those cultural representations of immigrants from developing countries, often assumed as *natural* even when they are, in fact, socially determined. The present thesis will focus on those representations. Due to the evident space limitations, I will not address other features of the *Inburgering* programme. Those, together with the use of the KNS textbooks, form a very complex experience which cannot and should not be explained in 'black and white' terms.

¹⁰http://www.inburgeren.nl/inburgeraar/examen/inburgeringsexamen/centrale_examens/centrale_examens.asp (last accessed 06.07.2011).

¹¹<http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten-en-publicaties/vragen-en-antwoorden/hoe-ziet-het-basisexamen-inburgering-eruit.html> (last accessed 06.07.2011). This didactic method is designed for the a special format of the *pre-Inburgering* program which *inburgeraars* follow in their country of origin before coming to the Netherlands. More information about it can be found in <http://www.naarnederland.nl/het-examen> (last accessed 06.07.2011).

¹²<http://cinop.brengtlerentotleven.nl/> (last accessed 06.07.2011).

¹³ In chapter three, I will further approach these notions as defined by Pierre Bourdieu.

My own experience as an *inburgeraar* is charged with such complexities. The present research tries not to break down the project of the *Inburgering* programme. It rather aims to assert that changes need still to be made in order to truly empower non-Dutch (new)comers' lives in the Netherlands, for the benefit of all.

The present thesis is formed by five chapters. The second chapter explores how *Dutchness* is fabricated in the seven analyzed KNS textbooks around the notions of multiculturalism, emancipation and work ethos. The third chapter focuses on how the educational trajectory of non-Dutch (new)comers is discursively fabricated while pointing out some of the consequences of such discourses. The fourth chapter looks into the discursive construction of the professional trajectory of non-Dutch (new)comers and its consequences. Closing up, the fifth chapter will introduce the general conclusions of the present research. I kindly invite you then to embark with me on this *voyage*.

CHAPTER 2
OER-HOLLANDER MEANS...

In our lives we have been all engaged in negotiating with the myths involving our cultural and/or ethnic heritages. To be Cuban, or Greek, or Dutch it is always to be inscribed in a web of myths that attribute to all those sharing the same nationality and/or ethnicity a number of common cultural characteristics. But what we often take as a rigid set of unifying cultural characteristics related to our ethnic heritage which we might think define us or others in difference, is often constructed through specific discourse(s). Such unifying characteristics that are exclusively based on the cultural and/or ethnic heritage of a specific population tend to disregard the impact of gender, class, age and religion -among others- in forming identities. Roland Barthes elucidates in his work regarding *myth*, how discourses establishing sets of unifying cultural characteristics related to an ethnic heritage, are presented to us as something natural. He asserts that they often try hard to hide the fact that they are ideologically and historically constructed to answer specific needs of a specific segment of a culture and that they are not free of -among others- gender and class biases (1957).

In this chapter, I will be taking Barthes' premise as a starting point in my quest for tracing in which terms *Dutchness* has been constructed in the KNS textbooks on which this study is based. In order to do so, I will explore particularly how multiculturalism, emancipation and work ethos are discursively fabricated and linked to the Netherlands. I will argue that the manner in which *Dutchness* is associated with these three elements in the seven textbooks, tend to reinforce the *myth* which associates *Dutchness* with tolerance and social fairness. Because of the space limitations entailed in exploring this matter in only one chapter, I have focused my analysis only on three thematic chapters¹⁴ common to all the seven selected textbooks. However, before entering into that section of my analysis, I will briefly comment on the pedagogical format chosen for these textbooks and how such a choice envisions or fabricates the *inburgeraar*.

The positivist paradigm

A common characteristic of the KNS textbooks is the informative tone that is used to construct the discourse which fixes how *Dutchness* and *non-Dutchness* should be understood by the *inburgeraars*. This is

¹⁴ “Relating with Dutch people/What Dutch people consider important”, “Education and Upbringing”, “Work and Income”.

an important choice. By using an informative/factual tone to bring forward a specific perspective, the perspective in question is presented -and often assumed- as a fact. Its partial nature is disguised. The textbooks are presented as a collection of unmistakable truths and facts where the voice(s) of the authors are explicitly not discernible. Typically, their format is that of a manual. These characteristics are even more accentuated in textbooks like “Bagage” and “Nederland in zicht”, where a recurrent use of very simplified statistical charts or quotes from the Constitution are often invoked to confirm the 'objective' truthfulness of a specific given statement. When using the statistic charts, often the texts fail to contextualize the statistical study in itself. Years of feminist research have by now made evident that even statistical researches are not value free, even though they are often used as the ultimate tool to make pure -if that is even possible- objectivity evident (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2007).

This set of choices seems to answer to a positivist paradigm, where facts are believed to be objectively revealed when the particular subjectivity and positioning of the author is rendered invisible. Feminist research has long critically addressed this paradigm by demonstrating that its dominance,

“(…) [stems] not from its objectivity or its universality, but from its privileged location within a historical, material, and social set of patriarchal power relations.” (Idem. p. 7).

This specific paradigm does not easily open space for a constructive dialogue between the knowledge that it produces and the target group whom it addresses. It departs from the assumption that its produced knowledge is indisputable and therefore it departs from silencing those whom it aims to reach. Considering that these KNS textbooks are methodological tools conceived to educate newcomers into new behavioural models, it is important to remember that they belong to a pedagogical system which is by no means free of hierarchic relations in which culture and/or ethnicity and gender play a fundamental role. I am inclined to consider Paulo Freire's thoughts in his “Pedagogy of the Oppressed” regarding the nature and consequences of an educational system or pedagogical tool, which envisions its target group as objects or depositories in which knowledge should be deposited by those educating them. Freire makes evident that such a position constructs the target group as docile, passive, a target group which does not interact with the deposited knowledge. The target group is therefore robbed out of its subjectivity and voice. It is envisioned as hierarchically inferior to those educating it. This, in his account, is a fundamental tool that guarantees its social oppression (1996).

Multiculturalism

The Netherlands enjoys for centuries the reputation of being inclined towards religious and cultural tolerance (Van Ginkel, 1997, p. 18). Simon Shama asserts that in the 17th century,

“Amsterdam had flourished. This was no more than her due, since she had from the first opened her gates wide to shelter the persecuted and oppressed of neighboring states.” (1988, p. 29).

In this case, the multiplicity of cultures inhabiting the Netherlands and the freedom and respect the country offered to them not only would establish the country as an humanitarian and civil one, but it would also revert on the enrichment of the Netherlands itself. It seems therefore that since then, asserting that the Netherlands is a multicultural country implies, in the shared cultural representations of Dutch as well as non-Dutch individuals, asserting that the Netherlands is still, a country of religious and cultural tolerance.

One of the recurrent statements present in all the seven textbooks in question, poses as one of the main characteristics of the Netherlands its multiculturalism. It is said for example that,

“[i]n de hoofdstad Amsterdam wonen ongeveer 750.000 mensen. Het is de grootste stad van Nederland. In die stad wonen mensen van wel 175 verschillende nationaliteiten.”¹⁵ (Van der Toorn-Schutte, 2010, p. 19).

or that,

“[o]ngeveer 1,5 (...) miljoen mensen in Nederland zijn niet in Nederland geboren. Dat is bijna 10% van de mensen in Nederland.”¹⁶ (Gathier, 2010, p. 27).

and also that,

“In Nederland wonen verschillende groepen mensen. Veel mensen komen uit andere landen. (...) In Nederland zijn 3,2 miljoen allochtonen. Dat is 19,3 procent van de totale bevolking (16,3 miljoen mensen)”¹⁷ (Koot, 2009, p. 31).

Nevertheless, while analyzing the photographic material used to support the variety of information given in the three chapters under research from the KNS textbooks, from a total of around 200 pictures¹⁸, only 22 pictures depict non-white individuals or individuals with a clear Mediterranean look. In schools, the overwhelming majority of the depictions of children in classrooms present white, blond children, and even more surprisingly, more boys than girls. Considering the current increase in the division of Dutch schools in

15 (My translation) Amsterdam, the capital, has approximately 750.000 inhabitants. It is the biggest city in the Netherlands. In that city people of 175 different nationalities live.

16 (My translation) Approximately 1,5 million individuals in the Netherlands have not been born in the Netherlands. That is almost 10% of the inhabitants of the Netherlands.

17 (My translation) People from different groups live in the Netherlands. Many people come from different countries. There are in the Netherlands 3,2 millions foreigners. That's the 19,3% of the whole population (16,3 million inhabitants).

18 An approximate of the total number of pictures used in the three analyzed chapters, in all the textbooks together.

'White' schools and 'Black' schools¹⁹ I can only deduce that the schools that are actively depicted are the 'White' schools, where the schooled immigrant Body disappears. While the texts seem to induce the reader into the belief that the Netherlands is a country where foreign Bodies are often to be encountered²⁰, the overwhelming visual absence of those Bodies from the KNS textbooks photographic material seems to suggest that their existence is bound to another realm, separated from the one mostly inhabited by individuals of Dutch origin.

On sharing with the *inburgeraar* the large number of non-Dutch individuals currently living in the country, the KNS textbooks discursively fabricate the Netherlands as a country where different cultures coexist. This reinforces the already rooted conception that tolerance is still an active element of *Dutchness* without needing to literally assert that immigrants in the Netherlands can coexist, in difference, with Dutch society. At the same time, the immigrant Body is literally erased from specific realms of the public view. However, it is often visually summoned in the realm of unemployment²¹ while the white-middle-class Dutch Body in the same space seems to become almost invisible. This more subtle discourse informs us that the members of those multiple cultural and/or ethnic groups do not share public and social space equally.

Emancipation

Emancipation and lack of discrimination based on gender appear as another crucial trait of what *Dutchness* is said to be, and immediately informs about the social fairness of Dutch society. This is made visible both in texts as in images where it is said, for example that,

“[v]eel mannen en vrouwen doen samen het huishouden en zorgen samen voor de kinderen.”²² (Koot, 2009, p. 129).

or that,

“[m]annen en vrouwen zijn voor de wet gelijk. Discriminatie is verboden (...). Veel Nederlandse vrouwen werken (...). Mannen en vrouwen doen vaak samen het *huishouden*. Mannen hebben vaker een *fulltime* baan dan

19 The first ones are those in which the majority of the students are of Dutch origin while the second category houses students who are in majority children of immigrants.

20 According to the numbers in the textbooks specifying the number of immigrant Bodies in the Netherlands.

21 Bakker, 2008, p. 69, Koot, 2009, p. 139, Gathier, 2010, p. 148.

22 (My translation) Many men and women do the domestic tasks in the house together and they take care of their children together.

vrouwen. Vrouwen werken meer *parttime*. Er zijn nog steeds weinig vrouwen met hoge *functies*.”²³ (Westerneng and Louter, 2010, pp. 21-22).

and also that,

“[i]n Nederland leren jongens en meisjes dezelfde dingen. Ze zitten bij elkaar in de klas. Ze doen alles samen (...).”²⁴ (Gathier, 2010, p. 135).

Supporting the first statement, two of the textbooks present two different pictures, in one case depicting a white, blond man using the vacuum-cleaner in his living room. Under the picture a short sentence can be read: “Wie doet het huishouden?”²⁵. The second one depicts a young white man²⁶ taking a walk with his child who is in a buggy. Under the picture another sentence informs us that “[m]annen en vrouwen zorgen samen voor de kinderen.”²⁷. In the first case, the answer to the question “Who performs the domestic tasks?” seems to be ‘men’, since only a man and no woman is depicted in the image. In the second case, although the title does include “woman” in the phrasing, the picture depicts again only a man. In both cases, the woman's Body is absent. As a proof of emancipation the man's presence in the household is visually enhanced. The woman's presence is displaced from the private space, which by consequence positions her somewhere in the public space. Dutch women's emancipation is therefore presented as an achievement in the private and also in the public space.

All of the analyzed KNS textbooks put a constant emphasis on the fact that in the Netherlands women do work, even if they are married and have children²⁸. Nevertheless, they seem to agree on and take for granted the fact that it is the man in the Netherlands who, in the majority of cases, keeps working full-time and providing for the family, while the care of the children and the household remain fields taken care by women. “Nederland in zicht” states that 60% of women in the Netherlands work in part-time jobs while only 10% of men seem to embrace that choice (Bakker, 2008, p. 70). Such a statement establishes a ‘natural’ and unquestioned synonymy between women and part-time jobs while failing to acknowledge the influence of cultural

23 (My translation) Men and women are equal before the law. Discrimination is prohibited. Many Dutch women work. Men and women often share household work. Men often have more often a full-time job than women. Women mostly work in part-time. There are still few women in higher [work] positions.

24 (My translation) In the Netherlands boys and girls learn the same things. They sit together in the same classrooms. They do everything together.

25 Bakker, 2008, p. 71. (My translation) Who performs the domestic tasks?

26 Middle-class, if we take in consideration his clothing style and the style of the buggy he is pushing.

27 Koot, 2009, p. 129. (My translation) Men and women take care of their children, together.

28 “In Nederland (...) [m]annen en vrouwen werken, ook vrouwen met kleine kinderen.” (Gathier, 2010, p. 149) (My translation) In the Netherlands men and women work, also women with young children.

representations on child rearing, in determining the terms in which a woman can participate on the labour market. In “Bagage”, a chart showing some statistic studies performed between 2002-2007 makes evident that apparently 45% of the population believes that a woman with a full-time job is negative for family life while at the same time, the same chart shows that 89% of the individuals interviewed believe that both men and women are responsible for the upbringing of their children (Koot, 2009, p. 130). While the last statement seems to take a position that we could theoretically take as “pro” emancipation, it also fails to grasp the influence of the current work division between men and women in determining who will carry the overwhelming majority of the household tasks and responsibilities.

Much of the emphasis given to Dutch women's emancipation both in the private and the public sphere is discursively fabricated by asserting that women in the Netherlands can work under specific terms, and therefore share the public space with men. They do not need to take exclusive responsibility for the household and they can dress showing their arms and legs in the summer (Westerneng and Louter, 2010, p. 22). Which means that emancipated women are discursively fabricated as those who can participate in the public/professional sphere as long as it does not affect their performance as wives and mothers and, they are women who are not bound by their religion or cultural practices to hide specific parts of their bodies that commonly are open to view. Women in a different positioning²⁹ are not taken into consideration when establishing how emancipation is understood in these KNS textbooks.

Profession wise, the careful reader should not be blind to some of the gender and ethnic stereotypes present in how specific functions or jobs are depicted. “Welkom in Nederland” presents to the reader a set of seven different pictures to show some of the possible work fields in the Netherlands: agriculture -a white man drives a tractor-; security and surveillance -a white man stands in what it looks like a storehouse-; catering industry (horeca) – a young white girl serves smiling a table with clients-; technical experts – a young man, light color skin, fixing a car-; health care -a young white woman is attending another white woman-; commerce -a white middle-aged woman works in a food shop and sells her products to another white woman-; construction -a white man displaces cement.³⁰ A similar phenomenon can be found in all books, when introducing childcare facilities: there is always a woman functioning as school-teacher for children of very young ages.

²⁹ Newly arrived to the Netherlands women who can face unemployment -independently of their educational level- while they grow into the process of learning Dutch as to be able to enter the Dutch labour market; a Dutch muslim woman participating fully in the labour market, etc.

³⁰ Gathier, 2010, p. 152.

In these textbooks, women are still being heavily associated with caring jobs while men are shown to perform more technical jobs. This is strongly rooted in the conception that women have a biological predisposition to perform mainly caring tasks because of their capacity to mother. Feminism has long questioned such a conception and sees in it a mechanism that stimulates,

“(…)the devaluation of women's intellectual faculties, creativity, imagination, and intelligence (…), and then [their] exclusion from the places of production and transmission of knowledge.” (Braidotti, 1991, p. 148).

Emancipation plays a key role in the KNS textbooks in establishing the level of civil development of the Netherlands in relation to other developing countries³¹. It also testifies for the social fairness of Dutch society which is fabricated as fairly free of discriminatory practices based on gender both in the private and the public space. Nevertheless, the specific model of emancipation discursively fabricated in these textbooks does not break truly free from stereotypes which essentially naturalize the position of men as main providers. It also implicitly fails to envision a family formation different from that established by the heterosexual couple. Women are ultimately posed as economically dependent of men and they are relegated to the position of caretakers, either they do it in the privacy of their homes or they do it while participating in the labour market.

Work

Work and discipline are presented as essential traits of *Dutchness*. It is said that,

“Nederland kent een sterk ontwikkeld arbeidsethos. (...) Volgens de calvinistische traditie is werken een plicht. Werken houdt meer in dan geld verdienen. Je werk geeft je maatschappelijke status. Door werk kun je (...) betekenis aan je leven geven.”³² (Bakker, 2008, p. 65).

This text establishes an interesting relation between the act of work, the Dutch working individual and money, and also between work and social status. One of the characteristics conforming the *myth of Dutchness* for many Dutch and non-Dutch individuals is the relation that Dutch individuals seem to have with money, posing them as “gierig”³³ (Van Ginkel, 1997, p. 18), (Shama, 1988, p. 53). I find it necessary to explore in this segment the fact that the focus on the benefit of working moves from “earning money”, to “give meaning” to someone's life. Such a statement seems to subtract the relevance that paid work has in the life of economically vulnerable non-Dutch newcomers. It also establishes an association between unemployment and

31 Which are mainly the countries of origin of the majority of the *inburgeraars* following the *Inburgering* programme.

32 (My translation) The Netherlands know a strong and developed labour ethos. According to the Calvinist tradition, to work is a duty. Work involves more than just earning money. Your work gives you social status. Through your work you can give meaning to your life.

33 (My translation) Avaricious.

meaningless life in a context where immigrant Bodies are, as I will come to show in following chapters, heavily linked with unemployment.

In “Bagage”, a sort of a chart is presented to the reader in order for her to discover which are, apparently, the most important requirements for a Dutch individual to consider that her job is a good one. Apparently the first place is for having a good environment in the workplace, good colleagues seem to be in the second place, an interesting job appears to be third, and a good salary is said to be only in fourth place for Dutch working individuals³⁴ (Koot, 2009, p. 147).

Throughout the studied KNS textbooks an exhaustive description of the Dutch labour universe presents us with the face of a State of social fairness³⁵. This quality is brought to the fore by thorough descriptions of how syndicates function, of the right to paid holidays, of the rights to sickness and parental leave, of the organizations protecting the rights and ensuring the duties of the working individual, of the organisations aiming to help anyone without labour to find a fitting job, etc. Since no remarks are made on the influence of an individual's gender, age, ethnicity, class, etc. on the access to those rights, they seem to be equally accessible to the *inburgeraar*. But a description of jobs that unemployed Dutch individuals tend to reject reveal an underlying slightly different discourse. The sort of jobs that an unemployed person of Dutch origin would not accept include physically heavy work, work involving bad smells or dirt, work that would fall outside of her professional expertise, work involving variable working hours or traveling for more than 2 hours per day, or an uninteresting job (Idem, p. 143). We could say that these tasks belong to the category of work performed in most Western societies by individuals with a lower educational level. Since they also tend to be tasks affiliated to poor jobs of the secondary labour market³⁶ (Reyneri and Fullin, 2010), they offer less social benefits to their employees. They also have a strong impact both on the professional development and on the social and economical status of those performing them.

This information seems to imply that 'all' unemployed individuals of Dutch origin have a high educational level and an employment history in the Dutch primary labour market which would prevent them from being involved in jobs of the secondary labour market. For immigrants from developing countries, pursuing a position in the primary labour market often implies some time of unemployment without the access, as a non-Dutch

34 *Dutchness* and its relation with work in this context is again discursively constructed to emphasize more the moral benefits an individual can get from working than the economical ones.

35 In chapter four I will further explore the construction of the Netherlands as a State of social fairness in the work field.

36 The authors define secondary labour market as that section of the labour market that offers mostly low-status, dangerous and badly paid jobs requiring little skills from their employees, whereas the primary labour market is the mainstream section of the labour market. It offers higher-status, well paid jobs and it requires often high skills from its employees. (Reyneri and Fullin, 2010, pp. 34-35).

newcomer, to the social benefits of an unemployment subsidy old immigrants and Dutch unemployed individuals have, when they have a work history in the Netherlands. That's why they tend to choose for the more immediate access to paid work that the secondary labour market provides (Idem). With this in mind, the manner used to enumerate those jobs that unemployed Dutch individuals will not accept, appears to subtly invite rather than dissuade the *inburgeraars* to look into a vulnerable labour market which they could immediately access.

Summing up, who are the Dutch of these KNS textbooks? What traits an *Oer-Hollander*³⁷ has and how much do they function as empowering examples to follow in the life newcomers will craft for themselves and their families in the Netherlands? All of the analyzed KNS textbooks³⁸ discursively relate *Dutchness* with having an active and successful participation mainly, in the primary labour market. Men often on full-time basis and women on part-time basis. They are rarely presented as unemployed. This position in the labour market greatly influences social and economical status, which means that *Dutchness* is therefore also related in the majority of the cases to the (upper) middle class.

Dutchness is discursively related to tolerance by summoning the number of different ethnic groups currently living in the Netherlands³⁹. Nevertheless, the gargantuan visual absence of marked Bodies on the photographic material used to depict different aspects of life in the Netherlands suggests that *Dutchness* is presented as being overwhelmingly white, even if multicultural. This visual representation denies *Dutchness* to those individuals who became naturalized as Dutch, or denies the possibility that a person can have dark skin and still be Dutch.

Emancipation is also discursively linked to *Dutchness* and it testifies for the social fairness and civil development of the Netherlands. In the KNS textbooks it is said that Dutch emancipated women have visibility in the public sphere and in the labour market while they also successfully share the load of the household's tasks with their male partners. Nevertheless, men are still asserted as the primary providers, which means that women are still essentially responsible for performing the majority of the household's tasks. The nature of the jobs women are shown to perform still reinforces the stereotype that women perform better in caring tasks. In

37 The quintessence of being Dutch. *Oer-Hollander* is used to name something purely and authentically Dutch.

38 Except “Kom verder!” which chooses to present the life of a working-class Dutch man and therefore presents a different fabrication of *Dutchness*.

39 The association between multicultural society and tolerant society is not literally enunciated. This suggests that such association rests on a cultural representation rooted in the last centuries of the history of the Netherlands where religious and cultural tolerance ensured the advent of many non-Dutch individuals to the country. Their arrival was both seen as a testimony of both the civil development and tolerance, and the cultural richness of the Netherlands.

this sense these textbooks do not break free from gender stereotyping. Furthermore, they appear to stimulate the affluence of immigrant women from developing countries to caring jobs in the secondary labour market.

To conclude, I argue here that *Dutchness* is presented as a complex net of behaviours presented to non-Dutch newcomers for them to see as a positive example, but from which they are also, in one way or another, excluded. In other words, *Dutchness* is discursively posed as a set of practices which non-Dutch newcomers can rarely come to successfully perform, even when naturalized as Dutch, meaning that they are set to never come to fully belong to the land they want to call home.

CHAPTER 3

KNOWLEDGE AND ALLOCHTONEN: EDUCATION

Education has been central in shaping societies as we know them today. It can assume different forms and it can come to produce different effects on those individuals upon whom it is practiced. From a Foucaudian perspective it is possible to say that education can be understood as a set of disciplinary practices acting upon a specific Body, a Body,

“[my translation] (...) that is manipulated, shaped, trained; which obeys, responds, becomes skillful, and increases its forces.” (Foucault, 1997, p. 118).

But he also adds that,

“[my translation] [d]iscipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience).” (Idem, p. 119).

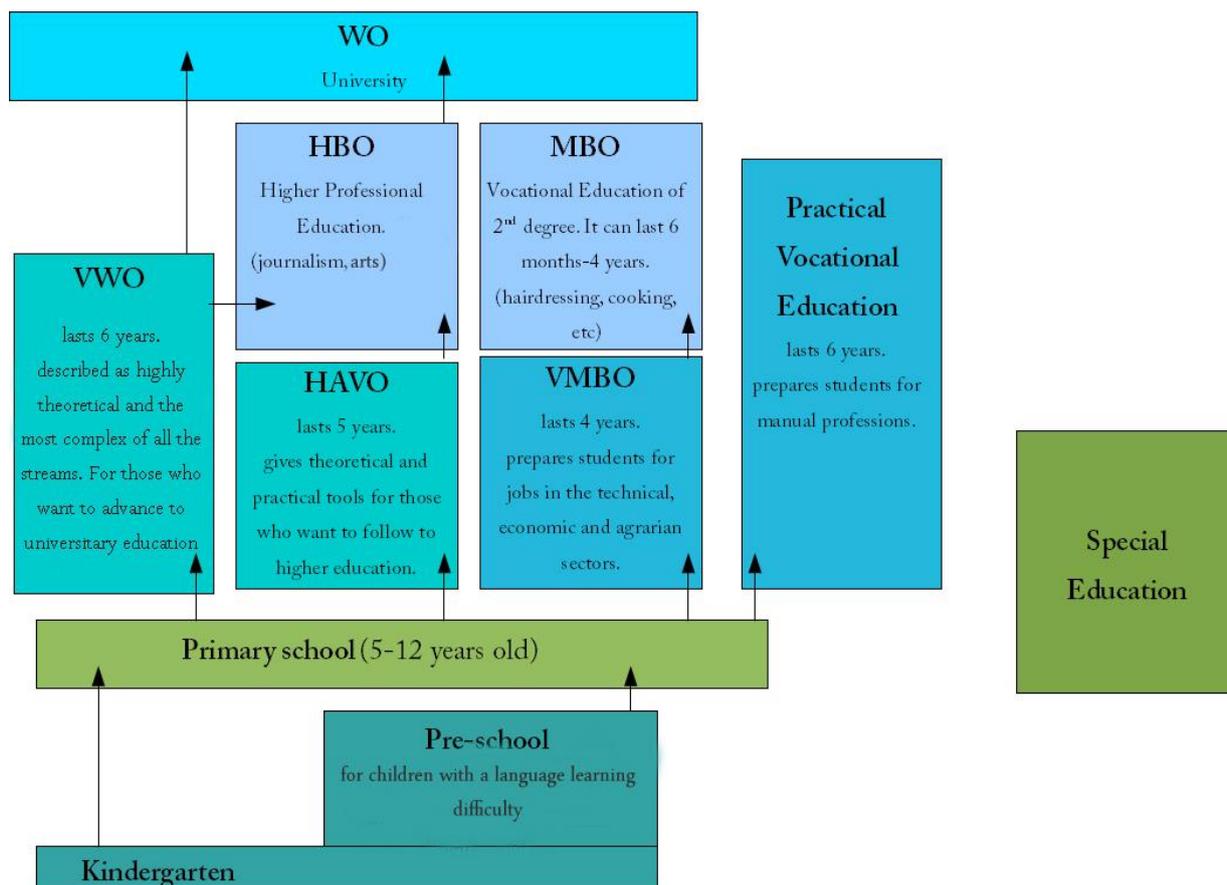
When one considers the *Inburgering* programme as a set of educational practices in itself, it becomes unavoidable to ask which kind of Bodies it (re)produces. I am particularly interested in the manner in which educational attainment and cognitive capabilities are linked to those (re)produced Bodies, which are often marked through their gender and/or ethnicity.

Theoreticians like bell hooks and Paulo Freire reflect on education's partiality (1993), (1996). They draw our attention to the necessity of being aware of the manners in which education can come to (re)produce biased cultural representations in detriment of those who differ from the social group establishing the parameters of the educational system in question. Their work is fundamental in the present chapter to illustrate how the pedagogical choices taken by the analyzed KNS textbooks tend to discursively construct the *inburgeraar* as an individual detached from the capability to produce reliable knowledge. To understand why this occurs, Pierre Bourdieu and his concept of cultural and scientific capital (2004) will be of major relevance.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore how the Dutch education system is constructed, presented and described to the *inburgeraars* through the KNS textbooks. I will firstly briefly describe the Dutch education system in itself to proceed later on exploring how it is discursively fabricated to *instruct* non-Dutch newcomers about the academic progression binding them and their children to the Dutch educational system. In my

exploration I will firstly approach the relation established between 'Black' schools and quality of education and secondly, the manner in which vocational and academic streams are discursively fabricated. I will finish the chapter by pointing out some of the consequences the discursive fabrication of the Dutch educational system has on the academic attainment and the integration of the second generation of immigrants in the Netherlands of today.

Dutch educational system...in short



The Dutch education system has a format that allows covering all possible preferences and aptitudes of the children, teenagers and young individuals participating in it⁴⁰. After primary school, at the age of 12, children go through a standard examination -the Cito test- which will heavily influence their access to specific streams

40 Both the diagram and the following description of the Dutch educational system have been based mainly on the information available in http://www.expatica.com/nl/essentials_moving_to/essentials/dutch-education-system-explained--31083_9746.html (last accessed 20.06.2011), but also on the diagrams used on most of the KNS analyzed textbooks.

of the secondary education. The Cito test is also used as a tool to measure the quality of schools based on the average of the results obtained by their students.⁴¹ On examination, Foucault reminds us that it allows,

“[my translation] (...) to characterize [and register] the aptitude of each individual, situate his level and his abilities, indicate his possible use or function (...).” (Foucault, 1997, p. 158).

In the particular case of the standardized Cito test we could say that, by establishing a particular set of parameters answering to a specific fabrication of what academic success is, it extracts a particular knowledge from those who pass the test and those who do not, to further categorize them, hierarchically sort them and their schools in the broader educational system and apply corrective measures when considered necessary.

Moving forward to the secondary education, students can come to follow a vocational education in several degrees of academic complexity (*P.V.E, VMBO, MBO*), or they can come to follow a more academic education also in several degrees of academic complexity (*HAVO, VWO*) which can lead them to a higher (professional) education. I will now proceed to address how some of these choices are presented to the *inburgeraars* in the selected KNS textbooks.

'Black' schools and 'White' schools

'Black' schools and 'White' schools are a part of the daily discourses used in the current debates involving quality of education, the second generation of immigrants legally residing in the Netherlands, successful or unsuccessful integration, better or worse academic success, etc. The term 'Black' in this context entails a body of students which has mainly a foreign heritage, poor academic results and apparently lower quality in education which is, among others, measured by the average score students obtain in the Cito test. The term 'White' becomes a synonym of better quality in education, of better academic development and of a body of students which has mainly Dutch heritage.

The European Parliament, in its 2008 Green Paper “Migration & Mobility: challenges and opportunities for EU education systems”, tackles some of the problems children of immigrants encounter when joining the education systems of the European countries hosting them. It stresses the influence that educational environment has had on the performance of migrant pupils of the same origin in different European countries. It states the importance of fighting the strong tendency towards school segregation in European countries,

⁴¹http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/basisonderwijs/vraag-en-antwoord/wat-is-de-citotoets-oftewel-eindtoets-basisonderwijs.html?ns_campaign=Thema-Onderwijs_en_wetenschap&ro_adgrp=Basisonderwijs_citotoets&ns_mchannel=sea&ns_source=google&ns_linkname=%2Bcito%20%2Btoets&ns_fee=0.00 (last accessed 20.06.2011).

since it affects migrant pupils' performance and it jeopardizes their future social and professional integration in their host countries (European Commission, 2008).

When visually fabricating the primary school classroom, KNS textbooks often construct it as a very bright place, seemingly new and richly adorned with all kinds of material resources like computers, artwork, etc. The student of a primary school class is insistently depicted as white, blond and quite often predominantly male. Although all seven textbooks insist on the fact that education is mandatory in the Netherlands between the ages 5-18, the Body of immigrant children is barely summoned into this space. The CBS Statline asserts that in 2011, 21% of the population is considered to be of non-Dutch origin. From them, 11% are non-western⁴². One could expect then to see more of those marked Bodies in a classroom of the primary school. 'White' schools are visually established as the model of what a 'normal'/'unmarked' classroom of primary school is in textbooks used by non-Dutch immigrants to learn about the educational prospects for their children. At the same time immigrants' Bodies are eliminated from them, implying that they do not inhabit unmarked spaces.

The majority of the textbooks refer to the division of schools in the Netherlands based on ethnic origin. They do so in a variety of forms. “Nederland in zicht” asserts that 'White' schools are mostly attended by Dutch speaking pupils while 'Black' schools are mostly attended by pupils who do not speak Dutch in their homes (Bakker, 2008, p. 89). In this context, it seems to appear as a given practice to separate native Dutch speaking pupils from non-native Dutch speaking pupils, and their learning practices⁴³. “Kom verder!” presents 'Black' schools to the reader while using a picture of a primary school classroom formed completely by white children, white parents and a white female teacher. While the 'Black' school is spoken about, it is the 'White' school which gets to be visually fixed in the eyes of the reader.⁴⁴

In that textbook, Monica⁴⁵ and her neighbour Els⁴⁶ speak about Els' decision of moving to another neighbourhood. When addressing the neighbourhood's school where her children attend, Els points out that

⁴²<http://www.e-quality.nl/e-quality/pagina.asp?pagkey=76207> (last accessed 14.07.2011).

⁴³ The assertive tone of the information leaves little space to negotiate a different option, a different practice.

⁴⁴ I will address the specific nature of this textbook in chapter four.

⁴⁵ An unemployed Brazilian woman married to a working-class Dutch man. She has already successfully passed her *Inburgering* exam and has a good level of Dutch. She lives already three years in the Netherlands but, nevertheless she is presented as an unemployed woman. In my account, her biography is a heavily desempowering example for the *inburgeraar*. The situation of dependency and unemployment of Monica remains the same before and after her *Inburgering* course, before and after her mastering of the Dutch language. The character is not rewarded by her efforts as she remains dependent. She is only rewarded at the end of the book with a trip to Brazil paid by her neighbour because of the caring tasks she has performed: she has been taking care of her neighbour's children, unpaid, for almost a year. Her character appears to be in tune to cover the caring needs of those Dutch individuals around her. Nevertheless, those Dutch individuals around her do not appear to consider her desire for financial independence as relevant. The tasks that she performs for her Dutch neighbour are presented as morally rewarding enough. They

the school is not the best for the development, language wise, of her children since they seem to be learning more Moroccan and Surinamese words than Dutch ones. When Monica insists on the relevance for children to have friends from other cultures, Els hurries to answer that in order to have a good job in the Netherlands, it is important to have a degree and not to know things about Morocco or Suriname. She adds that children in 'Black' schools stay behind in learning and that although the school in question has not *yet* become a 'Black' school, the neighbourhood is gradually turning into a 'Black' one because of the advent of immigrant families and the departure of Dutch families (Bakker, 2006, pp. 69-70).

An immediate discursive dissociation is established between successful educational attainment and individuals of non-Dutch origin based on their ethnicity. Through the voice of the Dutch character, the text establishes a direct relation between the increase of non-Dutch population in the area and the decrease of the quality standards both of the neighbourhood and the school which so far had been good enough for her children⁴⁷. In this text, the immigrant Body is turned into a negative stereotype. It is presented as invading, increasingly moving into good, previously only Dutch neighbourhoods/schools, forcing Dutch people to move away from their homes to protect their children's future. Immigrants are therefore associated with aggressive, penetrating Bodies. Dutch children learning Moroccan or Surinamese words is something posited by the Dutch character as a malady which needs to be treated before it affects the future professional life -therefore the social and economic status- of her children. Although,

“[t]he immigrant community from Morocco indeed [has] nurtured a strikingly high number of young and successful writers (...) whose works [have] won important literary prizes in the Netherlands and in Belgium (...)” (Ponzanesi and Merolla, 2005, p. 29),

such a positive image associating Moroccan youth with a high intellectual performance is not suggested at all. The *inburgeraars* are simply informed that they and their family will not often share the same social spaces

are stripped off their economical value by Els, the Dutch neighbour character, for her particular gain. This character enjoys the economic benefits of having a full-time job because someone else has taken on the responsibility for the unpaid caring of the children of the family.

46 A Dutch woman who works full time and relies on Monica to take care of her children.

47 The only factor summoned to justify the supposed decrease of quality of both the neighborhood and the neighborhood's school is the non-Dutch ethnic and/or cultural background of the new inhabitants of the region, particularly of Moroccan and Surinamese origin.

with Dutch individuals⁴⁸ and they are presented with a perverse image of themselves which devaluates their cultural capital⁴⁹, therefore their social status in the Netherlands.

Going vocational or academic?

When enunciating the choices young teenagers in the Netherlands have to follow secondary studies, it is possible to identify the tendency to explain what *VMBO* and *MBO* have to offer in very concrete terms. They are described as streams aiming to prepare students into specific professions such as working in a day care center (Gathier, 2010, p. 140); cooking or being a hairdresser (Van der Toorn-Schutte, 2010, p. 80). They are immediately associated with a concrete position in the labour market. On the other hand, *VWO* as well as *HAVO* and *HBO* are abstractly described, informing mainly about their increased academic degree of difficulty and the access they give to university. Particularly in the case of *VWO*, two textbooks⁵⁰ give great emphasis to the fact that children get to learn Latin and Greek while completely disregarding naming a specific profession which an individual could come to perform after finishing university. The higher up the educational ladder, the fewer concrete professions seem to be summoned to exemplify them⁵¹.

Freire has elaborately written about education as a way to give freedom or to hold back those who are socially, economically and politically disadvantaged (1996). His work, in my opinion, lets us realize that people tend to learn what is meaningful for them to learn. Describing the academic streams through notions which possibly do not have the same meaning for a western as for a non-western individual, jeopardizes their *meaningfulness* in the lives of immigrants from developing, particularly non-western, countries⁵². In this particular case, it rather builds a greater gap between *inburgeraars*, their children and the academic streams of the Dutch secondary education.

48 This is sustained both visually (only white Bodies are depicted in the primary-school class-room) and textually, (when Dutch Bodies are set to move away from the places non-Dutch Bodies inhabit).

49 Bourdieu presents the notion of cultural capital together with the notions of scientific, economic and social capital. Cultural capital often transmits and determines social status. The richer the cultural and scientific capital of someone is and depending on how coherent that capital is with that of the dominant class', the more the body of knowledge that person brings is accepted as 'reliable' by the dominant class (2004).

50 “Wegwijzer” and “Nieuwe Start”.

51 From the seven KNS textbooks only two name concrete professions -doctor and lawyer- an individual can come to perform after finishing university.

52 The valour culturally attributed to the knowing of ancient Greek and Latin as markers of an individual's 'higher knowledge' tends to become meaningful for those individuals imbedded in the western culture. Such a knowledge may have no meaningful translation for individuals imbedded in a different culture. For them perhaps, is *other* the knowledge which translates into 'higher knowledge'.

According to the data for 2010/11 provided by CBS Statline, the stream(s) in secondary education seeing the biggest representation of non-Dutch-non-western individuals are *VMBO* and *HAVO*⁵³. For Dutch, are *VMBO* and *VWO*⁵⁴. Only 19% of non-Dutch-non-western individuals follow their studies in *VWO*. This percentage is low when compared to that of individuals of Dutch origin⁵⁵. The European Parliament reminds us that,

“(…) at secondary level, a clear degree of segregation in enrollment emerges as migrant pupils are over-represented in vocationally oriented schools that typically do not lead to higher education. And (…) there is a greater incidence of early school leaving among migrant pupils in almost all countries.” (European Commission, 2008, pp. 7-8).

But as Bourdieu teaches us, to justify this fact by associating immigrants and immigrant children with lesser intelligence and/or lesser cognitive capabilities is to negate the multiple factors (re)enforcing their position in the educational system (2008, p. 2) of the host country. We should not forget that the educational system of a country reflects directly or indirectly the vision the dominant class has of what a successful individual ought to be. Therefore, educational systems do answer to class bias and, as Bourdieu asserts, they tend to (re)produce the specific scientific and cultural capital of the dominant class who has established them (2004, pp. 62-63).

“Kleurrijker” affirms that “(…) [d]e meeste kinderen gaan naar het vmbo.”⁵⁶ (Kleurrijker KNS, 2010, *Onderwijs en Opvoeding*, p. 15), and that children who choose that stream “(…) houden van dingen doen. En ze houden niet zo van lezen.”(Idem)⁵⁷ while characterizing the *VWO* and the *HAVO* as very difficult streams where young teenagers learn for very difficult professions and they are destined “(…) alleen voor kinderen die heel goed kunnen leren.”⁵⁸ (Kleurrijker KNS, 2010, *Onderwijs en Opvoeding*, p. 16).

53 48% and 22,4% respectively.

54 35,6% and 31, 8% respectively.

55 The percentages have been calculated from the information provided by CBS Statline's statistic chart available in <http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=80040NED&D1=0,3,6-8,14-15,19-21,55,57-59,61-64,69-70,72-74,76-79,84&D2=0&D3=0&D4=0-1,3-4,1&D5=1&D6=0&D7=5-7&HDR=G4,G5,G1,G2,G3,G6&STB=T&P=T&VW=T>

(last accessed 15.07.2011).

56 (My translation) The majority of the children go to the *VMBO*.

57 (My translation) Like doing/crafting things and they like not reading/studying.

58 (My translation) Only for children able to learn very well.

The statistic chart on education in the Netherlands provided by CBS Statline indeed supports the pronouncement which established *VMBO* as the most commonly chosen stream in secondary education⁵⁹. Nevertheless, constructing the academic stream into a particular field where only an elite can successfully remain while fabricating the vocational stream as a more popular and accessible one, does little on improving the participation of immigrant children -particularly non-western ones- in the academic streams. The manner of displaying information in the studied KNS textbooks about the possible trajectories young individuals can follow to complete their secondary studies already predisposes the choices of the *inburgeraars*. It fails to envision ways to include in their gaze the academic stream. Therefore, it becomes one with other practices encouraging immigrants from developing countries and their children to remain away from the centers where academic knowledge is (re)produced; to remain in those fields guaranteeing their vulnerable economic and social position in Dutch society.

Teaching KNS, pedagogical choice

bell hooks has written about the urgent necessity of transforming “(...) how we teach and what we teach (...)” (1993, p. 8) while insisting on the fact that “(...) the education most of us ha[ve] received and [are] giving was not and is never politically neutral.”(Idem, p. 9). It often carries and (re)produces specific discourses on class, gender, ethnicity, age, sexual practices which have different effects on different individuals. To those discourses, it is imperative not to be blind. The *Inburgering* program is undoubtedly an educational system. Methodologies and textbooks used to form it are unavoidably inscribed into specific political discourses. We should not separate them from the influences they have received from a strong colonial past, and their political responsibility.

Freire problematizes the sort of education he denominates as 'depository' education, in which student and teacher/teaching material are constructed as opposite poles where the last one becomes synonym of 'the knowing' and the first one a synonym of 'the one who does not know and needs to archive and accept the given knowledge without interrogating it'. In that relation, according to Freire, the voice of the student is silenced while education, in his eyes, should make use of liberatory educational practices to give voice to the student to speak/think/transform herself and her position in society. (1996, p. 54)

59 37,3% individuals follow their secondary studies in this stream. *VWO* occupies the second place with a 30,2%. *HAVO* the third place with a 27,6% and last Practical Vocational Education (PO) with a 3,8%. These percentages have been calculated from the data available in the statistic chart on education in the Netherlands by CBS Statline available in <http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=80040NED&D1=0,3,6-8,14-15,19-21,55,57-59,61-64,69-70,72-74,76-79,84&D2=0&D3=0&D4=0-1,3-4,1&D5=1&D6=0&D7=5-7&HDR=G4,G5,G1,G2,G3,G6&STB=T&P=T&VW=T> (last accessed, 15.07.2011).

The studied KNS textbooks are conceived from a pedagogical perspective that answers to a 'depository' educational practice. They convey a specific amount of information, values and practices from a Dutch perspective for non-Dutch individuals to accept and perform. In my previous chapter, I explored the connotations of the positivist paradigm, the basis upon which the seven textbooks in question rest. Both the pedagogical choice and the theoretical paradigm upon which these textbooks are fabricated, are closely related. They attribute agency, voice and knowledge mainly to 'the one who teaches'. 'The one who teaches' though, is white-Dutch. 'The one who knows not' is only too often the non-western, non-white, non-northern European individual. This choice implicates that the values and practices seen and experienced from a privileged perspective are dictated -rather than negotiated- to individuals who do not share the same privileged social, political and economical position.

None of the textbooks have clearly stated that a biological predisposition influences the low educational attainment of immigrants from developing countries in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the choice of not addressing any of the complex political, social and economic factors which can affect in everyday life the educational attainment of immigrant children misleads the reader. It reinforces negative stereotypes in which the only mentioned parameter affecting the educational attainment of immigrant children is their ethnic and/or cultural origin. Such a stereotype which fails to see an immigrant as someone who “(...) could be multi-lingual, cosmopolitan, modern (...)” (Gilroy, 2005, p. 85) devaluates the cultural capital of individuals on the basis of their ethnic and/or cultural origin. It devaluates the knowledge they produce and consequently establishes them as second class citizens.

The *Inburgering* programme has the responsibility to introduce empowering possibilities to individuals who might have not had the proper circumstances to fully develop their cognitive capabilities in the past. It has the responsibility to give to the *inburgeraars* the necessary tools for them to stand against the “ghettoization” of education. It has the responsibility to question the validity of its representations -and their effects- of non-Dutch (new)comers in order to establish an honest cultural dialogue based on respect. Only then it will be possible to start a truthful two-directional integration.

CHAPTER 4

KNOWLEDGE AND ALLOCHTONEN: WORK

The position that an individual has on the labour market, to a large extent informs her economic and social position in society. It also influences the social network through which that individual interacts with others, who might be of the same ethnic and/or cultural origin, or of a different one. Having a strong position in the labour market influences the level of successful integration that newcomers and their (grand)children achieve in their host society.

When subjects are considered to produce 'unreliable' knowledge, they are often penalized in their access to specific positions in the labour market. That is why, key to this chapter are Sandra Harding's insights on how colonial relations shape what the West defines as 'reliable' knowledge, according to the subject who produces it (1993). Essential to this section is also the notion of *abjection* as conceptualized by Julia Kristeva (1982) and the work of Arlie Russell Hochschild on migrant domestic workers in the West (2002) to better approach the increased relegation of caring and cleaning tasks to the immigrant -particularly female- Body moving from developing to developed countries. The observations of Emilio Reyneri and Giovanna Fullin on the current positioning of immigrants in the European labour market (2010) play also an important part in the present section.

In this chapter I will explore how the relationship between work and non-Dutch newcomers is discursively constructed in the seven studied KNS textbooks. In my approach I will point out how gender and cultural stereotypes are still very present when presenting to the *inburgeraars* their possibilities in the Dutch labour market. I will also argue that the limited and very specific work choices which are presented to the *inburgeraars* during the trajectory of their *Inburgering* programme, seem to associate them with poorly qualified individuals who are static and almost incapable of evolving through a variety of training or learning processes.

New and old immigrants: has something changed?

Labour markets are often stratified inducing a hierarchical division -among others- between 'clean' jobs and 'dirty' jobs, and those who are suited to perform them. Such a division establishes differences between primary and secondary labour markets. They differ among others, in the nature of tasks needed to be performed, in the wages that they deliver and on the social status they grant to those they employ (Reyneri and Fullin, 2010). Both primary and secondary labour market are, in their turn, hierarchically stratified allowing

for some variation according to the nature of the tasks performed, the gender, culture and/or ethnicity of the person performing them, her social status and the educational level of the person.

The position in the Dutch labour market of newcomers is often explained in relation to the level of their educational, language and professional skills. But the politically and economically vulnerable position that developing countries often have, in contrast to developed European countries, is greatly responsible for the distrust⁶⁰ that European developed countries show to them. A study performed in the Netherlands has shown that immigrants who have received schooling in the Netherlands tend to have higher rates of employment and a higher social status of the jobs they perform, than immigrants who have only received schooling in their country of origin. This is explained -among others- by the fact that Dutch employers seem to be uncertain about the learned skills of their workers, when they have been not learned in the Netherlands (Kanas and Van Tubergen, 2009).

Colonial relations between countries have a great impact on the visibility and credibility a country has regarding its capability to (re)produce knowledge. Western societies have historically attributed their economical and political supremacy to their capacity of (re)producing (scientifically) 'reliable' and 'objective' knowledge in contrast with that knowledge (re)produced in the non-West. Such a notion of supremacy entails a hierarchical ordering of types of knowledge and their reliability based on the subject producing it. Since knowledge (re)production has historically been attributed in the West to a subject which is white-western-male, those differing from such a category are therefore culturally fabricated as (re)producers of 'unreliable' knowledge. The roots of such beliefs are deep in the history of European thought and only in the recent decades has the social constructionness of science been brought to debate (Harding, 1993). Reproducing such notions⁶¹ would only lead to underdeveloping the human capital with which immigrants from developing countries can enrich their host society and their own life.

Currently, in Europe,

“(...) a much higher proportion both of highly educated people and of women is a general feature of the contemporary [migration] inflows.” (Reyneri and Fullin, 2010, p. 32).

As Arlie Russell Hochschild informs us in her article “Love and Gold”, many of these female workers migrate nowadays to perform different sort of professionalized domestic tasks, since the demand for domestic servants has risen.

60 In terms of their capability to be centers where knowledge is produced.

61 Particularly in the context of educational tools assisting the integration process of immigrants from developing countries in the Netherlands.

“Vastly more middle-class women in the First World do paid work now than in the past. (...) Most also work longer hours for more months a year and for more years, so they need help caring for the family.” (2003, p. 19)

But she also stresses that many of these female workers often worked in their country of origin as “(...) teachers, nurses, and administrative and clerical workers.” (Idem, p. 18). Meaning that although these women come to perform less skilled work in first world countries, they are not unskilled or poorly educated women. With this in mind, I felt inclined to explore if the positions on the labour market described by the present KNS textbooks would discursively reinforce the cultural representation posing those occupying those positions - particularly women- as unskilled or poorly educated individuals.

Discursively fabricating the Dutch labour market and the position of the *inburgeraar* in it.

- **Dutch State: a State of social fairness**

Through six⁶² of the seven analyzed KNS textbooks, the chapter 'work' holds a series of common characteristics⁶³. The most evident discourse regarding the Dutch labour panorama is that informing the *inburgeraar* about the social fairness of the State. Sentences like,

“(...)De Nederlandse overheid moet ervoor zorgen dat de hele bevolking kan profiteren van goede economische resultaten. Maar de overheid zorgt (...) er voor dat de bevolking zo weinig mogelijk lijdt onder recessies, tijden van economische achteruitgang.”⁶⁴ (Bakker, 2008, p. 77).

or like,

“De overheid wil dat iedereen de kans krijgt om te leren. Leren is dus een belangrijk onderdeel van je leven en je werk.”⁶⁵ (Westerneng and Louter, 2010, p. 9).

62 “Kom verder!” has a very different structure when comparing it with the rest of the books. It's not organized by themes like all the other textbooks, but is rather constructed as a story that follows specific moments in the life of Monica da Gama. While in that textbook I found some of the more controversial stereotypes based on gender and ethnicity, they are not thematically localized as in the other textbooks. They take the shape of short sentences or comments within the characters' dialogues which often are about some other subject.

63 The Dutch labour market is summoned before the *inburgeraars* by informing them about how job agencies work to (re)integrate unemployed individuals in the labour market, about the needs or characteristics of the Dutch labour market, about the rights and the duties of employers and employees in the Netherlands including a description of retirement programs, unemployment funds, taxes, etc., and also about the existence and influence of the Unions in the Dutch labour market.

64 (My translation) The Dutch State needs to take care that the whole population can profit from good economic results. But, the State [also] takes care that the population suffers as little as possible from recession, in times of economic recession.

65 (My translation) The State wants everybody to have the opportunity to learn. To learn is therefore an important part of your life and your work.

seem to stress to the *inburgeraars* that even they are included in the collective of those protected by the state since no specifications are made regarding the required cultural and/or ethnic background, class, age, and gender someone needs to have to apply for such protection. This is often supported by the statement that

“Discriminatie is in Nederland verboden volgens de wet”⁶⁶ (Gathier, 2010, p. 169).

Five textbooks⁶⁷ summon the law of the minimum salary⁶⁸, indicating to the *inburgeraar* that a minimum salary, for each profession and after a specific age, has been established by law, protecting employees therefore from being exploited by their employers. Again the Dutch State is fabricated as a fair State, protector of the rights of employees. But what happens when ethnicity influences the position in the labour market to which a highly skilled professional can access, affecting therefore the scale of her earnings? “Welkom in Nederland” asserts that,

“Als je in je eigen land diploma’s hebt gehaald en hebt gewerkt, kun je in Nederland vaak niet hetzelfde werk krijgen. Je kunt dan alleen werk krijgen op een lager niveau. Bijvoorbeeld: iemand was in Turkije dokter en wordt hier in Nederland verpleegkundige.” (Gathier, 2010, p. 154)⁶⁹.

Here the *inburgeraars* are informed about the lesser value of their credentials and work experience. They are also warned about the difference in earnings between, for example, a Dutch doctor and a Turkish doctor. The minimum salary law is not applied in this case since their degrees and work experiences have not the same attributed value⁷⁰. As a result, the discourse addressing the fairness of the Dutch State is not endangered. Simultaneously, western knowledge is still fabricated as more ‘reliable’ than non-western knowledge.

Social fairness is also discursively toned by often presenting different formats of social welfare⁷¹. Five of the seven textbooks⁷² refer to some of the available subsidies for individuals who find themselves outside the

66 (My translation) Discrimination is forbidden by law in the Netherlands.

67 “Wegwijzer”, “Nederland in zicht”, “Welkom in Nederland”, “Bagage”, and “Kleurrijker”.

68 It stipulates that all individuals, independently of their origin or gender, for the same position and the same years of experience, cannot earn less than an amount of money specified in the law.

69 (My translation) If you have obtained a degree in your country and you have worked there, often you cannot perform the same work in the Netherlands. You can only work at a lower level [profession]. For example, someone who was a doctor in Turkey becomes a nurse in the Netherlands.

70 For the same degree, different positions in the labour market are granted, different earnings and social positions are attributed, while, at the same time, the minimum salary law is still respected.

71 Unemployment subsidy, or subsidy given to those who have been declared incapacitated to work.

72 “Bagage”, “Kleurrijker”, “Nieuwe Start”, “Kom verder!” and “Welkom in Nederland”.

labour market⁷³. As often, the textbooks inform the reader that those subsidies are not available for someone who has not had a previous work history in the Netherlands, automatically excluding non-Dutch newcomers who are, in fact, the main target group of these textbooks⁷⁴. Since non-Dutch individuals in the Netherlands, particularly newcomers, tend to be unemployed longer or to have more irregular jobs than Dutch individuals, their eligibility to benefit as Dutch individuals do from the social welfare is affected. This turns more difficult their transition to better positions in the labour market.

- **job agencies and unemployed immigrants**

In the seven textbooks the reader encounters the mechanisms the State apparently has to help immigrants in their process of finding their position(s) in the labour market. Links and names of real organisations where they can find more information regarding their particular labour situation and possibilities are often presented to the *inburgeraars*. The discourse presenting the Netherlands as a nation of social fairness in the labour market is strengthened, among others, by presenting to newcomers the organisations which normally help unemployed individuals⁷⁵ to find jobs, and describing in every detail all the methods and mechanisms used by these organisations to achieve that purpose. The *UWV werkbedrijf*⁷⁶ (former *CWI*) and the *Uitzendbureaus*⁷⁷ are named often. The unemployed *inburgeraars* are presented with all these 'helpful hands' promising to successfully guide them into the labour market in a short period of time.

A few observations here are worth considering. The language skill that an *inburgeraar* develops during the *Inburgering* program is an A1-A2⁷⁸ language skill. To complete the whole program until A2 level an individual needs at least 6-12 months. In the meantime, *inburgeraars* -particularly newcomers- cannot access paid work or, in many cases, not even work as voluntaries since Dutch language skills are currently a must in most of the labour positions which do not involve semi or unskilled work. To apply for such jobs, the

73 In that segment the Dutch State is fabricated as “provider”, covering the needs of individuals and families when they fail to provide for themselves.

74 No direct relation is discursively established between those who are entitled to receive the benefits of Dutch welfare and their cultural and/or national origin, since non-Dutch individuals with a working history in the Netherlands are also eligible to receive the benefits of social welfare.

75 Immigrants and nationals.

76 It is an independent managing body answering to the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment. Their mission is to stimulate employment by helping unemployed individuals to find jobs, and to attribute an income to those who have been declared as incapacitated to work. <http://www.uwv.nl/overuwv/over-UWV/wie-en-wat-is-UWV/profiel/index.aspx> (Last accessed, 26.06.2011).

77 Temporary employment agencies.

78 A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2 are the different language proficiency levels according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, being the A1 level the extremely basic one and C2 the expert user level.

inburgeraar requires a skill level on the Dutch language of at least B1⁷⁹. In order to access the language courses (NT2) giving that level of language proficiency the *inburgeraar* needs to pay around €2000 or €6000 per course, which seriously hampers the access newcomers have to better positions in the Dutch labour market.

In the past the expenses of the *Inburgering* programme were completely covered by the municipalities⁸⁰. Nowadays the State forecasts that in the near future the costs of the *Inburgering* programme will need to be covered by the *inburgeraar* who is also required by law to have followed the programme in order to legally remain in the Netherlands⁸¹. In the case of the *Inburgering* programme immigrants from third-countries -or their partners- have no other choice than to pay it. This is not the case with the course giving higher proficiency in the Dutch language. Rather than being encouraged, newcomers are discouraged by such prices to invest time, effort and capital on learning Dutch better. This situation hits immigrant women particularly hard. Non-Dutch newcomers who are women and who have not had previous contact with the Dutch language until the moment of migration often come to economically rely on somebody else. Therefore, the option of accessing those courses to attain a higher proficiency in the Dutch language is not theirs to take.

While the present KNS textbooks often address the lack of proficiency in the Dutch language as one of the main reasons for unemployment among immigrants from developing countries, they do not address the social and political mechanisms influencing such a lack of proficiency. By omitting such information, a causal relation is established between the difficulties in acquiring a good level in the Dutch language and the cultural and/or ethnic origin of the *inburgeraar*.

Furthermore, none of the studied KNS textbooks mentions that almost no *Uitzendbureau* or the *UWV werkbedrijf* will accept as a 'client' somebody who does not speak or speaks Dutch very poorly. The obvious discourse suggests that the Dutch State provides unemployed individuals with many 'helpful hands' to step out of their unemployment. Because this discourse is put together in KNS textbooks whose target public are new and/or old immigrants, we tend to assume that those 'helpful hands' are aiming to help also immigrants in a situation of unemployment. In reality however, unemployed newcomers nowadays are often denied the access to such organisations, thus finding themselves with few and unpromising options to enter the Dutch labour market.

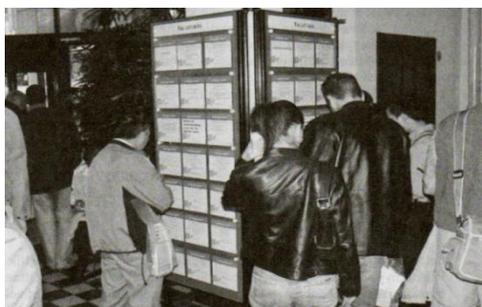
79 This can be easily deduced after searching in the different online job-databases.

80 Which receive a subvention from the State.

81 <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/inburgering/nieuws/2011/06/17/inburgeren-is-eigen-verantwoordelijkheid.html> (last accessed 26.06.2011).

(last

Nevertheless, the immigrant Body⁸² is often visually associated to unemployment agencies in the Netherlands. From the six KNS textbooks having a special chapter for 'work', four of them⁸³ make use of at least one picture in which Bodies coded as *non-Dutch*⁸⁴ are depicted in an *UWV-werkbedrijf* or an *Uitzendbureau*.⁸⁵ Each textbook uses for this chapter an average of two or three photographs.



“Bagage”, ph. in p. 139



“Bagage”, ph. in p. 155

- **'dirty' jobs, manual jobs, caring jobs...who performs them?**

Immigrants from developing countries are often called to work in the secondary labour market characterized by poor pay rates, dangerous employment and/or employment where individuals come in close contact with what developed countries understand as 'dirt'⁸⁶ (Reyneri and Fullin, 2010). All of these sources of

82 Apparently the Body of immigrants who already live in the Netherlands and already speak Dutch, since newcomers do not become clients of such agencies until their Dutch language skills have greatly improved.

83 “Kleurrijker”, “Welkom in Nederland”, “Nederland in zicht” and “Bagage”.

84 Darker of skin, with physical traces recognizable as Mediterranean or southern ones

85 I found particularly interesting the contrast between the picture used to visually support the text presenting the *CWI* -former name of what now is known as *UWV-werkbedrijf*- and that used to illustrate what a work meeting is, in “Bagage”. In the first case (p. 139) a very dark and blurred picture shows to the reader the interior of the *UWV-werkbedrijf* where large panels displaying different vacancies occupy the centre of the frame and catch the viewer's attention both because of their position in the frame and because of their contrast in terms of colour with the predominant darkness of the picture. Surrounding the panels are a number of individuals, all of them facing the panels and showing their backs to the viewer. Many of them are visually covering others appearing more as an undifferentiated mass than as individuals with particular stories or subjectivities. We can identify a woman in that mass, but she is visually assimilated by the mass through the colours, texture and type of clothing that she is wearing. As a viewer we are unable to identify any particular traits of these individuals. They are undifferentiated. The second case though (p. 155) presents the viewer with a very sharp close up of five middle-aged white men. The picture is full of light, the faces of the individuals are clearly discernible and we can read the expressions each of these five men have. There are discussing something which stays outside the frame. While in the first case the object of interest for those in the picture is an object which becomes visually more attractive to the viewer than the people in the picture essentially turning them invisible -the huge panels displacing vacancies-, the second picture leaves outside the frame the object of interest of those portrayed in the picture. The viewer can only access or imagine their object of interest through them, through their faces. By doing so they become extremely visible to the viewer. In other words, unemployed individuals in the first picture are constructed as an undifferentiated mass whose any recognizable trait is their foreign origin and their unemployment. They are completely depersonalized and turned into a category, and by no means constructed as individual subjects with particular life stories.

86 Mary Douglas has developed an amazing body of work on the notion of *dirt*.

employment are also stratified and they are sensitive to the gender, ethnicity and age of the individuals performing them.

While working in the present research, I could not avoid summoning the complex notion of *the abject* conceptualized by Julia Kristeva as that from which we separate ourselves in order to live within an idea of a self of (w)holiness. She defines *the abject* as “(...) something rejected from which one does not part (...)” (1982, p. 4). While *abjection* can manifest itself at different levels and forms, I am particularly interested in the *abjection* of the maternal. She explains that one of the first necessary acts of *abjection*, is when a child recognizes herself as an individual and she separates herself from the maternal world -a world ruled by sensations and emotions- in which she has existed until that moment. To enter the paternal world -a world of order, nomination and language-, the child needs to *abject* the maternal one and she becomes an individual. The maternal world becomes what is *abjected: the abject* (Kristeva, 1982)

But can the maternal world be *abjected*, at a different level, by white-western-full-time-professional mothers? “Familie is in Nederland niet erg belangrijk.”⁸⁷ (Van der Toorn-Schutte, 2010, p. 37). This sentence reminded me again of Arlie Russell Hochschild and her article “Love and Gold”⁸⁸. There, she asserts that women in developed countries who want to succeed in the professional realm, often face the necessity of minimizing the time and energy spent in family work which often involves the dealings with “(...)birth, child rearing, sickness, death” (2002, p. 20), dealings with the realm of emotions and sensations. When women in developed countries become providers and *abject* the more direct caring practices relating them with their children and elders, who takes their place? Women from developing countries, stepping into the *traditional mother* void place (Idem). And I wonder: does the *abjection* of such practices turn the ones performing them into *abjected Bodies* as well? Since most of migrant women appear to have children of their own (Idem, p. 21), does their double act of mothering -personally and professionally- construct them as *abjected Bodies*?

In chapter three I explored the case of the character Monica da Gama, in “Kom verder!”. The textbook presents Monica as a docile, warm, patient woman, always placing her wishes in second place, while in service of the wishes and dreams of those she helps. Her neighbour is an energetic Dutch full-time professional woman presented more as a provider than as a carer. Their uneven relationship is evident. The mothering and caring role Monica performs has been *abjected* by her Dutch neighbour who, as a provider, inhabits mainly with her husband, the paternal world.

87 (My translation, in “Wegwijzer”) Family in the Netherlands is not so important.

88 In “Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy”, 2002.

Their story heavily draws from, and indeed reinforces the circle in which women from developing countries are placed in precarious economic situations in relation to their western counterparts. It reinforces the stereotype fabricating the relationship between non-western and white-middle-class-western women -in which the first one provides care while the second one 'compensates' for that care economically- as a normal one. It establishes a hierarchical relation between them based on the social status attributed to them according to the nature of their labour practices, favoring those practiced in the paternal world over those practiced in the maternal world. It fails to envisage an *other* reality for women from developing countries immigrating to the Netherlands. Rather than creating an empowering example to literally help newcomer women to “kom verder” - go further- from the social and cultural stereotypes bounding them, it reinforces disempowering stereotypes which restrain them from envisioning themselves in a position of equality in relation to their counterparts.

While in the seven analyzed KNS textbooks the manner of introducing to the *inburgeraars* their choices in the Dutch labour market can vary, they share similar traces regarding the type of work where they tend to situate them⁸⁹. “Nederland in zicht”, when exemplifying what 'work' is in the Netherlands, presents to the reader a picture in black and white of the stock exchange in Amsterdam where a mass of white-male-suited Bodies -unmarked Bodies- can be seen writing, talking while surrounded by electronic panels, screens and computers. Only one woman is to be seen in this picture⁹⁰. There is no doubt that such a job is a 'white' collar job involving a lot of decision making and offering great social status to especially men. But no marked Body is depicted there. Through its author we know that this particular textbook is meant for individuals with a high educational level. From the three pictures used in the chapter addressing 'work', only one shows a marked Body -a black woman⁹¹. This marked Body is summoned when depicting it as the user of a website used to find and apply for jobs. While the possibility of receiving a highly educated immigrant in the Netherlands is accepted -since the textbook addresses that specific target group-, such a highly educated immigrant is still mainly envisioned in the professional world as an unmarked Body -a white-male one.

In order to exemplify which are the tasks, responsibilities and rights an employee has in the Netherlands, or how an unemployed individual can apply for a job, the rest of the six textbooks often use situations where the central character is an immigrant interacting with the given situation. In the overwhelming

89 There is no direct and obvious discourse acknowledging that only specific jobs in specific areas are available to immigrants from developing countries. To directly state that immigrants from developing countries can only perform well in specific jobs where no high professional skills are needed, would crash with the statement establishing the Netherlands as a country where discriminatory practices of any form are prohibited by law. The discourses situating the target public of these textbooks on specific work fields or jobs are much more subtle and, in some cases, difficult to trace.

90 Bakker, 2008, p. 67.

91 This particular textbook depicts marked Bodies only in 4 of the total of 16 pictures depicting humans used in it.

majority of the cases they are situated performing 'blue' collar work or, in the case of women, performing a variety of care or cleaning tasks.

“Wegwijzer” uses three pictures and a couple of sentences to define what 'work' is for the *inburgeraar* in the Netherlands. The three pictures show a factory, the construction of ships, and a field of flowers while adding that

“Veel buitenlanders werken in de tuinbouw. (...) Andere werkplekken zijn fabrieken (industrie) en kantoren. Ook de scheepsbouw en visserij zijn belangrijk in Nederland.”⁹² (Van der Toorn-Schutte, 2010, p. 19).

This generalization of 'where' a newly arrived immigrant can find labour completely erases the possibility that an immigrant can work teaching philosophy or history of arts at university, or work in the ICT field. It predisposes and limits the work choices *inburgeraars* have, based on their ethnicity.

“Welkom in Nederland”, when answering to the very relevant question for the target public of these textbooks “Which work is to be found?”, creates a list of possible sectors and/or jobs which can function as a compass for the newcomer to situate herself in the Dutch labour market. *Inburgeraars* can be “monteurs” -mechanics-; “schilders” -house painters-; they can work in a restaurant, or in the care sector like in nursing homes and day care centers; they can be “chauffeurs” -drivers-; “secretaresse” -secretaries-; they can be sentries or “tuinman” -gardener⁹³.

Although “Kleurrijker” does show women together with men in most of the pictures depicting 'white' collar jobs, those women are still white-western women. The only picture depicting a black woman working shows her working as a maid in a hotel⁹⁴, with two other white-western-women.

Tasks or jobs requiring a big dose of physical effort, some training -but not in higher education- irregular working hours and lesser wages are constantly associated with the working immigrant via photographs or descriptions of work situations in which immigrants find themselves. The positions in the Dutch labour market in which *inburgeraars* are most often represented in all the KNS textbooks are mostly those available for the working-class...when presented as being successfully integrated in the labour market and not unemployed⁹⁵.

92 (My translation) Many foreigners work in the sector of horticulture. Other places to work are factories (industry) and offices. Also the ship-building industry and fishery are important in the Netherlands.

93 “Nederland in zicht”, 2010, p. 151.

94 “Kleurrijker”, 2010, Unit 1, p. 34.

95 Except “Nederland in zicht”, because of its particular target public.

An interesting exception pops up in the KNS textbook edited by “Kleurrijker” when the section of discrimination is presented and discussed. A picture of a black male surgeon hugged by his white male counterpart seems to suggest to the *inburgeraar* that it is possible to envision such a reality where a marked Body can go beyond the stereotypes bounding her capabilities. Such a picture though seems to disappear in the sea of all the other pictures or texts mainly associating the *inburgeraar* with tasks or jobs requiring no or low intellectual skills. It ends up acting discursively more as a proof of how exceptional it is to have marked Bodies on socially highly recognized labour positions in the Netherlands than as an empowering example.

As a sort of conclusion for this chapter I would like firstly to stress that I do not believe that the working class performs unworthy tasks and that it is diminishing to associate somebody with work of that nature. For generations, my own family has belonged to the working class, a fact in which I do take pride for many reasons. But I do argue against the association often made between belonging to the working class and being lowly educated because of some lack in learning capabilities. I also argue against the association often made between immigrants from developing countries and a position in the Dutch labour market for which no or low intellectual skills are required.

KNS textbooks do target specific groups within the broader collective of *inburgeraars*. Particularly those targeting low educated immigrants fail to see them as individuals in constant evolution and development. They envision them as 'Bodies trapped forever in their ignorance'. They still associate low educational level with low intellectual capabilities while completely disregarding all the economical, political and social factors that can influence in the country of origin of many immigrants their experience with schooling. They fail to see that altering the social, economical and political stimulæ of an individual affects and influences her. They can induce her growth -if properly fomented- or her decline and ostracization.

As I have shown in the present chapter, the analyzed KNS textbooks tend to fabricate immigrants as a general and fixed category, intellectually limited by their ethnic and/or cultural origin, unable to go beyond what appears to be their 'natural' predisposition to mediocrity. A real and positive integration needs to be pursued by no longer reinforcing -albeit indirectly- practices that locate immigrants in the most vulnerable and isolated positions in the Dutch labour market. KNS textbooks should take the responsibility of envisioning an integration in which the *inburgeraars'* capabilities are not ignored, but rather stimulated improving both their life and that of others in the host society they have chosen to live in.

When I encountered Haraway's words stressing that “(...) “communication” across irreducible difference is what matters (...)” (Haraway, 2003, p. 48), I came to realize how much of that communication is needed to ensure an honest relation between immigrants and natives in the Netherlands of today. The particular migration history and patterns of the Netherlands have come to produce different approaches when relating with the immigrant Body. Ranging from a more *integrationist* approach to a more *assimilationist* one, Dutch society strives yet to answer the question: how can we communicate across our irreducible differences?

In the third edition of the “Handbook on Integration for policy-makers and practitioners” the European Union through the European Commission states that,

“Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States. (Niessen and Hudleston on behalf of the European Commission, 2009, p. 160).

However the current integration policy for third-country immigrants in the Netherlands stresses the necessity to erase the differences between them and individuals of Dutch origin. This is posed as a prerequisite for coexistence and social cohesion as well as the path to follow in order to reaffirm Dutch identity (Scholten, 2011, p.81). Immigrants from developing countries are expected to adapt *-inburgeren-* ourselves, to camouflage ourselves into behaviours, practices and social representations belonging to a specific segment of Dutch society. By doing so, our social-economic position should improve. The studied KNS textbooks are one of the various tools used to encourage and guide non-Dutch newcomers into our *inburgering* process. It comes therefore as no surprise that they also speak from an *assimilationist* position.

Didactic method

The didactic method and the positivist paradigm underlying these textbooks tend to establish a hierarchical relation between 'the one who teaches' and 'the one being taught', favouring the first one over the second one. The prevalent didactic method draws from what Freire classifies as 'depository' education. 'Depository' education attributes agency and the production of knowledge exclusively to 'the one who teaches'. At the same time, it attributes to 'the one being taught' a passive role. That person does not produce valid knowledge. She is rather depository of the knowledge of others and her agency is limited. She knows and sees herself only through the discourses of 'the one who teaches', fabricating her. Freire points out that,

“The more completely they [the ones being taught] accept the passive role imposed to them, the more they tend simply to adapt to the world as it is and to the fragmented view of reality deposited in them.” (1996, p. 54).

But can that be the key to promote positive integration, where both non-Dutch (new)comers and individuals of Dutch origin come to profit from each others' bodies of knowledge? The European Parliament reminds us that,

“Migration can be enriching for the educational experience of all: linguistic and cultural diversity (...) can help to deepen and strengthen pedagogies, skills, and knowledge itself.” (European Commission, 2008, p. 4).

To completely disregard the relevance the cultural capital of immigrants has on shaping the language, culture and science of their host countries, is to discursively negate their major influence on the shaping of today's most powerful European countries' economies and cultures (Harding, 1998). Pedagogic methods used in the *Inburgering* program -as the first field where non-Dutch newcomers and the Dutch society meet- should incite to dialogue rather than eliminate it. KNS textbooks should more openly value the cultural capital of non-Dutch newcomers and motivate its growth.

Gender stereotyping

Women's emancipation in the public and the private spheres in the studied KNS textbooks is discursively set at the heart of successfully performing *Dutchness*. Many texts have discursively fabricated women's emancipation in the Netherlands through emphasizing the increase of their participation in the public sphere -their participation on the labour market- while at the same time emphasizing the increase of men's participation in the private sphere's tasks and responsibilities.

However, gender stereotyping is still present in the nature of jobs assigned to women. Although their active participation in the labour market is heightened, it is also associated with mainly part-time activities⁹⁶. Such a discourse essentially does not challenge the stereotype attributing to women the major responsibilities in the household tasks and in the rearing of children. It rather fails to envision or incite to alternative models of household while reinforcing the opinion that men were, and still are, the primary providers of the household. Women's major contribution is still being situated in the private sphere. And although men's participation in the household and rearing tasks is discursively posed as desirable, their major contribution is still being situated in the public sphere.

96 A full-time participation in the labour market is discouraged under the pretext that it negatively affects the quality of the family life and the upbringing of the children.

Often, when women⁹⁷ are depicted as being active in the labour market, they are depicted working mostly in kindergartens and/or nursing homes, producing or selling food and cleaning. Such representations reinforce the belief that women are biologically determined to perform well only in those specific fields of knowledge which are linked to their biological capacity to mother. Such a limited vision of women's contribution to the labour market offers, particularly to non-Dutch women newly arrived to the Netherlands, a very limited perspective of the positions in the labour market they can come to occupy. By doing so, these textbooks reinforce the already precarious position in the labour market in which immigrant women currently find themselves. They also strengthen the practice which delegates to immigrant women those tasks which white-(upper) middle-class-western women *abject*.⁹⁸

If KNS textbooks want to promote a real model of emancipation, they must envisage and advance models of social participation for women, which can go beyond the biological determinism underlying gender stereotyping. Pedagogical tools used to advance the integration of immigrants in the Netherlands cannot accept reinforcing -albeit indirectly- an emancipation model which rests upon the exploitation and the positioning of immigrant women in the most unstable and badly remunerated jobs, limiting their own emancipation process.

Ghettoization at the heart of the Netherlands of multiculturalism

The analyzed KNS textbooks often use the term *multicultural society* to describe the Netherlands. Numbers are summoned to indicate the large body of individuals of non-Dutch origin currently living, studying and working in the country⁹⁹. But do they actually coexist in the same social spaces?

The manner in which the school and work social areas have been discursively constructed in these textbooks indicates that individuals of a non-Dutch origin do not often share those social areas with individuals of Dutch origin. Dutch individuals as fabricated by these textbooks are mostly white, they belong to the (upper) middle-class and hold mostly 'white' collar jobs. At the same time, in the work arena, non-Dutch individuals are textually and visually depicted mainly as belonging to the working-class. Marked Bodies are rarely depicted in high skilled work fields, where very often unmarked Bodies are to be found. The different positions they are discursively set to occupy in the labour ladder defines the different social spaces in which they move.

97 Mostly immigrant women but also, to some extent, Dutch women. Dutch women appear performing 'white' collar jobs more often than immigrant women do.

98 As I have shown in chapter four, this practice socially poses immigrant women's Bodies as *abjected* Bodies.

99 Those numbers appear to be the living proof that, indeed, in the Netherlands, many cultures coexist in respect for each other.

Schools are equally, textually and visually, fabricated as social spaces where Dutch and non-Dutch pupils rarely meet. The existence of 'Black' schools and 'White' schools in the Netherlands is not critically approached by the analyzed KNS textbooks. While some of the textbooks avoid mentioning such a division, others present it as the general state of affairs without questioning it. By doing so, to separate schooling according to ethnic and/or cultural origin appears as a common and accepted social practice in the Netherlands to which non-Dutch individuals need to yield, even when such a practice increases the social isolation of immigrant children and their families.

The manner in which academic progression in the Dutch educational system has been fabricated in the textbooks in question favours the vocational streams rather than the academical ones¹⁰⁰. Instead of promoting the access of immigrant children to more complex academic streams which would have an impact on their later social-economic position, that is rather discouraged by discursively establishing the academic streams as spaces accessed mainly by an elite of very bright pupils. The European Commission reminds us that,

“(…) Efforts in education are critical to preparing immigrants, and particularly their descendants, to be more successful and more active participants in society.” (Niessen and Hudleston on behalf of the European Commission, 2009, p. 160).

Rather than critically approaching them and promoting alternative possibilities, the analyzed KNS textbooks discursively reinforce some of the mechanisms responsible for the social segregation that immigrants from developing countries currently experience in the Netherlands. Such segregation tends to work against their growth and social-economic development. It also increases the gap between immigrants and natives and subtly normalizes social ghettoization. By doing so, irreducible differences become sharper while forms of communicating across them in a multicultural society, become blurred.

Final thoughts

I believe in the relevance of integration programmes in shaping the experience an immigrant can come to have when migrating to a new country. In my own migrations I have tasted the 'do it, learn it, find it yourself' as well as the organized version. Both have left marks which have shaped the way that I have come to see myself through the eyes of others.

Creating and pedagogically fabricating an integration programme for immigrants cannot and should not be viewed outside its political responsibility. More importantly, an integration programme aiming to guide immigrants into specific practices set as desirable in the eyes of the host country, is always inserted in a

100 The vocational streams tend to lead to low to middle skilled professions in the labour market.

broader political discourse. Political discourses are always partial. They bring along a complete universe of behaviours, practices and cultural representations they value or devalue in accordance to the interests of those articulating them. Being so, it is my belief that the partiality of the integration programs for immigrants should be acknowledged by their makers rather than masked. Doing so, will enable immigrants to establish a more honest dialogue and negotiation with the cultural representations and practices to which they are being introduced.

I have personally missed reading a KNS textbook used for the *Inburgering* programme written for non-Dutch (new)comers from the perspective of a non-Dutch individual. Too often the KNS textbooks in question choose to let desirable values and practices be spoken from the mouth of characters embodying 'successfully integrated in the Netherlands' immigrants¹⁰¹ in order to reduce the level of resistance an *inburgeraar* could develop regarding those values, cultural representations and practices. But, this is merely an act of mimicry. Those characters do not speak from the perspective of a non-Dutch individual in the Netherlands. They rather speak from the perspective of a white-(upper) middle-class *Dutchness* imagining the perspective of a non-Dutch individual in the Netherlands.

The studied KNS textbooks have shown a tendency to (re)produce immigrants' Body as a low skilled working Body, rather than as a knowing Body. Such a discursive fabrication feeds on colonial cultural representations which fail to legitimize the value of non-western knowledge for the growth of the developed West. The *Inburgering* programme, through its pedagogical tools, has the possibility to establish a bridge where meaningful communication can take place, for the benefit of both immigrants and natives. It has the possibility to promote empowering practices and to develop capabilities through which immigrants can transform their social-economic position. Such transformation would not only benefit them, but it would also benefit Dutch society as a whole. To disregard or even promote gender, class, cultural and/or ethnic stereotyping in the pedagogical tools used in the *Inburgering* program is to endanger a Netherlands of true social fairness and true multiculturalism.

101 Monica and Yasmine, in “Kom verder!”, Galo in “Welkom in Nederland”, many characters in “Kleurrijker”.

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“Kom verder!”

The present textbook under the signature of Ad Bakker and published in 2006 by Boom states that is a pedagogical tool addressing both individuals with a low educational level as well as highly educated individuals¹⁰². It also indicates that those who have used the book to prepare for the KNS exam, will indirectly develop a proficiency level of A1-A2 in the Dutch language.

The textbook is structured in twenty lessons which develop around one year in the daily life of the central character, a 35 years old Brazilian woman (Monica da Gama) married to a Dutch man. This pedagogical tool has no clear cut divisions regarding the topics it addresses. Topics like the Dutch taxation system, education, work, politics, etc. are rather casually summoned throughout the conversations or events taking place in the life of the central character, which means that quite often they are superficially and, in my account, insufficiently approached. A brief multiple choice exam is to be found every five chapters, which functions as a summary for the *inburgeraars* to remember the most relevant information of the previous chapter and for them to test how well such information has been absorbed.

A positive feature is that the textbook includes the translation of Dutch key words in Turkish, Arabic, English and Chinese. It also includes two CDs where the *inburgeraars* can listen to the texts they encounter while working with this method. This feature is more directly related to increase the language skill of the *inburgeraars*, since it aims to develop oral comprehension skills of those studying with this textbook. Other traits this pedagogical tool brings forward to stimulate the acquisition of skills in the Dutch language are comprehension questions after each lesson, and questions which induce the *inburgeraar* to produce oral or written speech in Dutch. Because this method does not include the answers to the questions featuring both in the multiple choice exams as well as in the lessons -unless the *inburgeraar* buys the teacher's book- it is less appropriate as a self-study method.

¹⁰² The present research has made it evident though, that highly educated immigrants are not represented in this textbook. The immigrant Body being constructed in it, often lacks an evident reference to its previous educational history or professional history. I would therefore assert that this textbook appears to address specifically individuals with a low educational level.

“Nederland in zicht”

Ad Bakker authors this textbook published in 2008 by Boom. It specifically addresses highly educated individuals, particularly those from the business and managerial sector. However, it also states that it wants to address foreign students in the (professional) higher education too. It therefore uses statistic charts, sections of the Constitution and official documents to introduce the *inburgeraars* into different topics of relevance for their life experience in the Netherlands. The textbook aims to prepare highly educated immigrants in the Netherlands for their KNS exam.

Each chapter refers to a specific topic. Among them, the *inburgeraar* finds information about the history, geography and culture in the Netherlands; about housing, education, insurance, work, the Dutch penal system, the Dutch media, etc. At the end of each chapter the *inburgeraar* finds a selection of development questions. While they do relate to the content of the chapter to which they belong, mostly they try to instigate the *inburgeraar* to produce oral or written speech in Dutch. The answers for the comprehension questions can be found online, which means that this textbook can be used as a self-study method.

The present pedagogical tool tends to approach its different topics with some depth. The *inburgeraars* are provided with a large amount of information, particularly from the legislative order. Although the level of the language skills that the use of this textbook provides is not clearly stated, this method uses a more complex syntax and generally a more complex language level. Nevertheless, it lacks features which directly work on the acquisition of oral comprehension skills by its users. In the main, it does not actively work on developing equally all aspects of the language skills of the *inburgeraars* using this method.

“Bagage”

This textbook written by Nelleke Koot and reprinted by Uitgeverij Coutinho in 2009 does not specify the educational level of its target group. The complexity of the information and language structures used suggest though that this method targets middle to highly educated immigrants in the Netherlands. It states that its fundamental aim is to help the *inburgeraar* to face the KNS exam, although it also provides the *inburgeraar* with exercises she can add to her portfolio, for the oral section of the *Inburgering* examination.

This pedagogical tool is structured in ten units addressing different topics relevant to guarantee a successful outcome from the KNS exam. Housing, work, education, healthcare, politics, geography and history of the Netherlands, as well as good manners according to Dutch standards are approached by presenting a combination of statistic charts and informative texts. By doing so, this method wants to stress the existing variety of opinions on each of these topics. Furthermore, it makes often use of links of organisations where the *inburgeraars* can find specific information relevant to their particular interest on a specific topic. This gives the

textbook a particular flair, making it appear as seriously engaged with the language and cultural referents of the present times.

It also works particularly on developing the skills in the *inburgeraar* to produce written and oral speech in Dutch. This pedagogical tool also pursues an increase of the written comprehension skills of those using the textbook. Oral comprehension is indirectly practiced when the *inburgeraar* is invited to speak or interview individuals of Dutch origin on specific topics. This method offers more material and the answer to its comprehension questions, online. It also states that those using this textbook to prepare themselves for the KNS exam will come to acquire a proficiency level in Dutch equivalent to A2 level.

“Kleurrijker-KNS”

“Kleurrijker-KNS” has been developed by Kleurrijker group. In the present research I have worked with the compiled file as provided to me in 2010. It is structured in eight thematic modules or individual chapters in which topics like education, work, housing, healthcare, norms and values in Dutch society, history and geography of the Netherlands, etc. are approached to prepare the *inburgeraar* for the KNS exam. Although it does not clearly state the required educational level of its target group, in my opinion it appears to cover the range between lowly and highly educated individuals. This is made possible by using a quite accessible language level while presenting more complex information. This pedagogical tool appears to guide the *inburgeraar* in acquiring a level of proficiency in Dutch equivalent to A1-A2 level.

Each module has specific information made available to the *inburgeraar* in printed version, but it also includes information and exercises which need to be fulfilled online, on Kleurrijker's web page. This presupposes that the *inburgeraar* has knowledge of how to use computers and most importantly, access to them. Each topic is addressed through texts which can be based more on narrative or on situations (dialogues). After each text a large body of exercises makes sure that the *inburgeraar* works on her writing and oral comprehension skills and on her skills in producing oral and written speech. Particularly the exercises that are made available online have the same format with the KNS exam (multiple choice questions), which ensures that the *inburgeraars* get familiarized with the manner in which specific information is asked from them in the KNS exam.

I find that the variety of manners used by this textbook to increase the language skills of the *inburgeraar* is a particularly positive feature. Lists of key words per topic are provided and audiovisual material is often used to support the given information. Also, a useful summary of the key information per topic is provided at the end of each module.

“Nieuwe Start”

Authored by Britt Westerneng and Merel Louter and published by NCB in 2010, this textbook is a reworked and simplified version of a previously developed didactic method. In the textbook is stated that the content of the texts and the complexity of the language have been simplified and updated. This method asserts that it particularly addresses individuals with a skill in the Dutch language between A1-A2. This means that the maximum language level that it can provide is equivalent to an A2 level. No reference is made to the desired educational level of its target group, but considering the manner in which the information is displayed it is possible to say that it addresses specifically lowly and middle educated immigrants living in the Netherlands. Its objective is to prepare the *inburgeraar* for the KNS exam.

The textbook is structured in eight chapters. Each one informs the *inburgeraar* on specific topics like work and income, type of governance in the Netherlands, education and upbringing, housing, healthcare, norms and values in Dutch society, history and geography of the Netherlands, etc. Each chapter approaches their information by dividing it in subtopics and exploring them. However, the manner in which information is displayed tends to be generalizing and too condensed in some cases, leaving insufficient space for a more nuanced perspective.

This pedagogical tool though makes often use of links to organisations which can provide to the *inburgeraar* further information on the topics of each chapter. By doing so, the textbook seems to try to compensate the lack of nuances in the information that it provides, while simultaneously appearing updated and inscribed in the present time. At the end of each chapter the *inburgeraars* find a list of the Dutch key words that they need to know (per topic), and a series of comprehension questions referring to the content of each chapter. The answers to those questions are provided at the end of the textbook. In my opinion, this method engages little with an active work on increasing the language skills of the *inburgeraars* whom it addresses.

“Wegwijzer”

This textbook has been authored by Jenny van der Toorn-Schutte and published by Boom in 2010. The present method asserts that its target public are lowly educated individuals who are required to pass the *Inburgering* examination, particularly the KNS exam. Although it states that the language level acquired by an individual using this textbook is equivalent to A2 level, the extreme simplification of the Dutch language it uses makes me question such a statement. The objective of the present method, as stated in it, is to guide the lowly educated *inburgeraars* so they can pass their KNS exam.

This pedagogical tool is structured in twenty lessons covering a variety of topics. Among them are education, work and income, housing, healthcare, World War II, types of governance and important buildings in the Netherlands, norms and values Dutch value the most, religious festivities, etc. Each lesson makes use of many pictures with a simple text explaining what they represent. Extra information is presented in short sentences, followed often by multiple choice exercises where the *inburgeraar* can check how much of the received information has embedded. The information provided to the *inburgeraar* though is too often based on extreme generalizations of the life in the Netherlands.

A positive feature of the textbook is the choice of the format for the exercises. They follow the same format as the KNS exam (multiple choice), which familiarizes the *inburgeraar* with the manner in which information is requested during the KNS exam. The textbook also includes extra exercises at the end which summarize the information acquired by the *inburgeraars* through this method. It also provides them with the answers to those exercises and a list of explained key words covering all topics addressed. Nevertheless, such a list provides the explanation only in Dutch, which might be a barrier to those who have had no previous contact with the Dutch language.

“Welkom in Nederland”

Marilene Gathier authors the present textbook published by Uitgeverij Coutinho in 2010. It specifically addresses lowly and middle educated individuals with a starting language proficiency in Dutch equivalent to A1 level. After completing the textbook, the *inburgeraar* is expected to have achieved an A2 proficiency level in the Dutch language. The objective of the textbook is to successfully guide the *inburgeraar* through the KNS exam. This pedagogical tool includes extra material (short films, extra exercises, links giving access to more information) available online, through the publisher's web page. The *inburgeraar* is expected to have access to computers and knowledge of how to use them in order to successfully go through the present method. A special CD is available -but needs to be ordered separately- featuring information for teachers and a list of key words translated into English, Turkish and Arabic.

This textbook is structured in ten chapters, each one of them approaching a particular topic. Among those topics are: healthcare, education and upbringing, work and income in the Netherlands. The geography and history of the Netherlands, the most relevant organisations and public services in the country, politics, and the forms and values Dutch adhere to the most are also among those topics. The textbook takes as main characters a family formed by Galo, a Bolivian man, his Dutch wife Mirjam and their daughter Amisha. At the end of each chapter the *inburgeraar* can answer to specific questions on each topic which take Galo, Mirjam and Amisha as an example. Furthermore, this method does not use this family to filter the information it provides to the *inburgeraar*.

The present pedagogical tool makes use of relatively brief bodies of text which is often followed by different types of comprehension questions. For example, the *inburgeraar* is asked to state if a given information is true or false. There are also multiple choice questions that aim to familiarize the *inburgeraar* with the examination method used in the KNS exam. At the end of each chapter the *inburgeraars* are requested to mark in a table the knowledge provided by the chapter that they have come to fully acquire. They can also find a list with the key words of each chapter and references to extra exercises and films available to them online. While this textbook makes an effort in developing the writing and oral comprehension skills as well as the production of written speech skill of the *inburgeraar*, it gives little space to the development of the capabilities required to produce oral speech in Dutch.