"What matters is what you are inside, what you think and feel"

Children presenting an alternative understanding of who we are: Hybrid Cultures and Hybrid Identities in the Netherlands.

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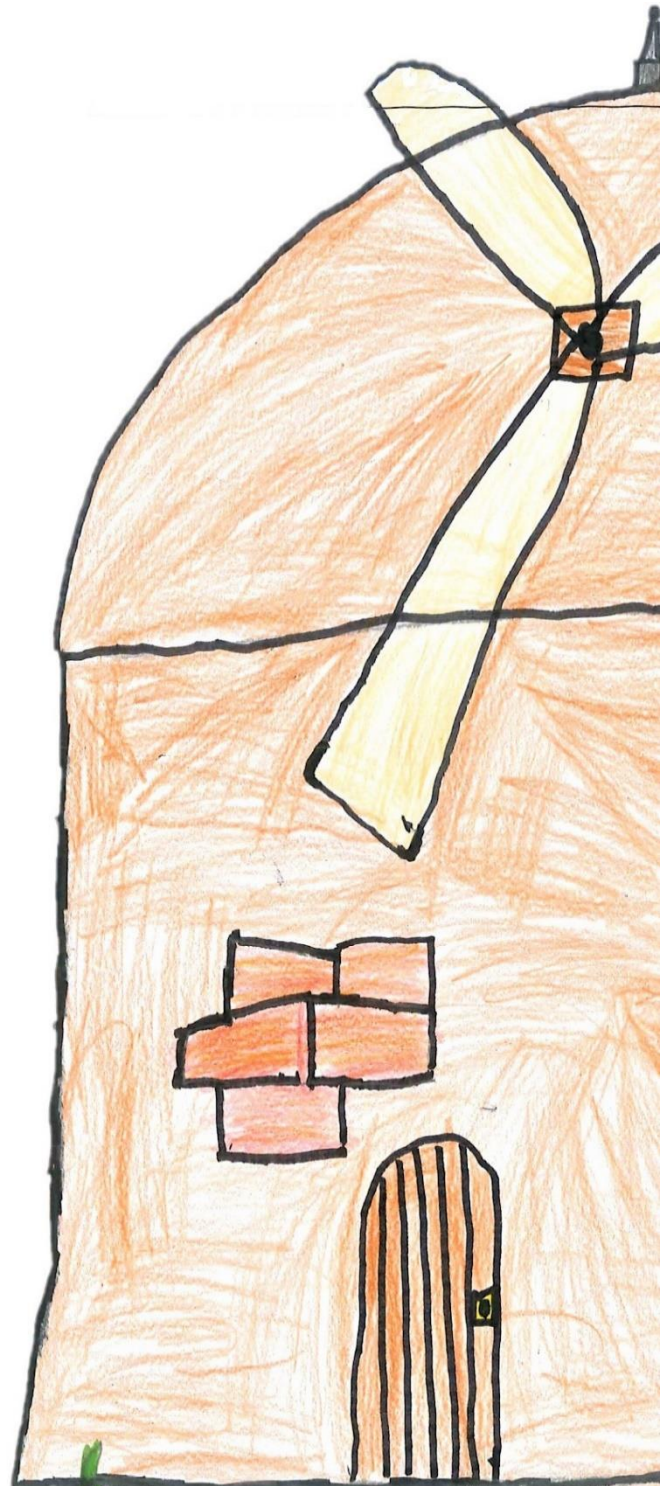Master of Philosophy in Childhood Studies

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

External effects of globalisation have caused discussions in European societies whereby people express feelings of a loss of culture and a loss of identity. Striking in these debates is the negative expression towards Muslims and Muslim cultures, strongly expressed in the media debate. As a reaction to these effects, governments have tried to find ways to strengthen social cohesion in their countries by redefining their national culture and identity. The Netherlands, a country that was known for its tolerance towards immigrants and thereby their way of handling immigration, has in the last couple of years faced assassinations caused by a dissatisfaction towards contemporary integration policies. As a reaction to these assassinations, the combination of Western and non-Western cultures became more and more seen as a source of social problems. As a response to this, the government has tried to redefine national identity using education in the form of history cannons and citizenship education. Even though these solutions to social problems are in the first place implemented on children, children themselves have not had the change to state their opinions about this global pattern. This thesis, therefore, aims to open up debate on the influence that children have on the structure of the society regarding cultural change and identity formation. Through the use of different research methods, this thesis aims to explore the ways by which children describe culture and identity in the contemporary Netherlands. The results of this research show that children form new perspectives on culture and identity, perceiving the contemporary Netherlands as consisting of hybrid cultures and hybrid identities that form a combination of Dutch and foreign characteristics. A focus on these forms of culture and identity shifts the attention away from the expectation of immigrants to adapt to a culture and identity in which they will never become entirely included, to a culture and identity based on similarities in which both parties find common ground and establish social cohesion among all society members.

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1. Introduction

In this first chapter, the background to the topic will be briefly outlined, followed by my inspiration for this research and a description of the relevance of the study. Then the research aims and objectives will be presented followed by the research questions. Finally, an outline of this thesis will be described by which the structure becomes clear.

1.1 Background to the topic

Most societies around the world are culturally plural. This diversity challenges the social hierarchies and conceptions of *us* and *them*. Questions of identity, immigration, and multiculturalism are therefore frequently visible in public and political debate (Verkuyten, 2005). In contemporary Europe, nations have sought ways to strengthen their national identity which can be perceived as a *backlash against multiculturalism* (Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015). Moreover, concerns about national identity often focus on a problematisation of cultural differences, especially between Western and non-Western cultures, whereby Islam plays an influencing role. Even though the European context widely diverges in governing new policies around this topic, the Dutch context does not differ from this European pattern of perceiving non-Western cultures as a threat to national identity (Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015).

The Netherlands has had significant foreign media attention after political assassinations in 2002 and 2004. Some people suggest that the Dutch were paying the price for their failure of integrating immigrants with a Muslim background. In response to this, the Netherlands was perceived as changing from a haven of tolerance towards intolerance (Lechner, 2008). In the Netherlands, public discussion of national identity used to be taboo. The Netherlands is , however, not so different from its neighbours by the revival of interest in national identity. Paradoxically, part of the struggle in the Netherlands focusses on how to become Dutch, while at the same time being Dutch is understood as not being nationalist (Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015).

In 2015, the Dutch cabinet indicated that there were more and more signals of threatening tensions between different groups in the society (Felten & Keuzenkamp, 2016). Essed and Trienekens (2008) state that almost every day Dutch politicians or other spokespersons problematise ethnic groups in the Netherlands. Ethnic groups are, according to them, generally seen as socially and culturally incapable of integrating.

1.2 Personal inspiration

My inspiration for undertaking this research is based on different factors. In the first place, I have always had a curiosity for questions of how things work, the reasons behind how they work, and why some things are perceived so differently by different people. This enthusiasm is quite broad and thus fits different topics, but is the underlying factor of why I chose this topic. My particular curiosity is for how things work that will not have a clear answer that is easy to find. Some questions do not have clear-cut answers, which makes me even more curious to find ways to answer and discuss it. Besides that, my motivation for this topic is influenced by my desire to know more about what children think about such topics. Children are a fascinating source to find out why things are the way they are and how they might develop in the future. They argue in such an unpredictable and uninhibited way, which I find very inspiring. The specific topic of national culture and identity aroused my interest years ago when I came to know more about world influencing topics such as large-scale immigration, globalisation, and the way the West influences the world. After having been travelling more abroad, building up intercultural friendships, and moving to another country, I started to want to know more about how these influences affect the situations in my birth country. These new experiences made it possible for me to reflect on this topic in the Netherlands from a broader perspective, which not only reflects the Dutch side of the story but puts the situation in perspective comparable to other countries and reflects worldwide structures and circumstances.

1.3 Relevance of the study

The main focus of this study is to explore and describe processes by which children explain their own and other´s culture, and their own and other´s identity in the context of the contemporary Netherlands. This can improve our understanding of the way societies make distinctions between people in a multi-ethnic society. In the Netherlands, ethnic minorities have lower status and are therefore easy targets of negative behaviour. Different studies have indicated that young children are already aware of the social structure and the inter-ethnic relations (Verkuyten, 2002). The cultural stereotypes prevailing in society have an imprinting effect on children´s memories even before they develop their personal beliefs that may differ from this (Bar-Tal, 1996). Besides that, in societies like the Netherlands national identity and culture are by children linked from the past to the present and the present to the future (Leonard, 2011). In the Netherlands, where there are discussions around national culture and identity, these links become centralised. We therefore need to give children the space to express their

attitudes towards diversity, difference, tolerance and citizenship (Leonard, 2007). In that way, we gain a better understanding of the links between past and present, and present and future.

The relationship between children and nationalism remains under-researched. However, in the past few years, through the lens of childhood studies[1], researchers have focussed on demonstrating how children actively construct national identity rather than being passive receivers in this process. On the basis of this, researchers argue that intergenerationally transmitted social structures are challenged and reworked by children (Leonard, 2011). This thesis will therefore broaden our knowledge of the transmission of structures and how children reconstruct this knowledge in the context of the contemporary Netherlands. For this it seems necessary to go beyond the perspective of only one particular group, because of the growing complexity and diversity of the society. Therefore it is essential in this research project to show perspectives from both majority and minority group children in the Netherlands (Verkuyten, 2002). This will provide us with a more realistic reflection of how children in the Dutch society think about nationality and culture. For that reason, children from different backgrounds were approached to take part in the research. The research field is a primary school with a mixed population that forms a real reflection of contemporary society in the Netherlands.

1.4 Research aim and objectives

The overall aim of this research study is to explore in which ways children describe culture and identity in the context of the Netherlands. In addition, this thesis aims to explore the processes through which children develop their line of thinking on these topics. In order to conform to this aim, the following objectives were formulated;

1. To explore the ways by which children in the Netherlands describe culture
    1.1 To explore patterns of socialisation and transmission of cultural traits as expressed by children
    1.2 To explore how children themselves contribute to the formation of new cultural structures
    1.3 To explore how children understand and describe the culture of the Dutch society

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[1] Childhood studies is a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary academic field or approach with a focus on childhood as a social category or structure in which children are seen as social agents or actors (James & James, 2008; Smith & Greene, 2014; Wells, 2018).

2. To explore the ways by which children in the Netherlands describe identity

    2.1 To explore if and how children categorise people in the Dutch society

    2.2 To explore if and in what ways people can acquire Dutchness

    2.3 To explore in what ways children understand and describe the identity of people in the Dutch society

1.5 Research questions

In order to fulfil the objectives of this research, the thesis aims to answer the following research questions;

1. In which ways do children in the Netherlands describe culture?

    1.1 In what ways are patterns of socialisation and transmission of cultural traits expressed by children?

    1.2 In what ways do children themselves contribute to the formation of new cultural structures?

    1.3 In what ways do children understand and describe the culture of the Dutch society?

2. In which ways do children in the Netherlands describe identity?

    2.1 Do children categorise people in the Dutch society? If yes, in which ways?

    2.2 Can people acquire Dutchness, according to children? If yes, in which ways?

    2.3 In what ways do children understand and describe the identity of the people in the Dutch society?

1.6 Outline of the thesis

The second chapter of this thesis explains the background to this topic and describes an introduction of national identity and culture in the Netherlands. Besides that, the chapter provides background information on the population, politics and education

Chapter 3 presents an overview of the theoretical concept relevant to this study. First, the general background of childhood studies will be presented, followed by theories on culture and identity. Then, the chapter focusses on how these theories can be understood in relation to childhood studies and in what way, through the use of these theories, it is possible to discuss how children are affected by and are active in the (re)production of national culture and identity in the Netherlands.

In chapter 4 the methodology and methods related to this research are outlined. The chapter presents the process of data collection and related dilemma's that were faced before, during, and after data collection. Then, the chapter focusses on ethical considerations that were relevant in all stages of the research.

In chapter 5 and 6 the data that the fieldwork provided is analysed through the lens of the theory described in chapter 3. The chapters are organised by the ways children described cultures and identities. Together these chapters show the contemporary situation of the Netherlands by which issues such as globalisation, immigration, cultural change, and identity formation are central. Chapter 5 focuses on the ways by which culture is transmitted intra- and intergenerational and how children reconstruct culture in the Netherlands. Chapter 6 presents the ways by which children argue for processes of identity and identity organisation in the Netherlands. At the end of both chapters, a schematic figure is presented that emerged from the ways children argued around constructions of culture and identity. These figures summarise the cultural and identity processes that children defined as relevant for the Dutch society.

Chapter 7 is the conclusion and presents answers to the research questions presented in the introduction chapter of this thesis. Then, the outcomes of the thesis will be evaluated from a macro perspective. Based on all the information that this thesis has provided, recommendations are described for further study and policy related to the topic.

2. A background of Dutch national culture and identity

To clearly understand the topic, the related theory and analysis of data in this thesis, it is important to first have an understanding of the history about Dutch national culture and identity. The following chapter therefore describes an introduction to the topics identity and culture in the Netherlands[2] and provide background information on the Dutch population, politics and education.

2.1 A brief overview of the issue of immigration in the history of the Netherlands

People define who they are by looking at their historical background, identity and history are thus very close related (Seeberg, 2003). The debate around national identity in the Netherlands is therefore also historical. Several historical changes in the Netherlands caused the need to redefine national identity in the country to reach its goal of unity, which sometimes led to conflicts or exclusion of certain groups (Lechner, 2008; WRR, 2007[3]).

The Netherlands is known for and has always been a country of cultural and religious diversity (Doomernik, 2017; Lechner, 2008; WRR, 2007). Different factors, such as its past as a colonial power, its attraction for merchants from near and far influenced by its central location, as well as other locally rooted differences, contributed to the diversity of the population in the country (Seeberg, 2003). Immigration historians in the Netherlands have shown that the Dutch Golden Age (1588-1702) was partly built on a foundation of immigration and the effect of fast-growing multicultural cities (WRR, 2007).

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the first part of what we now call the Netherlands formed through the Eighty Years' War against the Spanish, which is called *De Opstand* in Dutch or *The Uprise* in English (Lechner, 2008). After this war, *the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands* became an official nation state. The Netherlands is one of the few countries where a nation was formed before the introduction of the central unitary state, in which no central government hold power. Even though there was national awareness among the people

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[2] The Kingdom of the Netherlands consists of four countries; the European part of the Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the Caribbean part; Aruba, Sint Maarten, and Curacao (e.g., "Ontstaan van de monarchie", n.d., para. 10-11). Only the European part of the Kingdom is included in this thesis. From now on when in this thesis is written 'The Netherlands' or 'the Dutch', the information refers to the European part of the Kingdom.

[3] 'Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid' or in English, the Scientific Council for Government Policy. This council does research commissioned by the government and writes reports through which they advise the government.

in the Republic, in that time the focus was more on regional identities within the country, because each state or region ruled its own territory (Doomernik, 2017; Lechner, 2008; WRR, 2007).

Around 1877 the Dutch society started to pillarise, which means that the society was literally divided into different groups based on religion or ideological convictions. Those groups had their own social institutions such as sports clubs, political parties, organisations, and education (Lechner, 2008; Schöffler, 1956; e.g., "Verzuiling", n.d., para. 1). These separated life worlds were only interrupted by for instance multinationals and technical universities. According to Schöffer (1956), it is difficult to explain why the pillarisation happened in the Netherlands because neighbouring countries went through almost the same historical changes. However, Schöffer (1956) supposed that specific Dutch historical changes had influenced this pillarisation. The Netherlands was for instance already regionally divided in the time of the Republic and identities thus formed in small communities (Lechner, 2008; Schöffer, 1956). Besides that, two religious pillars developed; the Protestants and the Roman Catholics who had contradictory ideals but had to work together against the socialists and the liberals in the country. Pillarisation thereby was a solution to work together by acknowledging everyone's differences that were captured in their pillars. Through those separated pillars the Dutch could find unity (Schöffer, 1956).

The Netherlands transformed at the end of the nineteenth century from an agricultural to an industrial society. Because of this change, it became more important for the Dutch to understand each other and to feel a cultural connection with one another. Nationalism became more important, and people focused more on their collective Dutch culture (WRR, 2007). This was part and parcel of a national romanticism all over Northern and Western Europe, as part of nation-building processes and was thus not a unique phenomenon in the Netherlands alone (Hroch & Paton, 2007).

As can be interpreted from Dutch history, group behaviour strengthens integration (WRR, 2007). Through the pillarisation, all members of the Dutch society were part of the development of the Dutch national identity. The groups that people formed caused a strong position to fight from to achieve an equal position in the society. Even though the pillarisation caused strong boundaries between different groups, there were thus feelings of national awareness (Doomernik, 2017; WRR, 2007). However, especially after World War II, people started to feel the need to express national unity. In the 1960's people changed their opinions about the pillarisation and the existing national identity. They wanted to be more connected to Europe

and other parts of the world and the society began to depillarise. In their way to depillarisation, the Dutch gave more attention to suppressed groups, homosexuality got more accepted, women and men became more equal, and discrimination became forbidden by law. Through the above explained changes, the reception of immigrants in the country changed. The Dutch started to focus more on internal cohesion and less on influences from outside the country. Besides that, in the twentieth century, the government started to provide services for citizens. Through this, the differences between the Dutch and new immigrants became much more visible and becoming a member of the Dutch society became therefore more difficult for immigrants, which had not been the case before (Doomernik, 2017; Lechner, 2008; WRR, 2007).

The Netherlands has through different centuries been a country known for immigration and therefore the Netherlands can from the sixteenth century onwards be seen as a structural immigration country (Doomernik, 2017; WRR, 2007). Differences between groups and lifestyles have always existed in the Netherlands, and the Dutch culture has always been very open to influences from the outside. The Dutch appropriated the immigrants' cultures into their own culture, whereby the contribution of immigrants became part of the Dutch culture. This changed around the 1960's when the Netherlands started a labour treaty with, among other countries, Turkey and Morocco. Guest workers from those countries were invited to come to the Netherlands to work and many Dutch thought that those people would stay temporarily. Although, due to the regulations that the government set it was for the guest workers possible to stay in the Netherlands and for their families to come over as well (Lechner, 2008; WRR, 2007). Moreover, as mentioned before, the Dutch focused in that time primarily on internal cohesion whereby it was possible for immigrants to integrate while maintaining their own culture. This combination is a very striking paradox (WRR, 2007).

External influences such as globalisation, Europeanisation and integration of immigrants make the debate on national identity a hot item in the contemporary Netherlands, and because of these influences, people feel the need to re-evaluate the definitions of their national culture and identity (Lechner, 2008; WRR, 2007). Especially around debates on integration and a multicultural society the discussion is emotionally loaded, people feel that *their* culture is in danger. Striking in this debate is the dissatisfaction due to the presence of Muslims and Islam in the Netherlands, strongly expressed in the media debate (Doomernik, 2017; Huijnk, Dagevos, Gijsberts, & Andriessen, 2015; Lechner, 2008). An illustrative example of public debate is the newspaper article *Het multiculturele drama* by publicist and professor Paul Scheffer (2000). In this article Scheffer (2000) stated that there are many problems with Muslim integration,

segregation and subclass formation and that the Dutch society saw those problems only through multicultural love glasses. The writer further argued that a strong national identity was needed to solve those problems. Immigrants needed to know in what culture they were expected to integrate (Lechner, 2008; Scheffer, 2000; WRR, 2007). Soon after, during the election period in the Netherlands in 2002 and 2003, most political parties were critical to the multicultural society. Some people even stated that immigrants need to *choose* the Netherlands and to let go of strong influences from their home countries (WRR, 2007). Even though a lot has changed since then, this debate continues until present day. In 2015, the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP), for instance, clarified in their report *Werelden van verschil* (Worlds of difference), that the ethnic majority still feels friction between them and immigrant groups in the country. In particular, the political and public debate focussed in recent years more and more on the position of Muslims in the Dutch society and their position as different (Huijnk et al., 2015).

The above described fear of a loss of culture and identity is influenced by the 9/11 attacks in New York in 2001, and in the Netherlands the homicides of political leader Pim Fortuyn in 2002 and of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh in 2004. The events of 9/11 favoured Pim Fortuyn's agenda, who is known as a right-wing politician criticising Islam and its impact on Dutch society. Fortuyn described Islam as a backward culture and regarded free expression as more important than the prohibition on discrimination. Islam did not fit into the Dutch culture, Fortuyn argued. For this he was shot to death by the Dutch environmental and animal rights activist Volkert van der Graaf in 2002. Despite this, Fortuyn was to many Dutch people a prime defender of *the* Dutch national identity (Lechner, 2008). However, Fortuyn was not the only one publicly criticising Islam in the Netherlands in that time. Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh openly criticised Islam and its role in Dutch culture by publishing his movie *Submission,* in which he criticised the treatment of women in Islam. By doing this, he infuriated some Muslim militants by whom he later was stabbed to death in 2004 (Lechner, 2008).

The effects of globalisation, multiculturalism, and individualisation, are felt by some Dutchmen as external threats to them as an immigrant receiving society, which causes feelings such as: they come and take our jobs, our culture is in danger, and we cannot express our own identity anymore (WRR, 2007). The murders of Fortuyn and Van Gogh strengthened these feelings and the combination of Western and non-Western cultures was seen as a source of problems in the country (WRR, 2007). Due to feelings of external threats, the Dutch focus more on their

national identity than before. Instead of adapting to new members the focus is more on letting immigrants adapting to an already existing national identity.

The Dutch focus thus lies on their own national identity and immigrants to adjust to that, whereby there is not much space for people's earlier developed identity. Nevertheless, ignoring or denying someone's identity can lead to depression and passivity, while it is not problematic to live with an identity formed by two cultures (WRR, 2007). This is only problematic when people are forced into one specific identity. An example of this is Turkish people in the Netherlands who explain that they are now more Turkish then before they came to the Netherlands (WRR, 2007). Researchers argue that footprints develop stronger when they are not part of someone's daily life anymore or when they are disregarded by others (Huijnk et al., 2015; WRR, 2007). Identification can then become a problem because in the Netherlands the majority thought was that people who came permanently to the Netherlands would want to adjust 100% to the Dutch norms and values (WRR, 2007). The desire of immigrants to adjust to this thought and Dutch policy which does not accept immigrants' primary identification has made the topic Dutch national identity a central discussion theme (Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015; WRR, 2007).

2.2 Numerical facts about the Netherlands and its population

Table 1 and Table 2 on the following pages provide an overview of the diversity of the Dutch population. Information that the tables provide is generated through the official website of the Dutch Central Statistical Office (CBS). Table 1 shows an overview of the population in the Netherlands divided by background. In this table, a separation is made between males and females, as well as between the total amount of people and people below age 20. Table 2 builds on the information in Table 1 and shows an overview of the amount of people in the Netherlands with a (non-Dutch)Western and non-Western background, divided into first and second generation immigrants, a separation of males and females, a total amount, and the amount of people below age 20.

Table 1: Total population of the Netherlands divided by background

	Total population	Dutch Background	Western Background	Non-Western Background
2000				
Total	15,863,950	13,088,648	1,366,535	1,408,767
%		**82,51 %**	**8,61 %**	**8,88 %**
Male	7,846,317	6,461,857	657,443	727,017
Female	8,017,633	6,626,791	709,092	681,750
Below age 20[4]	3,873,008	3,051,256	256,149	565,603
%		**78,78 %**	**6,61 %**	**14,60 %**
Male	1,981,294	1,559,628	131,066	290,600
Female	1,891,714	1,491,628	125,083	275,003
2017				
Total	17,081,507	13,218,754	1,689,030	2,173,723
%		**77,39 %**	**9,89 %**	**12,73 %**
male	8,475,102	6,571,831	809,618	1,093,653
Female	8,606,405	6,646,923	879,412	1,080,070
Below age 20	3,817,173	2,850,726	298,922	667,525
%		**74,68 %**	**7,83 %**	**17,49 %**
Male	1,954,878	1,458,702	153,246	342,930
Female	1,862,295	1,392,024	145,676	324,595

Source: (CBS, 2018)[5]

This table shows that not only the total population of the Netherlands has grown between the years 2000 – 2017, but also the amount of immigrants has grown. Moreover, the percentages of both Western and non-Western immigrants have risen. This means that immigrants in 2017 form a more prominent part of the total population than in the year 2000. This is the case for

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[4] The numbers are indicating the population below age 20. The reason for this is that the CBS works with this category and not with an age category below 18.
[5] CBS. (2018). *Population; key figures.* Retrieved 10-04-2018 from
https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/en/dataset/37296eng/table?ts=1524059490248

both the total population as well as the population below age 20. In 2017, immigrants form 22,62 % of the total population, of which 12,73 % with a non-Western background.

Table 2: Population with a first and second generation immigrant background in the Netherlands

Year	Total population in the Netherlands	1st generation immigrants total	1st generation immigrants Western	1st generation immigrants non-Western	2nd generation immigrants total	2nd generation immigrants Western	2nd generation immigrants non-Western
2000							
Total	15,863,950	1,431,122	544,890	886,232	1,344,180	821,645	522,535
%		**9,02 %**	**3,43 %**	**5,59 %**	**7,13 %**	**5,18 %**	**3,29 %**
Male	7,846,317	651,295	245,107	460,188	679,165	412,336	266,829
Female	8,017,633	725,827	299,783	426,044	665,015	409,309	255,706
Below age 20	3,873,008	181,922	53,611	128,311	639,830	202,538	437,292
%		**4,70 %**	**1,38 %**	**3,18 %**	**16,52 %**	**5,23 %**	**11,29 %**
Male	1,981,294	94,356	27,204	67,152	327,310	103,862	223,448
Female	1,891,714	87,566	26,407	61,159	312,520	98,676	213,844
2017							
Total	17,081,507	2,001,175	801,203	1,199,972	1,861,578	887,827	973,751
%		**11,72 %**	**4,69 %**	**7,02 %**	**10,90 %**	**5,20 %**	**5,70 %**
Male	8,475,102	961,366	365,034	596,332	941,905	444,584	497,321
Female	8,606,405	1,039,809	436,169	603,640	919,673	443,243	476,430
Below age 20	3,817,173	170,201	74,455	95,746	796,246	224,467	571,779
%		**4,46 %**	**1,95 %**	**2,51 %**	**20,86 %**	**5,88 %**	**14,98 %**
Male	1,954,878	88,423	37,602	50,821	407,753	115,644	292,109
Female	1,862,295	81,778	36,853	44,925	388,493	108,823	279,670

Source: (CBS, 2018)[6]

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[6] CBS. (2018). *Population; key figures.* Retrieved 10-04-2018 from

https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/en/dataset/37296eng/table?ts=1524059490248

As presented in the table above, from the year 2000 to 2017 there has been an increase of immigrants, however, not in all categories. When analysing the first generation immigrant numbers, it can be observed that in total this group has grown, but regarding non-Western immigrants, a decrease can be observed. In the group of second-generation immigrants, an increase can be observed in all categories. When combining these two groups of first and second generation immigrants, it could be concluded that even though there is not an increase in new immigrants who are below age 20 as a percentage of the total population, the group of second-generation immigrants has grown from 2000 to 2017.

2.3 The development of Dutchness

To overcome their identity crisis, the Dutch have the last couple of years tried to redefine Dutch national identity. This is done not only as a confirmation for themselves but also to strengthen their community and to set a target for immigrants. However, what they tend to forget is that defining one national identity is part of the problem. It is complicated to define one specific identity because there are so many differences and sub-identities between people in the Dutch society (WRR, 2007). Moreover, belonging to the nation has become increasingly politicised in the Netherlands, especially after 2001 (Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015). Scholars argue that when politics of national cohesion and cultural assimilation are given concrete form in policy practices, the ultimate impossibility and complexity of becoming Dutch becomes clearly visible (Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015).

Nevertheless, since 2002, the Dutch government has tried many times to reinvigorate so-called Dutchness among all people in the Netherlands by, among other things, introducing national history canons and by honouring the grievances of the native Dutch in politics (Lechner, 2008; Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015) In 2006 it became mandatory for schools to provide so-called *citizenship education*. How this Dutchness can be understood, will be explained in the paragraphs below.

Doodewaard and Knoppers (2016) explain that the term *Dutchness* consists of racialising discourses that underline punctuality, cleanliness, order, a strong work ethic, and Christian Dutch cultural supremacy. Dutchness is a standpoint from which one can describe oneself and *others*, a location of structural privilege, and a product of history that intersects with classed identities. However, Dutchness has been described in different ways during the last two centuries. Since the 1970s the debate on the Dutch national identity became influenced by the debates about immigrant integration in the country. In these debates, a description of Dutchness

became articulated that should be understood as typically Dutch (Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015). The focus was on the idealisation of freedom of speech between equals, management of conformity, and differences between people became essential for the description of the Dutch society. Since then, the Dutch became described as people that are open for dialogue, consensus-seeking, democratic, dissentient, tolerant, egalitarian, promoters of free speech, having informal relationships and being honest. Problems between people should be solvable through making it *bespreekbaar* (negotiable). This means that both sides should open up for reflection and debate. Important in this is that people find common ground through negotiation and understanding (Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015).

Around the 1980s the Netherlands was seen as a guiding country. A country at the forefront of global development for its culture and politics that should be an example for less developed countries. Especially in comparison to the United States, the Dutch were not aggressive or nationalistic and were open to different forms of sexuality and pleasure. The autonomous Dutch individual would not have to feel compelled to censor herself or to stay quiet about societal taboos. Besides that, the Dutch became associated with informal relationships between parents and children and this image was used to judge whether other people had become like this self-proclaimed majority (Van Reekum, 2012; Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015).

Also in debates on citizenship, the Dutch were described as being active and autonomous people who could decide for themselves about practical and moral dilemmas in life (Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015). The debates on citizenship were therefore also loaded with concerns about emancipation. Citizens in the Netherlands needed to evolve into people that were active agents of self-governance, engaging with public institutions, instead of being a population fully governed by leaders. A public voice was thus increasingly prioritised. Becoming Dutch came to be understood as evolving into a free, individual person with its own voice. Dutchness in this regard can be seen as not only a guide for assimilation of newcomers but also as becoming a competent Dutch adult (Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015).

As mentioned before, academic and popular discourses typify the Dutch as people who have progressive attitudes on issues of sex, gender, marriage and death, people who are open-minded, who tolerate different lifestyles, are internationally oriented, peaceful and cooperative to others, and are individualistic (Van Reekum, 2012). However, besides the ideas of tolerance and openness, there are also conflict situations about religion and ethnic identities in the country (WRR, 2007). Tolerance must therefore also be seen as a strategy or survival mechanism used

for a peaceful relationship between minorities, and not just as part of the Dutch national identity. Some scholars even argue that tolerance between the Dutch was more reciprocal in time of the pillarisation than it is now (Seeberg, 2003).

In the above described understanding of Dutchness, Dutch equality seems to be embedded in a discourse of difference, recognition and pluralism that is not based on a homogeneous group of people. However, since 2001 the imagination of a Dutch nationality has shifted towards cultural similarity of the people and their national loyalty (Van Reekum, 2012). A rapid increase of cultural diversity in the country can therefore be a problem that can lead to a decrease of trust between people (WRR, 2007). An increase of immigrants in the country is also shown in Table 1 and Table 2.

Even though Dutchness is passionately felt during national sports competitions and national holidays such as Sinterklaas and Kingsday (Lechner, 2008; Van Reekum, 2012), the Scientific Council for Government Policy in the Netherlands argues that there is a need for a more multiple and dynamic approach to national identity. This approach will, according to them, help to influence future tensions around topics such as immigration, globalisation and national identity (WRR, 2007). A similar approach is described by Lechner (2008), who argues that redefining identity will not provide clear answers. Instead, he proposes to search for patterns in the formation of identity. This thesis forms an example of this approach.

2.3.1 A history cannon for the improvement of citizenship formation and integration

The discussions around the formation of Dutch culture and identity turned in 2005 into a more practical mode, from debate to policy (WRR, 2007). The Education Council determined in that year that it was important to rethink the role of education in Dutch identity formation, especially now there were many more children with a foreign background in the Dutch education system (WRR, 2007). As a reaction to the advice of the council, the Minister of Education proposed a plan of a canon of Dutch history and culture that should be taught throughout the school system. Through this canon, an expression of the Dutch cultural identity would be taught. Especially in an individualistic and diverse country, common knowledge of a shared culture was believed to be important in which history could play a binding role (Lechner, 2008). The effects of this history canon were believed to improve citizenship formation and integration in the Netherlands (WRR, 2007).

Even though the history canon seems to be a way of encouraging integration, improving equality, and establishing a shared culture, politicians, policymakers, and other experts were in constant disagreement of what this history canon should include (WRR, 2007). Besides, some scholars argue that in a globalising world children should be confronted with a more international context. History in schools should therefore not only be taught in a Dutch but also in an international context, scholars state (WRR, 2007).

2.3.2 Citizenship education as a means of transforming *us* and *them* into *we*

Besides the above described history canon, Dutch primary schools provide citizenship education, aiming transforming discourses around *us* and *them* into *we* (Leonard, 2007). Citizenship education in the Netherlands became mandatory for schools to teach in 2006 (CED groep, 2012). In the primary school where fieldwork for this thesis was done, teachers worked with a special programme to teach citizenship education called *De Vreedzame school* (The Peaceful School). The main aim of this programme is to give children a voice and to actively speak with children, and children with each other, about their responsibility for their environment, the school community and the society as a whole. Through this, children learn to make democratic decisions, to solve conflicts, to take responsibility for each other and their community, to encourage an open attitude towards differences between people, and to learn the principles on which the Dutch democratic society is built (CED groep, 2012). The increasing emphasis on citizenship education and thereby the formation of Dutchness can be seen in relation to anxiety for the effects of globalisation and the fear of losing aspects of national identity (Leonard, 2007).

Citizenship education in that respect can take three forms; conforming, reforming, or transforming. These forms differ in terms of focussing on; the differences between right and wrong and respect for diversity, focussing on conflict that needs to be challenged and solved or equipping children with reflective competencies which they can use to reform their society (Leonard, 2007). *De Vreedzame School* programme for citizenship education seems to focus on the second or third form, as one of its aims is to teach children to learn to make democratic decisions and solve conflicts, while at the same time they are taught principles on which the Dutch society is based. Citizenship education can from this perspective be seen as influencing the formation of citizens (Leonard, 2007).

To gain a broader understanding of the above described background of the Netherlands and the effects it has on contemporary culture and identity in the country, the following chapter presents

a theoretical framework. At the same time this framework forms a background for the understanding of data analysis that is presented in chapter 5 and chapter 6.

3. Theory

This chapter gives an overview of the theoretical concepts that will be used to analyse the data material. First, childhood studies will be outlined, which is the general background of this thesis. Then, the chapter focuses on social constructionism, the socialisation theory, and related concepts. After that, globalisation and related theories will be described to make a connection with identity and to show how this all can be related to childhood studies. Different types of identity will be outlined in connection with why identity matters in times of a globalising world. In this way, it is possible to discuss how children are affected by and are active in the (re)production of Dutch national culture and identity.

3.1 Childhood studies

This subchapter first gives an overview of some historical events that influenced the emergence of childhood studies, often referred to as the "new"[7] sociology of childhood. This theoretical framework shaped the methodology, methods, and data analysis of this study. Then, the key features will be described, followed by a discussion of how the framework is used in childhood research nowadays.

The study of children and childhood in the social sciences has changed remarkably since the twentieth century. Although there has always been an interest in children, focusing on children´s voices was before the 1980s not commonplace (Prout & James, 1997b). At the beginning of the twentieth century, children had been marginalised in society because of their subordinate position. Adults viewed children as human becomings, future adults and thereby as immature, irrational, vulnerable, incompetent and asocial. As a result, children were pushed to the lowest level of society by adults (Corsaro, 1997; Gallacher & Kehily, 2013; Sommer, Samuelsson, & Hundeide, 2010).

Children's position in society started to change three decades ago. In that period other subordinate groups, like women, gained attention among sociologists and indirectly raised awareness for the absence of attention to children in sociology (Corsaro, 1997). Likewise, the rise of constructivist and interpretive theoretical perspectives in sociology influenced new ways of conceptualising children. From these perspectives, everything is seen as a social construct rather than accepted as biologically given. Childhood was therefore perceived as interpreted,

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[7] The word "new" is written within quotation marks, because it can be argued that this framework is not new anymore nowadays.

debated and defined by social actions. Scholars from this perspective argued that children and adults are both active participants in the social construction of childhood and their shared culture (Corsaro, 1997).

As a result, scholars in different disciplines started to argue that childhood had been wrongly seen as a natural, historically consistent, and universal. Besides that, scholars criticised this approach for only attending to children's interests because of how they related to the adults they would become (Gallacher & Kehily, 2013; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). During the twentieth century, developmental psychology had been recognised as the dominant academic discourse in relation to children, which explains this way of seeing children (Smith & Greene, 2014). Even though the scholars recognised that developmental psychologists had carried out research on children, and that sociologists and anthropologists had given some attention to the socialisation of children, they argued that this research was carried out unethically and that it was both theoretically and methodologically inadequate (Hammersley, 2016). Part of the criticism was directed towards mainstream anthropological research that focused on how children come to be socialised into (adult) cultures, instead of children's own experiences and how they generate their own distinctive cultural patterns. This research did not take the experiences and perspectives of children into account but only focused on adults´ views (Gallacher & Kehily, 2013; Hammersley, 2016; Tisdall & Punch, 2012; Wells, 2018).

Out of this criticism, a new academic approach emerged, called childhood studies. By using this approach researchers attempt to give a voice to children through regarding them as people to be studied in their own right (Prout & James, 1997a, 1997b; Sommer et al., 2010; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). Within childhood studies, childhood is understood as a social construction and is thus neither a natural nor universal feature of human groups. Besides that, childhood is regarded as a variable of social analysis, which cannot be separated from other variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, or class. From now on, childhood and children's relationships were regarded worthy of study in their own right, which means that children must be regarded as actively involved in the construction of their own social lives, cultures, the lives of others around them and the society in which they live (Prout & James, 1997a, 1997b; Qvortrup, Corsaro, & Honig, 2009; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). Through the conceptualisation of this approach, childhood studies became a field of its own and offered alternative conceptualisations that have influenced research with children all around the world (Tisdall & Punch, 2012).

Through its theoretical and empirical contribution to the debate on childhood, childhood studies scholars have demonstrated the agency of children as social actors (James & James, 2008).

As becomes clear through the text above, children and childhood have been understood in various ways throughout history. As a consequence, it is necessary to modernise therefore also the concepts and theories that are used in trying to understand children and childhood. An example of this is the socialisation theory, that was in the first place rejected by childhood studies scholars. However, as long as childhood studies scholars strive for modernising socialisation theories in compliance with the course of the new generation in their historical time, there is no need for rejecting it, Zinnecker (2002) argues. This discussion is further outlined in chapter 3.3.

Moreover, Alanen (2001) presents three different branches of working sociologically on childhood; sociologies of children, deconstructive sociology of childhood, and structural sociology of childhood. The first approach is to research children and their way of acting in their own social world in order to understand what children do here and now. The deconstructive sociology of childhood approach focusses on how views of children and childhood are conveyed in society. Researchers deconstruct these views and explore what they mean. The structural sociology of childhood perceives childhood as a structural phenomenon, which means that childhood is a permanent form of society even though children move out of this category when they reach adulthood. Childhood in this branch is researched in terms of connecting micro to macro level contexts, whereby researchers focus on explaining the micro level of children and childhood and how they are influenced by macro social structures (Alanen, 2001). This last branch fits the research perspective of this thesis.

Furthermore, childhood studies has been interrogated more critically in recent years (Tisdall & Punch, 2012). Both Alan Prout and Barrie Thorne, who are among the leading theorists of childhood studies, now suggest to move away from narrow thinking in dichotomies and to open dialogue, specifically referring to the psychology-sociology dichotomy (Smith & Greene, 2014; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). In different interviews, other scholars who helped developing childhood studies now argue that for the future it is important to work interdisciplinary. Working this way also helps, according to them, to engage more with increasingly complex issues relevant to children nowadays. However, in an interview, Leena Alanen argues that it is important to bear in mind that one cannot be interdisciplinary without having a strong base in a discipline (Smith & Greene, 2014).

3.2 The social construction of culture

As outlined above, childhood studies scholars argue that childhood is socially constructed. This theoretical perspective 'explores the ways in which reality is negotiated in everyday life through people's interactions and through sets of discourses' (James & James, 2008, p. 122). A discourse in this thesis is understood as a way of displaying membership in a social group through words, actions, values and beliefs (Taylor, 2013).

Social constructionism has been very influential in the development of childhood studies and was core to the discussions about childhood as a natural or social phenomenon (James & James, 2008). Although childhood generally refers to the beginning stage of human life, the way in which this period of growth is understood is socially constructed and thus varies in different cultures. Cross-cultural research has revealed a variety of childhoods, rather than childhood as a universal phenomenon (James & James, 2008; Prout & James, 1997b). Now, if childhood is a social construction, it can also be (re)constructed both for and by children (James, 2009; Prout & James, 1997b). Besides that, within childhood studies, children are also seen as active in the construction of cultures and the society in which they live (James, 2009; Prout & James, 1997a, 1997b). In this way, children (re)construct how culture is understood and bring differences to the existing way of thinking because even social actors in the lowest level of society influence the social forms that oppress them (Giddens, 1979).

Children are thus active in the transformation of the world and influence the cultures that they are part of. Important in discussions on globalisation, for instance, is the role that children play in it. Children are the key actors who determine how they will respond to rapid changes caused by globalisation (Kaufman, Rizzini, Wilson, & Bush, 2002). For this reason, children are the best informants if we seek to know more about inside information on the changing world. The topic globalisation will be deeper explored in chapter 3.4.

This thesis does not aim to add more evidence to the existing literature on social constructionism, to show that children indeed have influence on the (re)production of culture as well as that they are socialised by it, but rather intends to open up debate on how this affects the contemporary culture and identity of the Dutch society.

3.2.1 The interplay of structure and agency in cultural change

This part of the chapter aims to explain how structure and agency can be understood in the context of cultural change, how they interweave with each other, and to show in what way they are relevant for this particular study.

A person can be seen as an actor, as someone who does something. This actor is called agent when he or she does something with other people and together contribute to social and cultural reproduction (James, 2009). A child, in childhood studies, is perceived as an agent and thus someone who forms independent relationships and cultures and plays a vital part in the society in which he lives (James, 2009). Agency thus means 'the capacity of an individual to act independently' in the creation of culture and society (James & James, 2008, p. 9).

However, society is not only a composition of behaviours of individuals (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). The sum of the actions of societies' members together form a structure that regulates individual conduct and patterns of interaction that are sustained between individuals. A society is a collection of these patterns, which we might call social relationships. All the social relationships of the society members together form an overall idea, a structure, that in turn conceptualises these social relationships (James et al., 1998).

Giddens (1979) suggested, as one of the first scholars with his structuration theory, that social scientists have to take into account both agency and structure in their debates on children, childhood and the structure of social life. He explained that every action is a production of something new, however, all action exists in continuity with the past. This means that in the case of culture, every act of a person is influenced by his history in the culture (structure), but at the same time this act can contribute to shaping the culture in a new form (agency). Structure in that way is thus actively involved in its (re)production (Giddens, 1979).

Giddens (1979) was also one of the first scholars to highlight the problem of the relationship between structure and agency in order to understand the process of social reproduction. His solution was to not give preference to any of those two concepts but to see them as intertwined and not as stand-alone concepts (Ritzer, 2007). Social structures, Giddens (1979) explains, provide the boundaries for people to act, but the people themselves form through agency their actions which influence the form of the structure again. People thus have the power to change structures through their agency. Both agency and structure thus produce social action at the same time (James, 2009, 2013; James & James, 2008; James et al., 1998; Ritzer, 2007;

Verkuyten, 2005). Moreover, social structures are historically specific which means that the structures that affect the level of agency cannot be understood independently of their historical context (Seeberg, 2003). That means, in order to understand both structure and agency in society and how this affects a culture, one must be aware of the historical context of, in this case, the Netherlands, which was described in the previous chapter.

Arguably, James (2013) observes, Giddens does not say much about the role that children play in social reproduction. What he does acknowledge is that children adapt to the roles of society in relation to their psychological development. He thus only describes how children adapt to an already formed society but fails to consider the influence that children themselves have on the structure of this society. On the other hand, his line of thinking can be understood in the light of how children in general were perceived in society before the development of childhood studies (James, 2013).

The structure-agency dichotomy has caused many discussions within sociology about whether structures primarily influence how society members behave or that those members themselves mainly form their behaviour (James, 2013; Verkuyten, 2005). Scholars have discussed many times whether structure or agency is the leading aspect of cultural change (James, 2013). The aim of this thesis is not to add more research to this debate but rather aims to explain how both agency and structure seem to influence the (changing) cultures in the Netherlands and which (changing) structures children describe as essential parts in their description of culture. Despite the fact that there are many discussions around the meanings and usefulness of the terms structure and agency, the terms will be used in the analysis of this thesis by their definitions understood as described above.

3.3 A modern perspective towards socialisation

The above paragraphs illustrate that children are active in the reproduction of structures as well as being influenced by them at the same time. Children thus, through interactions with adults and other children, shape, define, and negotiate their relationship to the world, social situations, and other people. This process is called socialisation (Honig, 2009). Although, this concept has not always been defined this way, as will be discussed below.

Socialisation, at first, was understood as the process that shaped the child into an adult through which the integration into society was ensured (Corsaro, 1997; James, 2013; Nilsen, 2009/2014; Smith & Greene, 2014; Zinnecker, 2002). Anne Marie Ambert was in the 1980's one of the

first sociologists to argue that this process was thus not actually about children, but about the process of becoming an adult member of society (Smith & Greene, 2014). In the socialisation process children are not seen as active agents but as passive consumers of adult socialisation (Corsaro, 1997). Norman Denzin described socialisation in 1977 as a never-ending process, negotiated through interaction between individuals (James, 2013). Socialisation, he says, is the key to the process that links the child to its caretakers and other children (James, 2013). Denzin could therefore be acknowledged as one of the first sociologists to recognise that children are social actors as well, with their own social worlds. Although, what Denzin fails to notice, according to James (2013), is that there is a link between social structure and human agency because he does not specify how children in everyday interactions reflect on these processes. Voices and perspectives of children were thus not taken into consideration in research on children's socialisation in the last part of the twentieth century (Zinnecker, 2002). On the grounds of that, the concept of socialisation had, in the first place, been greatly criticised and rejected by scholars of childhood studies (Nilsen, 2009/2014; Zinnecker, 2002).

However, excluding this concept from further development of childhood theory and research might not be a wise strategy, as this would also mean excluding analysis of social, cultural, and personal reproduction of society via the life cycle (Zinnecker, 2002). A rejection of this concept thus means a limitation to researchers to understand children and childhood in cultural and social contexts (Nilsen, 2009/2014). Several scholars therefore argued in favour of modernising the socialisation theory so that it became more compatible with the key features of childhood studies (Zinnecker, 2002). James (2013), for instance, argues in her book *Socialising children* for a child-centred approach to modernise the outdated socialisation theory. She explains that a child-centred approach in socialisation focusses on seeing the world from the children's perspective, from their position in society. Within sociological theory, researchers try to understand how the child changes, grows up and how elements of societies (norms, values, roles) are replicated. In this way we could learn from children how growing up is like, what they think is important, and how they encounter events that affect them (James, 2013). Exercising this approach means to recognise that children are an absolute part of the society and thus also have an effect on other people and events. Researchers in this approach, as a consequence, need to embrace the uncertainty of the growing up process and have to wait how children turn out to be, for the reason that socialisation is a process of individual experience from which outcomes will differ between people (James, 2013). Furthermore, the socialisation

theory should be looked at in contribution with the concepts social reproduction and structuration, because all of them try to explain social continuity and change (James, 2013).

Besides James (2013), Nilsen (2009/2014) argues that socialisation is a fruitful concept in childhood studies when it is understood within an ideology of adaptation. Within this ideology, socialisation entails cultural domination processes by adults, but at the same time children can meet adults' demands with resistance. Children as well as adults thus both participate in the processes of cultural production and reproduction (Nilsen, 2009/2014).

This way of perceiving socialisation can be seen in relation to how Mead (1978) defines the co-figurative style of cultural production and reproduction. Mead (1978) distinguishes between three styles by which cultural production and reproduction can be interpreted:

1. Post-figurative style

In this style older generations are believed to represent the continuity of the culture. Change is believed to happen so slow and imperceptible, that lives of grandparents provide the ground plan for their grandchildren. The continuity of a culture depends on the living presence of at least three generations. The characteristics of the post-figurative style are an assumption of this. In the past, when the life expectancy of people was much lower, having (great)grandparents was rare. For a culture to continue, in that uncertain period of time, older generations were needed to provide a model of life. Culture in this sense is thus generational, and its continuity depends on the expectations of the old and their impression of their expectations upon the younger generations.

2. Co-figurative style

In the co-figurative style, the present is the guide to the future culture. The prevailing cultural model for members of the society is the behaviour of the other society members. In a society in which this style is the only cultural model, it is believed natural for the behaviour of each new generation to differ from that of the older generation. In this style, the child, instead of an older generation, is thus believed to represent the future culture. However, the older generation is still dominant in defining the limits by which the structure is expressed. This way of perceiving the process of socialisation is similarly understood by Nilsen (2009/2014), as explained above. Co-figuration starts forming in a break in the post-figurative system. Such a break may be a result of the development of new technologies in which the young are the experts, or as a revolutionary

step that is established through the introduction of a new lifestyle by the young. However, this co-figurative style only lasts for a short period of time and then turns into one of the other styles.

   3. Pre-figurative style

In the third, the pre-figurative style, older generations learn from children about their experiences. Here the past is more instrumental than coercive in developing the future culture because adults have to recognise that all children's experience is different from their own. Civilisations, after all, have since the seventies entered a period in which the present becomes more and more coercive in developing future cutlure. The authority of the adult generation has, since then, remained weakened until present day (Zinnecker, 2002). The emergence of this style seems to be the formation of a world community that is united through shared knowledge and danger. Because of different revolutions that happened during the twentieth century, young people of the 1960s had entered the present at the same point in time, right after the Second World War. Since then, rapid changes have happened in which the young have a leading position. Recently this phenomenon has been described by Flaherty (2016), who explains that the rapid development of information technology is a major cause for the shift to pre-figurative culture. In present time, Flaherty (2016) argues, the process of making information uncontrollable has resulted in the disappearance of childhood as a social category subordinate to adults in terms of shaping culture.

Even though the context of children's socialisation changes over time, the process of socialisation remains the same (James, 2013). Ideas about necessary connectedness of individuals bring together five assumptions that lay at the heart of socialisation. In any given time period, children are individuals with personal lives on which they themselves reflect. Besides that, the lives of different children interact with lives of other people, and thus children themselves make decisions as well as that other people might decide on their behalf. Children's life experiences are fundamentally integrated in the socialisation process and through interactions between children and other people, experiences become diverse and multifaceted. Children's lives are thus biographical, as well as lived in historical time and they encompass changing social and material environments (James, 2013).

Taken all paragraphs together, all humans have to learn new ways of being throughout different stages and in different circumstances of their lives. All these processes involve both adults and children and their relation with each other, because there is always a link between relationships

with past and future generations and activities in the present build on previous conditions and accomplishments which both influence changes for the future (James, 2013).

3.3.1 Interpretive reproduction

The part of the socialisation process that Norman Denzin did not indicate and define in his theory on socialisation, as mentioned before, can be understood as interpretive reproduction. That is the part of the socialisation process through which children participate, that helps to reproduce society (James & James, 2008).

Interpretive reproduction is developed by William Corsaro as a theory of children's participation in social reproduction, as a result of the dissatisfaction of childhood studies scholars on the traditional accounts of socialisation (Corsaro, 1997; James & James, 2008; Sommer et al., 2010). Corsaro (1997) argues that children's socialisation is not only adaptation and internalisation but also appropriation, reinvention, and reproduction. Through interpretive reproduction children share, create, and negotiate culture with adults and each other. The term *interpretive* refers to children's innovation skills and creativity in taking or appropriating information from the adult world. The term *reproduction* encompasses the idea that children do not just internalise culture, but actively contribute to change and cultural reproduction. Interpretive reproduction thus means that children are affected by the society and culture in which they live, and at the same time they shape processes in this society and culture that produces historical change (Corsaro, 1997).

Seen from a child-centred perspective, one has to keep in mind that the process of interpretive reproduction does not exactly turn out the same for different individuals in the same context. Although each child in this same context gets influenced by comparable socialising experiences, how their personal history intersects with that might differ between individuals (James, 2013; Wells, 2018).

3.4 Effects of globalisation on cultures

All the above described processes are in some way influenced by forms of globalisation. As will be discussed below, massive immigration affects cultures and identities that children help to recreate. The following paragraphs focus on how globalisation might affect these processes.

In order to understand how globalisation causes changes in cultures, it is necessary to know how culture can be defined. Some conceptualise culture as a shared way of looking at the world, while others describe culture as a common way of construing or bringing meaning to events

(Murphy-Berman & Kaufman, 2002). Other than that, culture could be identified as a system that imposes limits described for cultural group members, which is examined in terms of concrete behaviour, shared values, and shared beliefs about the nature of the world (Murphy-Berman & Kaufman, 2002). Culture in this thesis is understood as a system that imposes norms and values described for cultural group members who bring meaning to events by their common way of looking at the world.

From the second half of the twentieth century, we face a period marked by massive immigration (Guibernau, 2007; Kaufman et al., 2002). Massive immigration brings with it trade opening up a culture to other cultures (Kaufman et al., 2002) and worldwide practices, relations, and organisation of social life become more spread (Ritzer, 2007). This phenomenon could be referred to as a form of globalisation and is thus not unique in history because changes in the scale of social organisation and consciousness of the world have been central to all immigration periods (Axford, 2000). However, the diversity of immigrants is greater than in any other historical period (Guibernau, 2007). This brings with it that immigrants are not always included in the host society for the reason that physical appearance, religion, culture, language or behaviour is too distinct from that of the host society (Guibernau, 2007). Besides that, the host society can perceive immigrants as a threat to their national identity, culture, and labour-market (Guibernau, 2007).

The enormous variety of types of contacts between societies and various debates on globalisation, there are many definitions which try to describe this phenomenon (Kaufman et al., 2002). Axford (2000), for instance, defines globalisation as a historical process that produces a global system that makes the world into a single place. However, sameness around the globe in the surface appearance of political and social life does not mean homogeneity. Instead, globalisation could be understood as creating a global system with overlapping as well as confronting structures, because globalisation pressures are not powerful enough to entirely erase sub-global identities (Axford, 2000). James (2002) states that globalisation is experienced differently by everyone. For some people, globalisation might mean buying the same brands of food and clothes abroad as at home, while for others globalisation has less beneficial consequences. People whose voices are least heard are in their daily lives are affected the most, James (2002) argues. Hereby she refers to situations in which people are affected by economic and political systems in which they have no control. Some observers argue that the growing influence of outside forces, whereby national and local forces have less power to control

activities such as economy, information flow and group formation, is indeed the key to globalisation (Kaufman et al., 2002). Murphy-Berman and Kaufman (2002) add to this debate that globalisation is understood differently within different disciplines, but in general the focus lies on a decrease in the importance of national borders in political, social, economic, and cultural processes which results in powerful new linkages between people and nations.

To refine this debate, Kaufman et al. (2002) bring in a working definition of globalisation that allows us to focus on impacts of global change on children. They explain that globalisation affects the everyday context in which children grow up and interact with others in society because globalisation is a process that opens nation states to many influences that originate beyond their borders (Kaufman et al., 2002). Hereby they refer to changes in national economic, political and social institutions connected to children. They further state that it is therefore also important that scholars focus more on the effects of globalisation on groups of children and how children respond to the challenges and opportunities that they face. Research on effects of globalisation on children is urgently needed, in order to design effective policies that foster children's wellbeing (Kaufman et al., 2002). This thesis will conform to this need.

Now that the meanings of globalisation and culture have been defined it is time to find out more about the role that globalisation plays in cultural change. Globalisation causes changes in cultures at multiple levels (Murphy-Berman & Kaufman, 2002). Through increased contact between nations, new linkages offer opportunities for people to explore other cultures. This can have the effect that people may reflect on their own culture and move towards constructing an alternative way of viewing the world than only from their original cultural perspective. Culture thus provides a context through which change via globalisation will be constructed (Murphy-Berman & Kaufman, 2002).

Jan Nederveen Pieterse identified three perspectives that theorise the cultural aspects of globalisation (Ritzer, 2007). The following three perspectives focus on whether cultures around the world are eternally different, converging, or creating new hybrid forms of culture as a combination of global and local cultures.

1. Cultural Differentialism

Followers of this perspective believe that cultures stay largely unaffected by globalisation, which means that cultures thus remain different from each other. Globalisation is believed to be happening, but only on the surface (Ritzer, 2007).

Since the terrorist attacks on 9/11 in the United States and the following subsequent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan this paradigm has attracted increasing attention. Many people see these events as a clash between the Islamic and Western culture and the differences between them. Besides that, increasing multiculturalism in Western countries and the growing differences between majority and minority populations are seen as an example of a clash in cultures which seem not to be affected by globalisation, according to followers (Ritzer, 2007)

The book of Samuel Huntington; *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of the world order,* is a famous example that matches with the way of thinking in this paradigm (Ritzer, 2007). Huntington (1996a) describes the Cold War as the beginning of the current world situation, based on cultural differences. Although cultural differences are nothing new, they are after the Cold War not so clearly submerged anymore by political-economic differences as was the case before. Huntington (1996a) argues that there is an emergence of fault lines among and between civilisations that are marked by differences in cultures and cultural identities, which he describes as a very dangerous situation.

2. Cultural Convergence

This perspective is very different from the previous one. Followers of the cultural convergence paradigm believe that globalisation leads to increasing sameness of cultures around the world. Cultures are thus believed to be changing as a result of globalisation, whereby assimilation is observed towards dominant societies' cultures (Ritzer, 2007).

Globalisation, by some followers of this perspective, is seen as Westernisation (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995; Ritzer, 2007). Ritzer (2007) however argues that this does not mean that local cultures are disappearing, but rather that global processes are bringing with them the same phenomena (McDonalds for instance). Ritzer (2007) therefore talks about the *Globalisation of Nothing* to exemplify increasing homogenisation in different parts of the world whereby concepts do not refer to one specific culture.

3. Cultural Hybridisation

Nederveen Pieterse (1995) rejects the idea of globalisation as Westernisation. He brings in a new perspective: globalisation as a process of hybridisation. This process is understood as the interaction of many global and local inputs that create together a mixture that leads to a variety of cultural hybrids. Through these cultural hybrids, new practices are formed that create new structural forms of social organisation (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995; Ritzer, 2007).

Followers of the cultural hybridisation perspective reject the notion of homogeneous and uniformly defined identities and instead focus on globalisation with the believe in a continuing and increasing heterogeneity (Ritzer, 2007; Verkuyten, 2005). As a result, cultural hybridisation adopts the perspective that globalisation causes a mixture of cultures and thereby the production of new cultures and multiple identities (Ritzer, 2007; Verkuyten, 2005).

An example of cultural hybridity is, for instance, the case of (second-generation) immigrants that mix the culture of their country of residence with their country of ancestry (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995). Glocalisation, which is the combination of global and local cultures, in this respect can be understood in connection with newer ways of understanding socialisation, that was discussed earlier in this chapter. In both theories, individuals are seen as creative agents who both *adapt* and *recreate*. Through socialisation, individuals can cause changes in cultures and develop new cultures that are combinations of global and local cultures. Verkuyten (2002) explains that the idea of hybridity is linked to the formation of new ethnicities that attempts to provide a non-static perspective on ethnic culture (Verkuyten, 2005). An example to clarify this is, for instance, ethnically mixed families in which children have parents originating from other countries. Hybridity then breaks down the notion of belonging to an ethnic group, as these boundaries become more blurred (Verkuyten, 2005).

In general, the hybridisation theory is used to criticise ethnic boundaries in order to constitute more emancipation and liberation as well as a political alternative to racist consequences of social categorisations. In that way, hybridisation would also challenge multiculturalism to evolve from cultural differences and apartheid to emphasising *togetherness-in-differences* instead of *living-apart-together* (Verkuyten, 2005).

3.5 Identity in times of cultural change

If, as explained above, globalisation influences cultures and cultural change, then it will also affect (feelings of) identity and identification processes. Social sciences have a long history in researching identity, although the current popularity of this concept is unique (Verkuyten, 2005). Questions about identity have become more salient since the second half of the twentieth century that is marked by a new wave of globalisation (Kaufman et al., 2002; Verkuyten, 2005). The following paragraphs will therefore first explain why identity matters and then give a theoretical overview of group, social, national, and ethnic identity and by what effects they are changing.

First, it is needed to clarify that almost all societies exhibit cultural pluralism. This means that the citizens of that society belong to different linguistic or cultural communities. The effects of this have been subject to serious academic debate (Eisenberg, 2000).

3.5.1 Identification matters

Identification is the basic cognitive mechanism that humans use in order to evaluate themselves and the people around them (Jenkins, 2008). Without processes of identification, humans would not know *who is who* and *what is what*. Identification, thus, is a baseline that is fundamental to the organisation of the world (Jenkins, 2008). Defining ourselves involves defining *others*, and, when we say something about those *others*, we say something about ourselves too. Defining similarities and differences are always functions of a point of view that meet each other in shared boundaries. That means, through similarity and difference we discover what we are and what we are not (Guibernau, 2007; Jenkins, 2008; Seeberg, 2003). Identity is both dynamic and social and never stops forming because an identity forms in a social space through interaction with other people. The different people in this social space thus influence each other's identity (Jenkins, 2008; WRR, 2007).

Moreover, identification is closely related to behaviour, because the way we identify someone influences how we treat that person, even though this is not a sufficient guide on its own (Jenkins, 2008). A person might fit into a specific category that gives you the signs of how to treat that person, but if the classification is multidimensional, then there might be a conflict of identification. An example of this is when a person is your friend, but at the same time 'belongs' to a specific category that is an opposite of a category you belong to. The ability to discriminate is therefore an everyday necessity (Jenkins, 2008). However, individual behaviour is also influenced by other processes such as emotions, planning, improvisation, knowledge, and worldview. Identity alone does thus not fully determine behaviour (Jenkins, 2008).

3.5.2 Matters of identification in groups and categories

In order to understand the concept of group identification, it is needed to clarify the difference between groups and categories. A category is a collectively defined categorisation of identity which is part of local knowledge. A category is externally defined and thus not always recognised by its members. A group is defined as a concrete point of reference for its members and is thus defined by and meaningful to them. The only differences between the two concepts, thus, is the recognition of its members that belong to it and who defined the group or category (Jenkins, 2008). Group members are supposed to share characteristics with each other and

superficially differ from others. That means that it is expected that the *others* are different in biological, religious, or cultural ways and they are thereby thus presumed to be different (Verkuyten, 2005).

People categorise each other naturally the whole time because categorisation is an important contribution to the distribution of resources and is central to conflict and conflict avoidance (Jenkins, 2008). Groups and categories are thus not only sociological abstractions, they are real. Categorisation is a necessary routine that contributes to how humans make sense of the world around them. The ability to categorise unfamiliar *others* into their own made up categories gives people the illusion that they may know what to expect from the *others* (Jenkins, 2008).

In order to understand the background of identity formation and culture and how this changes over time, it is essential to highlight the concept of social identity. For the establishment of group identification, members need to share parts of their social identity. Social identity is a collective sense of belonging to a group that consists of individuals who have something in common with each other (Kidd, 2002). All human identities are social identities for the reason that identification is a matter of meaning and meaning involves interaction (Jenkins, 2008). The individual and its environment are connected through the similarities and differences between people. Social identity indicates who someone is in categorical characteristics such as age, ethnic background, and gender in social space. These individual characteristics distinguish a person from others that do not share these same characteristics and connects persons that do share them (Verkuyten, 2005). Besides this, a person´s social identity positions him or her in a social space or social structure (Verkuyten, 2005). Even though this might seem very important, the information that social identities provide is limited, because the attention shifts from personal identity to group identity. Other than that, a person fits into many different categories which are shared with different people. One social identity thus only tells us something about one characteristic that the people in the group share with each other while all other characteristics of a person might not be shared in the same group (Verkuyten, 2005). Social identity differs in that way thus from group identity. As can be concluded from the above, a group identity forms through the shared aspects of people's social identity. In that way, a common social identity is the requirement for the formation of a group and thereby a group identity.

The theorisation around identity suggests that it is important not just to consider someone to be part of a specific social group. Doing this might cause expectations of a specific type of

behaviour from a person that actually clashes with the reality because social identity is such a small part of who a person is.

3.5.3 National identity

In order to understand how effects of globalisation influence national identity in the Netherlands, it is necessary to understand the concepts; national community, nation, nationalism, and (trans)national identity. These concepts will be explained in the following paragraphs.

National community can be defined through the description of its members. Through this description, it becomes clear who the members are and who are not (WRR, 2007). Anderson (as cited in WRR 2007) defines a nation as an imagined community. This means that the members of the nation need to imagine that they together form a community for the nation to exist. Change in a community can cause problems when its imagination or identity needs to be reformed (WRR, 2007). Besides that, it is not always clear who the members are and who are not, when the nation is an imagined community. National identity is, therefore, a difficult concept to define but is used as a method to create cohesion between the members of a community, in this case *the Dutch*.

A nation is formed through a double process of internal identification. This process is based on pre-existing cultural, historical, political and territorial features that bind people together, and the formation of a nation becomes active through interaction with outsiders (Triandafyllidou, 2006). A nation can be described as a modern political institution that is characterised by the formation of a state that has the exclusive control in its territory and seeks to unify its people through cultural homogenisation (Guibernau, 2007). However, most nation-states consist of different ethnic groups which causes internal diversity. The people of a nation are thus expected to share the same type of culture (Gellner, 2006), while in reality diversity exists. People belong to the same nation if they recognise each other as belonging to it and thus recognise certain rights and duties that are specific to the nation (Gellner, 2006). To realise this, nation-states engage in nation-building processes that aim to establish cultural and linguistic assimilation of its citizens, origination from the dominant ethnic group within its territory (Guibernau, 2007).

A nation's homogeneous culture is thus partly formed by the national identity of the people that belong to it. Nevertheless, this notion can be problematic, because people can neither influence their place of birth nor the state in which they grow up or the other members of that nation (Low, 2000; WRR, 2007). Some scholars argue that it is impossible to clearly define national

identity because it is a *multidimensional phenomenon* that can be spatial, ethnic, cultural, legal, modernistic and can be influenced by a subjective imagination of the nation's members (WRR, 2007).

However, different scholars have tried to define national identity in order to clearance debates around this concept. Triandafyllidou (2006), for instance, clarifies that national identity is a feeling of belonging that is shared with other members of the nation. Even though nation members are not always very close, they are expected to be closer to one another than they are to outsiders (Triandafyllidou, 2006). One could thus argue that national identity is both inward-looking because it involves a level of similarity within the group in terms of culture, laws, and history, and outward-looking because national identity involves awareness of *others* from whom they want to differentiate themselves (Guibernau, 2007; Triandafyllidou, 2006). Besides that, national identity can be understood as the reproduction and reinterpretation of values, traditions and symbols that form the heritage of the nation and its members that confirm with it (Smith, 2006). At the same time, this process is fluid and dynamic and the elements upon which national identity feelings are based may change over time (Guibernau, 2007).

The members of a nation-state, who are thus believed to share a national identity, mediate their culture and politics through nationalism. Nationalism can be defined as an ideology through which activities on the basis of culture, ethnicity, language and history are considered specific to the nation-state (Low, 2000). However, in the context of globalisation, nationalism does not always seem to be a mirror of the identities of nation-states in contemporary societies. The non-homogeneous nature of a nation opens up for a more hybrid form of identity that combines characteristics of different geo-historical origins (Low, 2000). Nationalism could then better be described as an ideology that aims to conform unity and identity on behalf of the whole population (Smith, 2006). As such, nationalism reflects the desire of people living in the same social system to share values, speak the same language, and occupy a piece of land with each other (Danesi & Perron, 1999).

3.5.4 Ethnic identity

In this thesis, following James and James (2008), ethnicity is understood as a term that describes national origins in terms of birthplace. However, racial or ethnic classifications are often misleading (Danesi & Perron, 1999). Even though not even twins are totally identical, human beings try to classify themselves and others as members of ethnic groups to which they feel they belong to in terms of a genetic link (Danesi & Perron, 1999). Anthropologists nowadays

study groups in terms of geographic or social criteria and have rejected the notion of race and ethnicity (Danesi & Perron, 1999), even though much literature still refers to these terms. Currently, both proponents and opponents of immigration are voicing concerns over the meaning of ethnicity (Cardús, 2010). The belief in a common ethnicity creates boundaries between different groups of people that make them unique and contributes to the construction of a political community. Membership in a political community is thus based on the belief of a shared ethnicity (Guibernau, 2007). However, a political community that shares one culture and one ethnic background does not exist in the Western world due to the pressure of immigration from countries with distant origins and ways of living (Cardús, 2010). Claims to the European national identities by people who remain linked to their ethnic background and primary cultural traditions are perceived by Europeans as a threat to national cohesion (Cardús, 2010). Due to growing internal differentiation, it becomes more difficult to define characteristics of national identities in terms of ethnicity (Cardús, 2010). Additionally, cultural characteristics are often associated with ethnicity, even though a shared ethnic origin does not mean cultural homogeneity. Massive immigration of previous generations has resulted in a mixture of cultures whereby tensions revolve around the differences between cultures and ethnicity (James & James, 2008). Moreover, ethnicity is an important aspect in social identity and thereby how we understand ourselves and others because within societies birthplace often provides the basis for a collective identity (James & James, 2008).

3.6 Othering

Throughout the above discussions, the term *other* has already been used several times. The reason for this is that every community that defines an *us*, creates at the same time a *them* (WRR, 2007), or in other words a *self* and an *other*. Moreover, identities are multi-dimensional and thus it can never be reduced to a single element (Jenkins, 2008; Seeberg, 2003). For that reason, every act of defining an identity for a group or one *self*, means excluding an *other* or *others* (Seeberg, 2003; WRR, 2007). At the same time, to distinguish between those categories does not mean that they contradict each other, as there is a difference between *us and them*, and, *us or them* (WRR, 2007).

What the terms *us* and *them* refer to in a certain context is not always clear-cut (WRR, 2007). Bourdieu (1979 in WRR, 2007) and Jensen (2011) for instance describe that people from high social classes develop structures that distinguish *them* from *others*. Bourdieu (1979 in WRR, 2007) even states that when the *others* adapt to these structures, the people from high social

classes develop new and different structures to keep distinguishing themselves. Outsiders can thus never become insiders (WRR, 2007).

When perceived from a social science perspective, identities are always social (Jenkins, 2008; Jensen, 2011), which means that identities are formed in a specific social context and are conditioned by them at the same time. This process is referred to as *othering*, whereby the group which is othered is reduced to dehumanising stereotypical characters by more powerful groups. However, from his analysis on othering processes, Jensen (2011) concludes that agency is at play in othering processes whereby the *others* do not always accept their ascribed position and use this position for negotiating their identity. This means that the *others* can use their position to challenge the devaluation of the meaning of being the *other* (Jensen, 2011).

3.7 A literature review of previous research on the topic

Initial investigating on this topic created the impression that research on this topic in the Netherlands with children was limited. However, there is much written on this topic from different perspectives and within several disciplines through academic research. The following paragraphs give an overview of this, and thereby form the academic background of this thesis.

The first source of interest for this thesis was a report written by the Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy in 2007. In their report, *Identificatie met Nederland* (Identification with the Netherlands) they argue for a change in perspective from *one national identity* towards a perspective that recognises that identity encompasses *multiple processes of identification.* A policy approach from this perspective would, according to them, strengthen possibilities of social cohesion and promote a forward-looking and open orientation on this (WRR, 2007). Their line of argument influenced the aim of this thesis to investigate children's opinions on culture and identity in the Netherlands to explore in what way children describe national identity and culture in contemporary Dutch society. This report is, therefore, a first influence on the creation of this thesis. However, this report only answers questions from a theoretical, historical and an indirect empirical angle by which there was no direct interaction with current members of the Dutch society.

Moreover, with the Netherlands as research site, although from a psychological perspective, Verkuyten (2002) has studied children's perceptions of discrimination. He examines how early adolescents perceive personal and group discrimination and the role that ethnic identity plays in this. In this way we can improve our understanding of how ethnic distinctions are made in societies like the Netherlands (Verkuyten, 2002). Moreover, Smeekes, Verkuyten, and Poppe

(2011) show that when national identity is represented to participants as rooted in Christianity, this leads to similar levels of resistance against immigrants by low and high identifiers of Dutch national identity. Other than that, Verkuyten, Thijs, and Sierksma (2014) have together explored ways by which children evaluate their preferences for immigrant and emigrant peers. They argue that when immigrants adapt to the majority culture, they are more likely to be included and are thereby more positively evaluated by their peers. These three articles together form an understanding of how children perceive differences and similarities in the relation between and their understanding of *us* and *them* in the Netherlands.

Besides research in a Dutch context, internationally there has been done research on this topic with children as well. An example of this is Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, and Ezell (2007), who examined which factors influence how often family members discuss children's ethnic heritage with children. They have found that even though children explore through various sources of information their conceptions of ethnicity and race, children of kindergarten age are foremost informed by ethnicity and race through family members. In relation to this, Cameron, Brown, Rutland, and Douch (2006) demonstrated as one of the first ones that extended contact between refugee and non-refugee children reduces prejudice between children of ages below 13. These articles together provide a more international perspective on children's attitudes towards themselves and *others* regarding identity and socialisation processes from a psychological point of view.

Research similar to the content of this thesis is for instance done by Bar-Tal (1996), who demonstrated the strength of cultural stereotypes and its influence on children. He states that children develop their personal stereotypes by age. Those personal stereotypes can differ from, or contradict cultural stereotypes. However, cultural stereotypes that are developed at an early age are strongly imbedded in a child´s history and are therefore very influential over a child´s personal beliefs. In relation to this, Hengst (1997) shows with his research on children´s conceptions on *us* and *them* transnational elements in the constructions of collective identity. This outcome can be analysed in relation to how the children in this research project argued on identity, which is explained in chapter 5.2. Seeberg (2003) shows in her comparative study processes of othering by children in a Dutch primary school in which Muslims are being othered, which is a finding comparable to the outcome of this study. A study most similar to this study is conducted by Leonard (2011), who focussed on children´s constructions of *us* and *them* in Cyprus. Based on the results of the study, Leonard (2011) reflects on the contradictions

that children face in situations of competing discourses around national identity in divided societies.

From an international perspective, previous research on citizenship education provided an understanding of how in different countries citizenship education is used to transform discourses around *us* and *them* into a more inclusive *we.* By understanding children's perspectives in research on this topic, citizenship education can better suit the needs of society, scholars argue. An example of previous research on citizenship education is carried out by Leonard (2007), who explored children's citizenship education in politically sensitive societies. By the use of her case study in Northern Ireland, she explored dilemmas associated with citizenship education and concluded that educators of citizenship should be aware of children's experiences of ethnic diversity. Besides that, research on children's perceptions and experiences of ethnic divisions and the effects of this on citizenship education should be much more researched in order to know more about how children understand their identities and feelings of belonging (Leonard, 2007). Additionally, the study of Liljestrand (2012) provides information on the interaction between teacher and students in citizenship education. She argues that the teachers' role is not to develop its students into citizens but to facilitate their citizenship. This forms an interesting background for socialisation processes through education, on which will be elaborated in chapter 5.

The information that all these articles provided formed the direction that the topic of this thesis has taken. Furthermore, the articles provided a solid background for the formation of the research questions and the choice of the methods fitting to this topic. In chapter 5 and 6, arguments in these articles are compared with the outcomes of the analysis of data in this thesis.

4. Methodology & methods

This research project is rights-based which means that it is based on human-rights law, and in particular the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child's (UNCRC) articles 3(c), 12, 13 and 36 (Ennew et al., 2009d). Careful consideration is thus given to these articles in all stages of the research. In rights-based research there is a clear distinction between methodology and methods (Bessell, 2015). Methods are ways through which the researcher communicates with research participants or observes the behaviour of participants to gather data. Methodology implies the reasons for using these methods and the principles and theoretical perspectives for using them. In rights-based research children are viewed as human rights bearers and methods are therefore in line with the UNCRC articles (Bessell, 2015; Ennew et al., 2009d). In this type of research, methods and methodology are thus equally important (Bessell, 2015).

This chapter further presents the total process of data collection. It starts with my position concerning children and their participation in research. It then continues with reflections on my data collection process in which I first focus on the pre-phase of the fieldwork and then on the different methods and how I have worked with them. The chapter then continues with reflections on how I have dealt with the gathered data and finishes with ethical considerations that were relevant in all stages of this research project.

4.1 Methodological perspectives

4.1.1 My position concerning children and their participation in research

The UNCRC is a powerful framework in contemporary societies within the fields of childhood policy and research (Kjørholt, 2004). The adoption of the UNCRC in 1989 marked a turning point in global thinking on children and childhood (Bessell, 2015). Previously children were perceived as human becoming and not yet full members of society (Gallacher & Gallagher, 2008; Van Blerk, 2006). Since the emergence of childhood studies, children are more and more perceived as active agents in processes affecting their lives (Gallacher & Gallagher, 2008). This means that it is acknowledged that childhood is socially, politically, culturally and economically constructed by children and there are thus many different kinds of childhoods. Therefore, children´s social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right (Bessell, 2015; Kjørholt, 2004; Van Blerk, 2006).

Some researchers warn against the danger which arises from this idea of childhood as a social construction and argue that research findings are only valid within the original context and we

thus cannot form universal statements (McKechnie & Hobbs, 2004). In contrast, McKechnie and Hobbs (2004) and Sommer et al. (2010) argue that this would limit any attempts to generalise research finding and state that researchers should at some level still produce general statements as there is a need to identify areas of commonality across different contexts. Taken together, I acknowledge that this research project could produce different data when conducted in other areas in the Netherlands, but at the same time I argue that some degree of generalisation is needed to understand the underlying structure of how children describe national identity and culture in the contemporary Netherlands.

Since the emergence of childhood studies and the creation of the UNCRC, frameworks that construct children as competent social actors and participation rights in matters that affect their lives have become centralised in childhood research (Kjørholt, 2004). Involving children in research and doing research *with* them is thus a relatively modern phenomenon (Masson, 2004). Researching *with* children means that children actively participate in different stages of the research process. Hart (1992) therefore designed a ladder of participation (figure 1.) as a beginning typology for thinking about children's participation, in which different power levels of children's participation in research are shown. Even though researchers generally agree on children's participation as a positive attribute of research, there has only been a limited amount of reflections on what this really means (Gallacher & Gallagher, 2008).

Figure 1. The Ladder of Participation (Hart, 1992)

As can be seen in figure 1, only the levels 4 to 8 are levels of genuine participation. Hart (2008) describes these levels as expressions of different degrees of participatory engagement or agency. Although it seems that level 8 is best to aim for, it is recognised that this is a difficult and almost unlikely form of participation of children in research (Nieuwenhuys, 2004). Besides that, the higher rungs of the ladder are not superior to the ones beneath, but rather show different degrees of agency to which children are supported, allowed, and enabled to make decisions (Hart, 2008). Moreover, if we recognise a high degree of children's agency, we must also

recognise their responsibility whereby the level of children's agency influences the level from which they can be praised or blamed for their actions (Hammersley, 2016). For this reason, researchers should give attention to what are and are not legitimate forms of autonomy and responsibility for children in research. The extent to which children should be involved in research is thus a tough debate (Greig, Taylor, & MacKay, 2013). Important here is to emphasise that in previous decades a majority view developed in which children have a right to have their voices heard and therefore have the right to decide whether or not to participate in research. Besides that, this view encompasses that research should be done *with* children instead of *on* children (Greig et al., 2013). Moreover, it is written in the UNCRC that children have the rights to have their perspective taken into account in all matters that concern them, but this is often wrongly understood for *children should have the final say* (Hart, 2008). Reading then about these different levels of participation I would argue that the children in this research project participated in level 5 or 6 because the intention of the research came from me and I led the activities, but at the same time children participated in decision making and their opinions were treated seriously.

Several scholars criticise the idea of children's full participation in research because of the danger of giving them too much responsibility, while adults have the responsibility for creating safe environments for children (Greig et al., 2013; Hammersley, 2016; Kjørholt, 2004; Nieuwenhuys, 2004). Besides that, we should not view the child as a researcher since research is a specialised activity. Researchers need to be educated to do qualified research, and the overall responsibility of the outcome of the research lies with the adult researcher (Hammersley, 2016; Kjørholt, 2004). This does not mean that I do not recognise children as competent participants. I rather view children as co-constructors of knowledge who contribute actively in giving insight in their perspectives, without giving them responsibility. In this respect, children are experts in their own lives, but not the only experts. Humans are always unfinished and no one can be fully knowing, competent, and rational. Both researcher and participant are thus competent and learning at the same time (Gallacher & Gallagher, 2008).

Researching in this way, I recognise that children's perceptions provide a crucial dimension (Masson, 2004) and I therefore view children as similar to adults, but with different competencies (Punch, 2002). This way of perceiving children influences the power relation between me as a researcher and research participants (Robinson & Kellet, 2004), which I will further discuss in chapter 4.5.6.

Four different ways of seeing children have been recognised in child research; the child as an object, the child as a subject, the child as a social actor and seeing children as (co-)participants in research, whereas the two last ones are the most recent (Christensen & Prout, 2002). I argue that the approach in this research project encompasses both the child as a social actor and the child as (co-)participant approach. Seeing the child as a social actor implies that children have their own experiences and understandings and that they change and become changed by the world they live in. Important in this approach is that the research suits the participants involved in the study rather than distinguishing between child and adult approaches (Christensen & Prout, 2002; Robinson & Kellet, 2004). The perspective of children as active (co-)participants in research is supported by the UNCRC and children's participation rights. The UNCRC clearly states that children have to be seen as fellow human beings and active citizens. Children thus should be involved, informed, consulted and heard in their lives and in research. Crucial in this last approach is, therefore, the degree to which adult researchers share or hold back knowledge and control (Christensen & Prout, 2002; Robinson & Kellet, 2004).

4.2 Data collection

4.2.1 Research in a Dutch school as insider and outsider

For doing research with children on how they construct and interpret nationality and culture in the Netherlands, my best chance to get in contact with possible research participants was to do research in a school context as school is compulsory in the Netherlands from the ages 5 to 16. In a school I would find children from many different backgrounds together in one place and through school I could contact the children easily and ask for their consent. Finally, the primary school where I conducted this research is a school in my old neighbourhood where I lived when I was a child and I therefore could easily get in contact with the head principal and get access to the field.

Being a researcher in a Dutch primary school, I faced different advantages as I was both an insider and an outsider at the same time. A researcher who is an insider shares particular characteristics (ethnicity or culture) with the group being researched, while an outsider is someone who does not have any prior intimate knowledge of the group being researched (Mercer, 2007). Both these positions will be discussed further below. However, one could argue that researchers do not have a single status and are thus always multiple insiders and outsiders because identities are always related. As different situations arise, researcher move back and forth between being an insider and an outsider (Mercer, 2007). I moved back and forth between

being an insider and an outsider while doing research 'at home', as Unwin (2006) calls it. Both positions had different advantages for me as a researcher and the research project.

The access to the field was in my regard easily gained since I already knew the school and the head principal. This made my fieldwork more time efficient (Mercer, 2007; Unwin, 2006). Knowing the head principal also provided me with privileged access to situations that would have been less accessible to outsiders (Unwin, 2006). Through this connection, teachers and other workers in the school were very willing to help me with practical issues as finding a free room in the school and adapting my plans to their schedule. They seemed to have no problem to be honest about situations happening in the school which they shared with me during informal dialogues.

Working in my mother tongue was another advantage that would help me to go deeper into the topic and understand complex nuances in different situations (Unwin, 2006). One could argue that taken-for-granted knowledge of the research topic in combination with the fieldwork area would also work in my favour, as I knew that the population of children in the school seemed to be a real reflection of the Dutch population in, at least, that area of the country.

I agree with Unwin (2006) that all these advantages of being an insider could help to make the research more valuable than only gaining the qualification of my study programme. It could contribute more to the needs of others, because as an insider I am much more aware of what the needs are and can communicate findings of the study more easily back to the field (Unwin, 2006). Being an insider and outsider, I did not feel strong disadvantages of these positions. In the first meetings with the school I clearly stated the purpose of the research and made sure that everybody understood that I was not aiming primarily to help the school by doing this research. Instead I explained that the outcomes of the research could be interesting for the school, as they teach citizenship education and this topic is closely related to identity and feelings of nationality. Having said that, they asked me to come back to share my findings of the study with them. I agree with them that it is both important and interesting for both parties to talk about the findings, which makes the research more valuable (Unwin, 2006). In the end of May I will therefore go back to the Netherlands to discuss my findings with the children.

Being an insider as described above provided me with many advantages. However, during data collection, I was an outsider at the same time. I did not know any of the children I would be working with and was therefore perceived a stranger to all of them. My relationships with the

children were in that sense all even. The children knew that Dutch is my mother tongue and that I had a similar background as some of them, on which I will elaborate later in this chapter. However, they also knew that I live in Norway and that I wanted to know more about their perspectives. During the fieldwork I realised that my position was unique, as they saw me as a Dutch person, but as a quite different one. This position raised the opportunity for me to ask questions as an outsider, but at the same time use previous knowledge about the Netherlands as an insider and thus ask deeper questions than an outsider could do (Mercer, 2007). Having lived abroad also influenced the way I perceive the Netherlands and Dutch nationality and culture myself, and this could also have influenced the questions I asked. Being both the insider and outsider was thus beneficial in this context.

This unique position influenced that the children did not see me as one of their teachers, even though they sometimes called me teacher and told me they gained new knowledge from participating in the methods. During the fieldwork I felt that the children may felt more obliged to call me teacher, as they normally have to call every adult in the school teacher. Despite that, I still think that they saw me at least as a different one, as we talked together about my position many times and I felt that they understood that my position was very different from the other adults in the school. I explained to them that they could call me Nathalie, but that it was also okay if they wanted to call me teacher. I perceived this position rather as a positive challenge than as a disadvantage during my fieldwork.

4.2.2 Sampling technique

In the period before the actual research started I had different meetings with the internal supervisor of the school to discuss expectations and to make arrangements for the start of the fieldwork. Together we discussed sampling techniques that would practically fit the research, me as a researcher, and the working method of the school at the same time.

In the first week after the summer break I presented my research plans to the teachers of grade 1 to 5 and asked them who would be willing to provide me with access to the children in their class and to work together in the planning of the methods. After having discussed different possibilities I chose to start working with grade 3 and 4. Together with the teachers I planned a visit to their classes to talk with the children about my plans and ideas. After this visit I gave the children the information letters and letters of consent so that they could discuss with their parent(s)/caretaker(s) whether to take part or not. In this way, the children had the power in the first place whether or not to participate. If they did not want to they would not have to give the

forms to their parent(s)/caretaker(s) and nobody could force them to participate without his or her own willing.

4.2.3 Building rapport

When I met the children for the first time, their teacher introduced me to them shortly and then gave me the space to speak. Being introduced by their teacher could help to establish a trusting relationship between me and them (Ennew et al., 2009b). To further built this relationship I visited the children several times during the following two weeks. When I visited them I observed their classes of citizenship education, I talked with the children, and I joined in their sports or art class. By doing this, I created opportunities to get to know the children better, to give them the opportunity to ask questions directly about me or the research, to remember them to return the letters of consent on time if they were willing to participate, and to build trust (Ennew et al., 2009b). Two weeks later, 17 children (all 8 and 9 years old) returned their consent forms and the actual planning of my methods could start.

4.2.4 Background characteristics of respondents sampled for the study

The sample of 17 children who decided to participate in the study was quite diverse. Children's heritage varied among different backgrounds as for instance; the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Syria, Turkey, Morocco, and Pakistan. All children were 8 or 9 years old and followed education in 3rd or 4th grade. Because of privacy considerations I will not refer deeply to their personal backgrounds, but I have rather classified their cultural heritage into three subgroups; Dutch, European, and non-European. This way of classifying shows the diversity of the sample. Moreover, since I am not in the position to decide how much they feel connected to Dutch nationality and culture, this way of classifying is linked to their heritage, and not their national identity. Children's ideas about national identity will be described in chapter 6.

Dutch heritage includes children who are born in the Netherlands who also have parents and grandparents that were born in the Netherlands. European heritage refers to children who themselves, or their parents, or grandparents are not born in the Netherlands, but another country within Europe. Non-European heritage includes children who themselves, or their parents, or grandparents are born outside of Europe.

Table 3. Research sample

Heritage	Total amount of children	Boys	Girls
Dutch	7	5	2
European	5	5	-
Non-European	5	1	4
Total	**17**	**11**	**6**

4.2.5 Working together with teachers

Working together with teachers was a way of getting access to possible research participants. I also was depending on their willingness to plan the methods fitting to their schedule and was therefore very open in my planning. I prepared my fieldwork in a way that it was open to different approaches and next to my fieldwork I did not make any appointments so that I was available any time during the entire school week.

During the presentation in the first week where I asked for the teachers' participation, I immediately explained what would be expected from them so that they knew what they would agree upon. I told them that it was important that everyone called me by my name instead of by profession and that children should not be prepared for the topic in any way aiming for influencing results. Acting this way I sought to be both very clear in my expectations and very open to anything they would advise me.

At the end of the last day of a research method I planned the method for the next week together with the teachers adapting to their teaching schedule. After making these arrangements I asked the children if they were okay with being out of class at that time and I adapted the schedule a bit more to their wishes.

4.3 Methods

As Ennew and colleagues state; 'research methods are the ways researchers and research participants communicate' (Ennew et al., 2009c, p. 5.5). I communicated through the following methods; drawing, concept mapping, individual photo interview, and attitude survey. These methods helped me to establish trusting relationships with the children in order to get a clear view of how they understand identity and culture in the contemporary Netherlands. Overall, the children told me that they liked participating in all the methods that were used during this research project and that they felt sad when the fieldwork came to an end.

As mentioned before, I view children as similar to adults but with different competencies. This way of seeing children influences my choice of methods (Punch, 2002). However, this does not mean that I conducted my research in the same way as I would do with adults but rather that my approach reflects the competencies of the child participants (Punch, 2002). I therefore not only chose my methods based on the fact that my participants are children, but I also took into consideration group specifications such as age, gender, and culture. Besides this I reflected on how the research questions and methods would fit my way of working with children, in order to understand children's views, opinions and perspectives (Ennew et al., 2009d). Hence I argue that my research approach is participant-centred, rather than child-centred, because the suitability of methods depends as much on age and competencies as on the research context (Punch, 2002).

It is recommended to use a range of different methods to give children with varied life experiences and competencies equal chances to express their thoughts and ideas (Punch, 2002). Reflexivity is central in this approach, as the researcher needs to reflect on her way of working and role, as well as on the choice of methods. Besides that, a combination of different methods can make the research interesting and fun for the children which influences the effectiveness in generating useful data (Punch, 2002). In this research project I therefore chose four different methods which would suit children with different competencies in the school setting and Dutch culture. Children could choose whether or not to participate in the research and in which specific methods they wanted to participate. Children were aware of the fact that it was possible to change this any time during the research project and I checked this therefore every time I worked with them.

In my research approach the different methods were built upon each other. The first method, drawing, was used to build a relationship with the children, but also to let the children choose the topics we would talk about in the following methods. In this method I asked the children to draw the things that came in their minds when thinking about the Netherlands and Dutch culture. I told the children that we would compose in that way the topics for the following methods. Children thus participated actively in shaping the topics that we would talk about in the final method. The second method was concept mapping. In groups of two or three, the children drew or wrote down their ideas about what is according to them typical Dutch. Out of those two methods, and the talks I had with the children about what they drew and wrote, I selected different topics that all children wrote or drew about, but also topics that were more

unique in children's drawings and mind maps. As a third method I then used individual interviews where I showed different pictures that could represent those topics and I checked children's opinions about this individually. After this third method I had quite a clear view of children's various opinions about the different topics and if those topics represent the Netherlands or not according to them. The last method, and thus based on the three previous methods, was an attitude survey in which I cross-checked children's various opinions on the final topics *people*, *religion*, *food*, *celebrations*, and *symbols*. In groups of two to four, children chose individually per statement if they agreed or disagreed on the statement and explained why. I gave each child the space to express their views and to change their position if they wanted to after discussing or hearing other children's opinions about the statement. My approach and methods were thus participatory in the sense that children shaped the research topics. In this way, I gave children the freedom to shape the research in the direction that they could show their views best.

In the following paragraphs I explain my motivation for the use of the methods as well as the successes and challenges that I experienced during these specific methods. General challenges that I faced during the data collection will be discussed in chapter 4.5.

4.3.1 Research diary & field notes

Besides working with methods, I also had a research diary which I brought with me to the field every day. In my diary I wrote down the appointments I had with the teachers and children and the different groups I used per method. Additionally, I used an observation sheet on which I wrote down different factors that might have influenced the collection of data during each specific session. On this sheet I wrote for instance how I felt myself that day, specialities about the children, characteristics of place, and interruptions or distractions during the session. The information on these sheets later helped me to interpret the data better. An example of these sheets is enclosed in appendix F.

4.3.2 Drawings

The drawing method was the first method in my data collection and was organised in four sessions with four to five children per session. All 17 children participated in this method. This seemed perfect in this early stage, as it allows the participants to explore the topic without answering direct questions immediately. Besides that, it decreases the power differences between the children and me as it reduces eye contact (Ennew et al., 2009c; Punch, 2002), and

this method is a perfect warm-up to other, more difficult methods and it could help the children to become more familiar with me as a researcher (Punch, 2002).

During the sessions the children told me that they were a bit nervous and that they did not know so well what to expect from the research period, but they were also very much looking forward to finding out. I was very well prepared for different challenges that might come up during the session and I tried to answer their questions as clear as possible. At the start I explained what we would do; draw what comes to mind when you think about the Netherlands or what you think is Dutch. It took some time for the children to start drawing, as this task was very open. I told them explicitly that every answer would be right because it is their own expression or idea. After talking a bit with each other, most children started drawing their own ideas. Some children took some minutes to think about the topic first before they started. Only one child had after several minutes no idea what to draw, so I helped her a bit by asking her questions such as; what do you think the Netherlands has, what other countries do not have? Or what do you most like about living in the Netherlands?

During these sessions the children seemed very open in making contact with me and started to tell stories and raise questions to me. They told me that they really liked it that they were with other children together during the sessions and I kept that in mind for the other methods. From now on, I asked them with whom they wanted to work with in the session to come and I tried to adapt to their wishes as much as possible.

After the drawing sessions I organised individual interviews in which I talked with the children about their drawing and about the topic. This was very open, as I only prepared some basic questions so that the children would lead me to their directions. Through these conversations I gained a better understanding of what the children drew and why they drew it (Ennew et al., 2009c). The duration of interviews about the drawings varied per child from 15 to 30 minutes. During these interviews it was easy for me to filter information that children were not sure about, as some parents or caretakers might have told them what they think is Dutch. I became aware of some topics that were depended on the time of my fieldwork. For instance, topics that children saw in the news or what they talked about during class. Because of my questions, children thought deeply about what they drew and why they drew it and were very honest in their answers. Some children told me that they enjoyed it even more than they had expected!

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After listening to the records of these first interview sessions, I became aware of how I raised questions and the effect of that on the children. I realised that I asked more questions at a time, which made it hard for the children to answer. During the following methods I made myself aware of the way I asked questions and I asked the children to tell me if they did not understand what I was asking for. By doing this, I put myself even more in a learning position in which the children could help me to improve my skills. This might have helped as well to decrease the power distinction between me and them.

4.3.3 Concept mapping

Novak and Cañas (2008) explain that concept maps are graphical tools for organizing and representing knowledge. They include concepts, enclosed in circles whereby relationships between concepts are indicated by a connecting line. Concept maps were developed in 1972 when researchers tried to find a way to represent children's conceptual understanding, and they came up with the idea to represent children's knowledge in the form of a concept map (Novak & Cañas, 2008). Concepts maps were thus designed in the first place for researchers to understand children's views, ideas and understandings. This therefore seemed a very useful tool in my research project, as I tried to understand children's conceptions of identity and culture and its underlying structure.

This method was organised in groups of two to four children. Every session I worked with two groups at the same time to be time efficient and to reduce pressure. By working this way, I could give children more space to work without me being close the whole time.

As I know from my background in education, the concept map is a very common tool used by teachers to explain concepts or to let children brainstorm about various topics. However, when I introduced this method to the children, they told me that they were not sure if they understood what I asked them to do. First I found out that they do not use the word 'concept map', as I thought they did, but 'woordveld' (word field). Changing the name for this method made it clearer to the children what I asked for. However, when we started the method, I realised that some of the children had no idea how to start this task and that they needed a bit more guidance from me. Therefore I helped them organising a bit and I explained them little by little how to start a 'woordveld'. The children seemed to know how it could look like, but had little experience in making their own. Besides, the topic might have been too broad for their understanding to start without explanation. Later, when children knew how to organise the task, they worked very hard.

Knowing that children thus agreed on participating in a method from which they had no idea what was expected, I asked the children later on if they still agreed to participate or rather opt-out. All 15 children still decided to participate, after the explanation of the method.

Another challenge that came up was that children used a lot of time thinking and making the concept map. For the research this was not a problem, but I felt pressure for keeping the children out of class for more than one hour. At the same time I didn't want to be the one deciding that their concept map was finished, while the children still had ideas to implement. I solved this by letting the children plan how much time they needed, and if the concept map was not finished by then, they could add ideas during the talk we would have afterwards.

4.3.4 Individual photo-interview

The third method was an interview based on pictures. Interviewing can be seen as a process where the interviewer and the interviewee together through their relationship produce knowledge. Nevertheless, this conversation is not between people with an equal power status, because the researcher controls the situation (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). However, by using my computer to show the pictures, there was less eye contact than with other forms of interviews, which decreases the power distinction between me and the child as was also the case in the drawing method (Ennew et al., 2009c; Punch, 2002).

The photos and questions of the interview were based on data gathered in the previous two methods. By using semi-structured interviews I could make sure that specific themes were covered and at the same time give time and space to the child to bring up other thoughts and ideas (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Willis, 2006). I wanted to implement photos in this semi-structured interview to stimulate discussion and to make it easier for the children to understand the topics we were talking about (Ennew et al., 2009c). At the same time I could ask questions as; what do you see?, or, would you perceive what you see as Dutch?

While preparing the PowerPoint with photos for the interview I made sure that the photos would reflect the topics I wanted to talk about. At the same time I was aware of the order of the topics and the photos. I decided to start with a quite easy topic (celebrations), build up to more sensitive topics (people and religion) and finish with an easier and more fun topic (food). In this way I to hoped assure that the children experienced the interview positive and not too difficult.

All the interviews were individual and 15 children participated. The duration of the interviews varied between 18 to 30 minutes per child. Most children seemed very open in their answers during the interviews and were motivated to take part. With some children I experienced some challenges. One child for instance seemed to almost not recognise anything in the pictures as either Dutch or not Dutch and answered very shortly. Without having many prepared questions and being mostly dependent on my relationship with the child and the situation in that specific moment, it was difficult to adapt the interview to this situation. However, in some minutes I managed to change my way of questioning and added some questions about if he/she for instance ate that food or if he/she liked it, instead of if it was Dutch or not. In this way I lowered the pressure from the questions.

At the start of some of the interviews, children seemed to be a bit nervous to speak their minds freely without having their friends around. I therefore told them that I understood it if they were nervous and I told them I was a bit nervous too. After that, I explained how long the interview would take approximately and that all answers would be right. Then I showed them the overview of the PowerPoint so that they knew what they could expect. In this way, they knew better what to expect from the interview and I reduced the pressure that they might have felt. During the interviews I felt that the children became more relaxed and open, as they started to explain things more broadly.

4.3.5 Attitude survey

After analysing all the data that I gathered from the previous three methods, I started to create the statements that I would use in the last method; the attitude survey. This method aimed to crosscheck earlier findings on topics that the children chose to work with (Ennew et al., 2009c). For this last method I formed groups of two to four children, depending on what was practically possible and based on children's own choice. In total there were six groups and with each group we worked around one hour on the statements that I had prepared. As most classic attitude surveys in European languages, I provided five options for the children to choose from; strongly agree, agree, no opinion, disagree, strongly disagree (Ennew et al., 2009c).

In the sports hall of the school I created an area with five mats. Above each mat hung a paper on which one of the five options was written. Children thus moved around during the survey depending on their opinions.

For some children it seemed quite long to work intensively with this method for one hour. I therefore gave them a clear overview of how far we were and when we reached a new topic. I also really tried to keep up the speed, so that it would not take longer than necessary. Although it took one hour, the children participated enthusiastically, but at the same time they did not listen to each other's opinions sometimes. I therefore mediated between children for them to hear each other's opinions and at the same time to give them space to just move freely within the area while moving on to the next statement.

Other than that, this method provided interesting data. Children spoke out their opinions and were not afraid to disagree with each other. When they disagreed they asked each other questions, discussed, and in some cases adapted their opinions. With some statements, different children stood right in front of each other (totally agree – totally disagree) which caused interesting discussions. When I talked with the head principal about the success of this method he explained to me that children from the age of 4 learn in school to state their opinions, to accept it from others who disagree, and to react with respect to that. This might have positively influenced this attitude survey.

4.4 Dealing with data

4.4.1 Transcription process

During the data collection I worked with the gathered data regarding analysing drawings, concept maps, and field notes to formulate the statements for the attitude survey. However, the real process of transcribing started after the data collection was finished. Transcription is understood as the process whereby spoken interaction between persons becomes abstracted and fixed in a written form (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). I made use of a tape recorder during sessions with the children so that no spoken information would get lost (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). After each recorded session I wrote down some specialities of the session, such as non-verbal signs and the sphere that I felt during the session because these are not possible to hear back on the record. These notes I would add later to my written transcriptions. To make the transcription process not more time consuming than it already is, I made use of a programme through which I could use my keyboard to pause and play the recordings, while at the same time I could write the transcriptions in a document on the same speed without switching between programmes. In total I have transcribed around 53 records varying in length from 15 to 60 minutes per record. Very useful was that with the use of my written notes I clearly remembered all the situations and could visualise the situation while transcribing. My

transcriptions where therefore more detailed than when someone else would have transcribed my data (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). In the process of writing this thesis I kept the transcriptions as long as possible in the original language (Dutch) so that no information would get lost in translation. After I decided which parts to use for analysis, I translated them into English. Even though the text could not be literally translated in the same way as the children spoke their words, I have tried to at least translate the data as close as possible to the actual meaning. Even when using this approach some details might have gotten lost. Throughout the analysis I therefore have tried to interpret the meaning of the data from the Dutch meanings of the words. In this way, the meaning of the data is being kept as close as possible to the meaning in the original language.

4.4.2 Data analysis

As described above, the process of analysis already started when I was working in the field. This process is called holistic coding (Saldaña, 2013), and was used as a preparatory approach and as a categorisation process through which five topics emerged to be the underlying structure of children's thinking (people, religion, food, celebrations, symbols).

After transcribing all my recordings, a second coding cycle started. Based on the previous emerged topics I started to code and structure my data through pattern coding, through which patterns of human relationships were found (Saldaña, 2013). After that, it was possible to distinguish between data that was useful for my analysis chapter on culture, and data that was more suitable for my analysis chapter on identity. After the organisation of this, I highlighted the most prevailing, explanatory, and exceptional quotes that I could use later in my text. By doing this I gained a better and deeper understanding of the data material and I came to see new structures and relations, and how they intersect with theory that I had read before. From the selected quotes I then highlighted parts of sentences that were important to discuss in my analysis chapters and I placed them in the framework of the chapters to engage them into my writing. Throughout the writing process I have read my data material many times again to check whether the chosen quotes where the most fruitful ones to justify the children's line of argument.

4.4.3 Dealing with reliability and validity of data

Reliability in research focuses on the consistency of research findings. This concerns whether a finding is reproducible at other times and by other researchers (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). In this study, the findings are consistent in the sense that at this moment in time and in this

setting, children did not change their opinion that much during different method settings. However, these same children might change their opinions based on what they will learn through their development in life, and based on events that will happen during their lifetime. In the case of working with this same process with other children in the same setting and a similar research site, the outcomes are expected to be quite similar, although never the same. A bigger research project with a bigger sample is needed to find out what children in different places and in different life stages think about culture and national identity. Therefore, it is impossible to argue whether the findings in this research are reliable or not. Besides this, it is argued that ascertaining validity in research is more complicated than assuring their reliability (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015).

The term validity refers to the process of triangulation through which accuracy and truth of the data and results are secured, by crosschecking outcomes through the use of different methods with the same participants (Ennew et al., 2009a, 2009d). Triangulation is needed for the reason that the participants' views will always be partly influenced by how they feel, what they know and think, how they perceive the questions, and the time and place during a specific research setting (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). Therefore, in this research process the research outcomes of the first two methods have been crosschecked through the last two methods. In these settings, both individual and group responses were cross-checked in individual as well as group settings. After the transcription process I have checked if the children through the different methods and different settings have changed their opinion remarkably, but this was not the case. Through the different methods I came to understand their opinions better, as the children adapted their opinion to different situations that we spoke about. This makes the outcomes more valid and reliable. However, while writing this thesis, it was good to keep in mind to not over-generalise the findings, for the reason that small-scale research might not always be reflective for bigger research settings (Alderson & Morrow, 2011).

4.5 Ethical considerations

Every research project with human beings needs an ethical strategy (Ennew et al., 2009b). Therefore, the following paragraphs provide discussions on ethical challenges I faced before, during, and after my data collection.

4.5.1 Informed consent & voluntary participation

Informed consent is at the heart of ethical research and means that researchers first need to explain to possible participants why they want to do this particular research project, what the

intended outcomes are for both parties, and that participants may ask questions any time, before they start to carry out the research (Brydon, 2006; Cowan, 2009; Esbensen et al., 1996). In this research project, as pointed out earlier, informed consent was sought through presentations that I gave in the school. During these presentations I explained the research topic and why I thought it was important to know more about children's opinions about this. I then clearly stated that first and foremost it was children's own decision whether to take part or not and in which methods, that it was possible to opt out at any moment, and that nobody could force them in any way to take part, only their parent(s)/caretaker(s) needed to agree on their participation. As parents/caretakers have responsibility for the child, it is obvious that children could not take part if their parent(s)/caretaker(s) did not approve their participation (Ennew et al., 2009b; Van Blerk, 2006).

Several researchers collecting data in schools argue that in this context it is very important to let the children opt in, as the school context is inscribed by power relations which makes it difficult for the children to decide to opt out of participating (David, Edwards, & Alldred, 2001; Van Blerk, 2006). For that reason I decided to ask the children personally, instead of assuming that every child would like to participate. Asking consent this way, I made sure that only the children that understood the research or were really motivated to take part gave their consent.

Researchers argue that only children themselves and their parent(s)/caretaker(s) are in the position to consent to the research. However, teachers' permission is necessary for research in a school context to get access to the children in the first place (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). Teachers' permission was in this project easily gained, and there were thus no problems in gaining access to the children. After having access to the children, active parental consent was needed to let the children participate. This required that all parent(s)/caretaker(s) needed to sign the consent forms and return them to me. A nonresponse was in this respect considered as a refusal (Esbensen et al., 1996).

To make sure that the children understood everything about the study and were not forced in any way to take part against their will, it was essential to check this during the process (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Cowan, 2009). Therefore I asked the children individually at the start of the first method if they could explain what they thought the research was about and at the start of each new method if they understood what the method was about and if they still agreed to participate. Several children told me that they were interested in the topic and that they asked their parents themselves to approve their consent, participation was thus their truly free will.

Important in seeking informed consent is to give enough time to children and adults to reflect and consider if they wanted to take part or not and to provide them with detailed information about the research project (Ennew et al., 2009a, 2009b). For both parents and children I therefore designed separate information letters in which I explained the project as clear as possible. The information letters are enclosed in appendix B & C. I made sure that children and parents had enough time by giving them two weeks to deliver the consent forms. Together with the internal counsellor of the school I discussed that it was important to remind the children about these forms and to tell them how much time they had to return the forms to take part. The last days before entering the two-week deadline, I therefore came to school every day to talk with the children, to give them the opportunity to talk with me if they wanted to and to help them remember to return the forms if they wanted to participate. Every time I made sure that I did not force the children in any way by reminding them about the fact that it was totally their own decision and that they should not do it just because I asked. The children reacted very openly to this and some told me that they were not interested or first had some questions before they would decide. Others told me that they had to remind their parents to sign the forms and two children told me they were not allowed to take part. With those two children I tried to stay professional, although I saw on their faces that they actually wanted to take part themselves. I therefore asked them if they understood their parents' decision and I told them that it was for me not a problem. This situation made me realise that although I wanted to give children power over their consent, there are layers of gatekeepers who exercise power over their decision (David et al., 2001).

4.5.2 Privacy

Maintaining privacy while carrying out the different methods was not a problem. Already in the first meeting I had with the teachers and school principal I explained to them that a private area in the school would be necessary to ensure the privacy of the participants (Christensen, 2004). Everyone agreed on this, but at the same time they could not ensure me that I would have the same place all the time. I told them that this was not a problem, as different methods had different space requirements. Both me and the different workers in the school were very open and willing to negotiate. Because of the strong work relationship that we had built with each other, we always found a solution in a way that both the education and the research could continue without disruptions

4.5.3 Confidentiality

Confidentiality refers to the agreement with the participants about what will be done with the data that the research produces (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). For this project, I told the children that I was going to write some kind of book about what children's opinions are about Dutch culture and Dutch nationality, but that I would not write their names in it so that nobody would know who said what. Children all chose a different name I could refer to if necessary or asked me to choose another name for them. However, during analysis it seemed that those names were too similar to their real names or too distracting for the reader. I therefore decided to refer to the children by number (Boy 1, Girl 1 etc.). In this way it would be clear and easily understandable for the reader while at the same time it would not reveal any personal information about the participants.

All the information that the children shared with me was kept confidential from the start. I locked my laptop with a password and transferred all the recordings to my laptop after each data collection session. Besides that, I kept my research diary close to me and would type everything in a word document as soon as I came home. Nobody but me thus had access to the research data.

Since my research project was independent of the school, I explained the teachers and other workers in the school that I would not discuss any personal data with them. Sometimes they asked me how it went and if I had found valuable data that day. I then talked with them about the session, and what method we worked on that day without sharing any gathered data that could reveal any personal information. We agreed that nobody could ask the children about anything they had said during the data collection sessions so that children would not feel forced in any way to share information they did not want to share. The unidentifiable outcomes of the master thesis will be shared with the school as well as with the children.

4.5.4 Sensitive & contentious information

Research about nationality and national culture could be very personal to participants who feel that they struggle with their feelings of nationality or acceptance of others to recognise their belonging to Dutch nationality or culture. Information that would be revealed during data collection could therefore be sensitive information; information that can be personal, political, social or cultural that could put the participant or researcher in a vulnerable position or could be used to manipulate others (Harrison, 2006).

During some of the data collection sessions, children strongly disagreed with each other on topics as who is or can be Dutch and if certain things are or could be Dutch. Children started to raise examples as; so you do not think that our friend is Dutch? Even if she says she feels like that? However, the children kept respect for each other's opinions while they discussed the topics openly. Sometimes I was afraid that the topic would go out of hand and I remembered the children that it is okay to disagree and that there are on these topics not always clear answers to find. Children at the end did not seem to be personally upset while leaving the data collection.

4.5.5 Protection tool

Even though the children seem to be in a balanced emotional state, I could never be totally sure about this. In the first place I therefore planned to work with the methods in such a way that the most sensitive topics would be discussed in the middle of each session and that we would start and end with a less personal or sensitive topic. Besides that I had prepared a protection tool for each method to use if children were interested. This protection tool was a picture of a sun where the children in every sunbeam could complete sentences such as; my favourite food, my favourite weather, and my favourite game to play. For each method I prepared different sentences so that the protection tool would be different each week. I always offered the children to fill it in, but they did not always want to. Sometimes they just liked the tool, but it did not seem necessary to them as they felt in a balanced emotional state anyway or they just expressed it that way. By always offering them the possibility to fill it in or to take one with them, I made sure that I at least motivated them to fill it in, in case they felt they needed it.

However, the protection tool sometimes came in handy when I had a group session with the children and the children were afterwards very noisy and excited from working together. Therefore I offered the group to fill it in, in order for them to become calmer, so that it would be easier for them to change the environment from data collection to the classroom where they had to be more quiet and work more individually. Some children found this a good idea and agreed on filling it in. Others were not immediately assured about this but followed the group. At the same time, the research was less distracting for the teaching in the school as the children would return to class in a balanced state.

4.5.6 Power imbalance

Power is defined as 'the ability of people to make their own concerns count, even when others resist' (Robinson & Kellet, 2004, p. 81). We live in a world where most decisions are made by

people with the most power, over people with the least power. Research with children thus involves one of the most powerless groups of society (Ennew et al., 2009b). Power is therefore another important ethical issue to reflect on when doing research projects with children.

As mentioned in chapter 4.1.1, I perceive children as similar to adults, but with different competencies. This way of perceiving children and childhood influences the power relation between me and the child participants in my research project (Robinson & Kellet, 2004).

The asymmetric power relationship between children and adults is influenced by the social organisation in which adults control and have power over children in many aspects of their lives (Lahman, 2008; Mayall, 2000; Punch, 2002). My approach therefore is that of an unusual type of adult, a person who is seriously interested in understanding children's views and perspectives. This approach focuses primarily on the researcher as a social person and secondly a professional (Christensen, 2004). As mentioned earlier, I presented myself in the first place as Nathalie, a person who is interested in children's views on culture and nationality in a Dutch context. Then I explained that to understand this I was going to do a research project. I told the children that they therefore could just call me Nathalie.

To understand children's views, I asked the children to participate in the project so that I could learn more about their perspectives. This relationship, in which a child is asked to teach an adult is an upside-down world (Lahman, 2008). Children therefore might need some time to get used to this type of relationship in which they gain their trust and are not afraid of the adult researchers' reaction on the things they say (Ennew et al., 2009b; Punch, 2002). Researchers and children will always be othered from each other, but considering reflexivity, acknowledging your power position, and respecting the children can contribute to a relationship that aims for more equality (Lahman, 2008). In this research project I visited the children in the first two weeks several times. These weeks I was just observing, talking with the children, and joining different activities to build a relationship with the children to gain their trust and to minimise the influence of power in our relationship.

Not only through differences in generation, but also differences in gender, race, religion and ethnicity have implications for the power relationship (Apentiik & Parpart, 2006; Ennew et al., 2009a). Children who are racial minorities, for instance, can feel another level of power differentiation between them and the researcher than children who have a more similar background (Lahman, 2008). Although the identity assigned to researchers on the basis of these

factors are mostly outside the control of the researcher, their impact can be anticipated in advance when researchers consider reflexivity. This means that I had to reflect on my own social background and behaviour during all the different stages of the research (Apentiik & Parpart, 2006; Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Lahman, 2008). To make sure that the relationship between me and the children with a different background was not more othered than the relationships I had with children with a similar background, I reflected on issues of gender, issues of religion and issues of ethnicity. I thereby decided that I would not make decisions based on gender, religion or ethnicity by ignoring that these topics could have any influence. I thus treated all children equally and did not let one of these factors influence the formation of groups or the types of questions. In combination with this, an advantage was that I could use my position as an outsider while I was at the same time familiar with value issues as an insider.

Besides generational issues and background differences, the school environment played a vital part in the power balance between me and the children (Brydon, 2006; Punch, 2002). A school context is a research environment in which adults usually have power over the children and in this contexts I therefore needed to take into account that children could feel pressure to answer correctly (Punch, 2002). Several times during the sessions I had with the children I remembered them that there were no right or wrong answers and that we were talking about opinions that also between children could differ from each other. I noticed that sometimes this helped the children to speak out their opinions more freely. Children could also see in my behaviour that I accepted different views, as I stressed several times that differences in opinions are normal and that I showed respect for everyone's opinion. Having considered all these influences, I could further only accept and acknowledge that power differences simply exist between a researcher and a participant of any kind and that research outcomes are in that way always in some level influenced by power in any situation.

5. Hybrid Cultures

The analysis of data in this research project is based on concepts and theories from childhood studies. Besides that, several concepts and theories from sociology and anthropology were used to thoroughly explain the state of culture and identity described by and relevant to children in the Netherlands nowadays. This strategy is in line with the recent thinking of scholars in childhood studies, as is explained in chapter 3.1.

The two chapters *Hybrid Cultures* and *Hybrid Identities* together illustrate an analysis of how culture and identity are understood in the eyes of children in the Netherlands. As outlined in the methodology chapter, during data collection the children themselves decided the direction of the topic. Through what children drew, wrote, and told, the five topics - symbols, food, celebrations, people, and religion – emerged as the underlying structure to show what culture and nationality mean to them. By the analysis of children's quotes and interpretations on these topics, the chapters show the contemporary situation through which issues around globalisation, cultural change, cultural reproduction, and its consequences will be clarified. The chapters do not define *what is Dutch* and *who is Dutch* according to children but focus on processes of reproduction and the ways children argue for whether something or someone is Dutch or not.

The title *Hybrid Cultures* hints at the line of thinking in this chapter. Hybrid cultures consist of a mixture of different cultures that together form new mixtures, emerged through processes of socialisation, cultural reproduction, effects of large-scale immigration, and other effects of globalisation. Through children´s quotes, the following paragraphs show in what way children argue about Dutch culture, which finally results in a schematic figure of an interpretation of children´s thinking, clarified by different theories.

5.1 Cultural structures transmitted through processes of socialisation

Through the use of different research methods, children described their knowledge about the cultural structures of the Dutch society. Their way of arguing and explaining shows their cultural knowledge and the way this is transmitted to them by adults. An example of this is the quote below. During the attitude survey, in which children argued on the basis of statements, children explained why they thought Dykes were part of the Netherlands and how they came to know this.

Statement*: Dykes are part of the Netherlands.*

Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes because the Netherlands is actually 5 meters below the water. That is why they build dykes. Otherwise there would be another flooding because there already was one big flood.*

Girl 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, the Dutch are the best in building dykes, but I think that in other countries they also have dykes, in case there is a hurricane so that the city cannot be flooded.*

Boy 4 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, the Dutch are very good in building dykes.*

Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *Yes, to protect the Netherlands against the water.*

Girl 2 (8 y/o, non-European): *Yes, because the Dutch are friends of the sea. They build dykes against the storm.*

Girl 5 (9 y/o, non-European): *That is what we learn in geography class, that there are many dykes in the Netherlands.*

Researcher: *Okay, so is that something special for the Netherlands, the need for protection from the water?*

Boy 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, because the Netherlands is very low, that is why it is called Neder-land (low-land).*

The example above shows that this cultural knowledge is transmitted by adults, in geography class, which is an example of how cultural aspects are ensured by teaching cultural knowledge to the next generation. Between children from different backgrounds, there is no observed difference in their reasoning for dykes to be Dutch, which could be explained by the fact that all these children receive the same education, in the same school and by use of the same school books. Children reason for dykes being Dutch by using arguments that they seem to have reproduced. This process of reproduction reveals patterns of socialisation, which focuses on how elements of society are replicated (James, 2013). Processes of socialisation involve both adults and children, and the relationship between them as different generations (James, 2013; Mead, 1978; Nilsen, 2009/2014; Zinnecker, 2002). This example shows that cultural knowledge is transmitted from one generation to the next through diverse channels. Nevertheless, at the same time children are not passive receivers of this knowledge, as can be seen from how Girl 1 reasons. Besides replicating the argument that '*The Dutch are the best in building dykes*', she shows independent thinking and logically reasons that most likely other countries have dykes as well, in case of flooding. Children thus not only replicate, but they are also active agents and contribute to how this information will be reproduced, and thus engage in interpretive reproduction (Corsaro, 1997). Important to keep in mind is that the process of interpretive reproduction can differ between the children. Even though the context through which they learn is in this example the same, not everyone has the same personal history which might influence the way children interpret and reproduce (James, 2013; Wells, 2018).

Children's agency through interpretive reproduction became clearer in discussions derived from other statements. An example of this is the quote below that shows how children themselves reason for things to be Dutch by looking for clear patterns and explanations instead of just copying what adults tell them. In this way, children make connections that form (new) cultural structures.

Statement: *Milk is Dutch.*

Girl 4 (9 y/o, non-European): *Yes, cheese is made from milk and milk comes from cows and that is Dutch.*

Boy 3 (9 y/o, non- European): *Not always, in Turkey they also have milk. But wait, they make cheese from it so yes it is Dutch.*

Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *On the one hand it is, because milk is typically Dutch and they make cheese from it. And on the other hand, in other countries they also have cows, so I'm not entirely sure.*

Children argue for things being Dutch by making groups of things that connect with each other in obvious and less obvious ways. As shown above, children use these groups to argue whether something is Dutch or not Dutch by looking at the group it belongs to, as for instance with; milk/cow/cheese. This reveals children's agency and independent thinking of how they themselves construct their culture. At the same time, the cultural structures that are transmitted to them influence the way children include and eliminate what is Dutch and what is not in the first place.

Besides indirectly exploring the ways children reproduce culture, two statements focused on the importance of transferring cultural knowledge.

Statement: *Everyone should learn in school about the Netherlands and Dutch things.*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, because if you come from another country and you know almost nothing about the Netherlands then it is important that you get to know the rules, Gods, and symbols. You should learn that in school.*

Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Hmm I need to think about that. Because I think that you could also learn that from other children and you could also just learn things about the Netherlands outside of school. From your parents for instance.*

Girl 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Indeed, you can also just learn from your parents.*

The statement above shows what children think about cultural reproduction through socialisation processes and how they define the need for this. Boy 1 argues for the importance of socialisation processes through education, while Boy 2 argues that, besides school, parents are an important source of knowledge for cultural reproduction. This finding correlates with the way Leonard (2011) and Brown et al. (2007) argue that even though education plays an important role, it is not the only factor that influences children's thinking about culture.

Moreover, Brown et al. (2007) argue that parents play an important role in the creation of children's thinking about cultural and identity structures. However, children do not only argue for learning about culture through school or parents, but through socialising with other children. Children in that way argue that cultural knowledge is not necessarily transmitted only intergenerational, but also intragenerational (James, 2013). Besides that, children's reasoning on the statement above suggests that they do find it important that cultural knowledge is transmitted, as also becomes evident in the quote below that all seventeen children agreed upon.

> Statement: *Everybody should learn how to deal with each other in the Netherlands.*
>
> Girl 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, because that is why we have 'De Vreedzame School'.*
>
> Boy 4 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, in that way you learn how to make decisions.*

The two statements presented above challenged children to think about why they should learn about their culture. Girl 1 immediately refers to *De Vreedzame School*, which is a programme for citizenship education. The main aim of this programme is to give children a voice and to address them about their responsibility for their environment, the school community, and the society as a whole (CED groep, 2012). The programme focusses on transferring knowledge and to give meaning to this together with children, and thereby focusses on both inter- and intragenerational processes of socialisation. Children for instance learn about freedom of speech and discuss together what this means to them. In that way, children learn to reflect on their role in society (CED groep, 2012). Boy 4 agrees with Girl 1 and refers to one of the focus points of this programme, that children learn to make decisions. This includes forming a statement, defending this statement, listening to others and at the same time trying to empathise with others, debating, forming arguments, thinking and analysing critically, to be willing to change your standpoint, being loyal to group decisions, and taking into account a minority group opinion (CED groep, 2012). It appears that children acknowledge the importance of both socialisation processes by adults and other children and that they are aware of how these cultural aspects are transmitted.

The arguments derived from the last two statements seem to be strongly influenced by thinking within dominant Dutch historical culture. As explained in chapter 2, it is since 2006 compulsory for schools in the Netherlands to provide *citizenship education* and since 2009 to focus on *history cannons* that provide an overview over Dutch national history and culture. This could explain the clearly visible pattern of cultural (re)production explained by the children above. Besides that, this way of (re)producing cultural knowledge corresponds with a mixture of the

co-figurative and pre-figurative style of cultural (re)production (Mead, 1978). In a society in which the co-figurative style is apparent, the present is believed to be a guide for the future. In this sense, the behaviour of the young generation differs from that of the older generation. However, the older generation is believed to be dominant in defining the limits (Mead, 1978). In a society with a pre-figurative style, older generations learn from children and the past is not coercive in developing the culture. The formation of a world community could be the cause for this because, since different revolutions and changes that recently have happened, the young have a more leading position (Flaherty, 2016; Hengst, 2009; Mead, 1978). Even though there have been strong discussions whether adults' socialisation or children's interpretation is the leading aspect of cultural reproduction, the gathered data in this research project clearly show that both strongly influence how children understand and define the society in which they live.

In addition to this, Boy 1, among other children, raises the point that cultural structures are not only defined by insiders (people of the Dutch society), but also by outsiders (people outside of the Dutch society, foreigners), as the following quote reveals.

Researcher: *Can you tell me about your drawing? What did you draw and why?*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Well actually many people come to the Netherlands especially to see the mills. So when I think about the Netherlands, I think about that many people come to see the mills, because they do not have mills like we have.*

Researcher*: Okay, and do you mean the mills that look like the one you drew, the ones we have since history, or do you also mean the windmills, the big wind turbines?*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *No I mean the old ones, the flour mills.*

Researcher: *Okay, and are they still in use?*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *I would say no because now we have big machines that do the work.*

As noted before, a culture develops through traces of its origin (Danesi & Perron, 1999; Triandafyllidou, 2006). The quote above confirms that mills are constructed as part of Dutch culture through its traces and use in Dutch history. The idea of mills being particular to Dutch culture is also reproduced in the encounter with outsiders, who recognise and reinforce the mills as typically Dutch. In this way, the national culture is actively produced and reproduced in the encounter with and as an opposition to other cultures. This phenomenon could be seen in relation to how identity can be understood in terms of similarity and difference. Jenkins (2008) describes this phenomenon as *"the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their relations with other individuals and collectivities"* (p. 18). Triandafyllidou (2006) describes this phenomenon in the process of forming a nation, which is based on a combination of pre-existing characteristics that bind people together and interaction

with outsiders. This means that, in this context, mills are being perceived as Dutch culture through the difference in its relation with other places. Mills occur to be a solid structure in Dutch culture, for the reason that both insiders and outsiders acknowledge this as something typical.

5.2 Children's formation of new cultural structures

As could already be noticed from the text above, children use agency to reconstruct the idea of what Dutch culture means. Not only are the symbols of the culture learnt in schools, through news, and books, children interpret this knowledge and reconstruct the idea of what it means to them and their generation. Besides that, children debate over topics such as food and celebrations and show changing and different patterns of the culture among them that occur to be influenced by globalisation factors. The following paragraphs focus on different characteristics through which children reasoned for Dutchness.

5.2.1 Dutchness as uniqueness

While discussing the topic celebrations, the children made it very clear that they perceive Dutchness as something unique, not shared with others. Besides that, children perceive celebrations as both a static and a changing feature that could be considered either *Dutch, partly Dutch,* or *non-Dutch*. These three categories can be analysed in relation to the perspectives described by Nederveen Pieterse (1995); cultural differentialism, cultural convergence, and cultural hybridisation. These perspectives focus on whether cultures around the world are very different from each other, converging to each other, or creating new forms of culture as a combination of other cultures (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995). The quotes in this section are analysed through the three categories described by children (Dutch, partly Dutch, non-Dutch) in combination with the perspectives identified by Nederveen Pieterse (1995). Important to keep in mind here is that the three categories *Dutch, partly Dutch,* and *non-Dutch* are not the same as the three perspectives by Nederveen Pieterse (1995). Instead, each category shows signs of changes in culture caused by globalisation understood differently in each perspective, as the following paragraphs will exemplify.

Not every child places, for several reasons, the same celebration in the same category. However, through their arguments, the children make clear that these three categories are the underlying structure of all their reasoning.

Researcher: *On these pictures, do you see typically Dutch celebrations?*

Boy 9 (9 y/o, European): *Yes, this one […], because this is something that is only celebrated in the Netherlands.*

This quote suggests that children reason for something to be *Dutch* as something that is only celebrated in the Netherlands, something unique. This category consists of clearly defined celebrations and is a static feature of pure Dutchness. The boundaries of this category are thus clear-cut. Nevertheless, not all the discussed celebrations were categorised as *Dutch* by the children, as can be interpreted from the quote below. The children at this point were making a concept map around what they considered as Dutch and started to talk about celebrations.

Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *Eid al-Fitr! (referring to the celebration of the end of Ramadan), only that is not Dutch.*

Researcher: *But are there people in the Netherlands who celebrate Eid al-Fitr?*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes.*

Researcher: *Is it then a bit Dutch or not, what do you think?*

[…]

Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *No that is definitely not Dutch what they celebrate.*

Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *It is Turkish.*

Although one of the children mentioned Eid al-Fitr while discussing Dutch celebrations, all three children perceived this celebration as something definitely *non-Dutch*. Even though they acknowledge that there are people in the Netherlands celebrating this, they explicitly argue that it is more connected to Turkey and place this in the *non-Dutch* category. Understood in this context, it seems that not everyone in the Netherlands is part of the same cultural group, for the reason that they do not all share the same values and beliefs in terms of concrete behaviour (Murphy-Berman & Kaufman, 2002).

Nevertheless, the children did not place all celebrations in one of those two categories. There also seems to exist an in-between category, that could be referred to as; *partly Dutch.*

Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Celebrations.*

Researcher: *Yes, celebrations is the first topic that I wanted to talk about, by use of the following pictures.*

Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Okay, this is Eastern, Christmas and Kingsday.*

Researcher: *Okay, are these all Dutch celebrations?*

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Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Hmm Christmas not necessarily, because Christmas, actually is Christmas.. well it is also celebrated by Dutch people so it is also Dutch, but actually more.. well it is Dutch because Dutch people celebrate it, but actually it comes from another country, although I don't know from where exactly.*

This quote is a clear example of a celebration in the second category; *partly Dutch*. The boy here argues that although Dutch people celebrate Christmas, he would not recognise this as something typically Dutch, for the reason that it does not come from the Netherlands. Moreover, the way he argues indicates that he is quite doubtful when he is asked to argue for what reason this celebration could be considered Dutch. This could be another indicator that this celebration is by him not considered to belong to the category *Dutch*. Moreover, other children argued for Christmas to be *partly Dutch* as well but reasoned differently.

Boy 5 (9 y/o, European): *Christmas!*

Girl 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *No Christmas is not really Dutch.*

Boy 5 (9 y/o, European): *Yes it is.*

Girl 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, but that is not something that only the Netherlands has, because for instance Belgium has that as well.*

Boy 5 (9 y/o, European): *But that is also part of Europe!*

The discussion between Girl 1 and Boy 5 shows that a celebration such as Christmas is an example of the *partly Dutch* category. However they argue in a different way than Boy 2. One example of the description of this in-between category is the way Girl 1 describes Christmas as something '*not really Dutch'*. This shows that she does not consider Christmas as something unique, and in that way she excludes it from the first category. This middle category in which celebrations are considered *partly Dutch*, is a collection of things that are not clearly defined in one of the other two categories.

Besides this, there were more reasons why children placed some celebrations into the *partly Dutch* category, as the quote below shows.

Statement: *Celebrating Sinterklaas (5th of December) is typically Dutch.*

Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Well, I am not sure, because people in Belgium also celebrate it. So I think it is more half Belgian and half Dutch.*

Boy 2 does not totally agree on the statement that Sinterklaas is typically Dutch, by arguing that this is celebrated in Belgium and it, therefore, becomes half Dutch and half Belgian, which shows a different way of describing the *partly Dutch* category. This way of arguing demonstrates that this category does not only include celebrations that are just not *typically Dutch* but also represents celebrations that represent a mixture of cultures from more than one

country at the same time. If understood in this way, it reflects the perspective of cultural hybridisation as creolisation, which focusses on a melange of cultures whereby new cultures form (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995).

As mentioned before, children perceive celebrations both as a static and as a changing feature. The above described categories provide an example of this. Celebrations considered typically *Dutch*, seem not to be discussable and show a static feature of culture. Children reason that this category is so clearly defined, that other celebrations cannot move into this category. Celebrations are *Dutch* if they are only celebrated in, and originate from the Netherlands. Despite that this category is clearly defined, it seems difficult for the children to come up with celebrations that fit into it easily.

> Researcher: *Okay, and are there also other Dutch celebrations than Kingsday? Celebrations that we only celebrate in the Netherlands?*
>
> Boy 10 (10 y/o, European): *Well…. I think Christmas, no that is celebrated….mmmm……mmm…. I also think uhh….mmm….let me think………...mmm……. nothing comes to my mind.*

One could conclude that in a globalising world cultures become more uniform, as many scholars have argued as well (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995). This would then reflect the perspective of cultural convergence, by which it is believed that globalisation leads to more sameness (Ritzer, 2007). This could be a reason for why Boy 10 finds it difficult to define something as typical Dutch. Nevertheless, at the same time, the perspective of cultural differentialism is partly at play. This perspective follows the belief that cultures stay unaffected by globalisation and remain different from each other (Ritzer, 2007). By arguing that there is a cultural category that can be described as uniquely Dutch, it shows that there exist cultural elements that are unaffected by globalisation, or that members from this culture try to protect this as their own unique culture.

As the text above shows, the category *Dutch* is clearly defined. However, the other two categories are more discussable, whereby celebrations can move from the *non-Dutch* to the *partly Dutch* category, and from the *Dutch* category into the *partly Dutch* category.

> Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Well Halloween actually comes all the way from North-America. It is actually a celebration from North-America and I think that a Dutchman maybe came back from North-America and told others that in North-America they celebrate Halloween, which is really fun! I think that that is how they came to the idea to celebrate it here.*
>
> Researcher: *Okay, so it does not actually come from the Netherlands originally?*
>
> Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *No, it actually comes all the way from North-America.*

Researcher: *Okay, is it something that became Dutch?*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, a lot, I think that for sure every child has celebrated Halloween in their live.*

[…]

Researcher: *So actually celebrations can, although they do not come from the Netherlands, become Dutch?*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes.*

Halloween is an example of a celebration moving from the *non-Dutch* category into the *partly Dutch* category, as Boy 1 describes it. This phenomenon could be analysed through the cultural convergence perspective. If seen through the lens of this perspective, one could perceive this phenomenon as the globalisation of nothing. Ritzer (2007) explains that the globalisation of nothing exemplifies increasing homogenisation. Through this, concepts do not refer to one specific culture anymore, as could be the case for Halloween. This then becomes *nothing*, or something that is typical for more cultures, and at the same time not typical for any specific culture. Moreover, Boy 1 argues that all children in the Netherlands have celebrated Halloween, which occurs to be another important aspect for categorisation that will be discussed later on in this chapter.

5.2.2 Religious practices

The children acknowledge that people in the Netherlands celebrate many religious-based traditions, although they would not place all these traditions in the same category. Besides defining Dutchness as something unique and thereby separating this from the two other described categories, the children view religion as an important aspect for categorisation, as can be interpreted from the text below.

Statement: *Celebrating Eastern is typically Dutch.*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *I agree because actually in the Netherlands we believe in Jesus and with Eastern, we celebrate that Jesus rose from the death.*

Girl 2 (8 y/o, non-European): *A little bit, but in other countries people also celebrate Eastern.*

Boy 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *I agree a little bit. In the Netherlands it is celebrated, but also in other countries where they believe in God. Because the story about Eastern, Eastern is a celebration about the crucifixion of Jesus.*

Through the above quote it becomes clear that the children are aware of the celebrations that are closely connected to a religion, and by classifying a celebration, religion becomes an important aspect for categorisation. The quote shows that religious-based celebrations are by the children not considered as *Dutch*, for the reason that these celebrations are also celebrated

in other countries where people practice the same religion. Religious-based celebrations will thus always be placed in the *partly Dutch* or the *non-Dutch* category, depending on the religion that it concerns. Celebrating Easter is therefore also not perceived as something entirely Dutch by the children. Nevertheless, the children here argue that this celebration is closely connected to the Netherlands and its origins in Christianity.

However, not all religious celebrations are by the children placed into the *partly Dutch* category.

Statement: *Celebrating Ramadan is typically Dutch.*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Ramadan is typically Turkish!*

Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Ramadan is typically Turkish! Or Moroccan!*

Girl 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Or like our classmate; Pakistani.*

Researcher: *And has that to do with the country it comes from?*

Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *No, with religion. If we would be Muslims, we would also celebrate Ramadan.*

Researcher: *Okay, are there many Muslims in the Netherlands?*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch), Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch) & Girl 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes! (they mention several names of Muslims they know).*

Researcher: *But you argue that, although many people in the Netherlands are Muslim, celebrating Ramadan is absolutely not Dutch?*

Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *No, absolutely not!*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *No, only like 2% Dutch.*

Boy 5 (9 y/o, European): *It is not Dutch, it is for Turkish people.*

The children here argue that although people in the Netherlands practice Ramadan, the celebration is not something considered Dutch, and they therefore place this celebration into the *non-Dutch* category. Even though the children recognise that there are people in the Netherlands who celebrate Ramadan, this is not something considered *partly Dutch*, because *we* are not Muslim, only if *we* would be Muslim than Ramadan could be considered Dutch. From this it could be concluded that Muslims are considered as *the other* in the Netherlands, which is also acknowledged by Seeberg (2003) and WRR (2007). The reason for this is that we do not see a reflection of our own qualities and social values, and therefore believe to have not much in common with *the Muslim other*, in this context (Hengst, 1997). Especially when people define their identity in religious terms, an *us* and *them* dichotomy is more likely to occur between people from different ethnic or religious backgrounds (Huntington, 1996b). Processes of othering are thus very much the case in this context.

From the way that Boy 2 argues that *we* are not Muslims could be concluded that, as Jensen (2011) describes, powerful groups define the subordinate group, *the other*. The '*we'* that Boy 2 refers to seems to be the Dutch, that hold power over who or what will be included and who or what not. Besides this, the fact that Muslims are considered as *other,* emphasises the distinction between trends towards secularisation in 'Western countries' and developments in Muslim societies (Ansari, 2000). At the same time, this distinction does not touch light upon the diversity and opinion which can be found between different Muslims (Ansari, 2000). Important to note here as well is that in history Europe was defined by Christianity (Tibi, 2010), and feelings and ideas of nationalism are defined on the basis of, among other things, history (Low, 2000). Despite that Europe is no longer defined anymore by Christianity, but by Western and secular values (Tibi, 2010), Christianity still has its influence in the by children defined culture. In connection with this, Huntington (1996b) presumed in 1996 that the fundamental source of conflict in the *new world*, would be the division between people on the basis of culture. For this reason, Tibi (2010) proposes a *citizenry of the heart* which emphasises democracy, individual human rights, pluralism, civil society, the enlightenment of culture and the pluralism of religions.

In summary, there prove to be different reasons for considering a celebration to be Dutch. First, it is important to consider if the celebration originates from the Netherlands and if it is so unique, that other countries do not have the same tradition. Besides that, a religion-related celebration will not be considered *(partly) Dutch* if it does not stem from Christianity. While at the same time a foreign celebration can become *partly Dutch* if it is brought to the Netherlands by immigrants and is not religion-based, like Halloween.

5.2.3 Majority and minority practices

Like the quote about Halloween already revealed, besides all the other discussed aspects, the people who practice a tradition or celebration is another important feature for categorisation. The children showed in many ways that a celebration can only be categorised as *partly Dutch* if the majority of the population, preferable Dutch people, celebrate it. The quote below proofs this as well;

> Statement: *Celebrating Ramadan is typically Dutch.*
>
> Boy 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *I totally don't agree, because well it is just not a Dutch celebration.*
>
> Researcher: *Okay, and why is it not Dutch?*
>
> Boy 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *It is just not celebrated in the Netherlands.*

Researcher: *it is not celebrated?*

Boy 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Well, it is, but not by Dutch people.*

Boy 8 (9 y/o, European): *Yes, Dutch people do not celebrate Ramadan.*

Boy 10 (10 y/o, European): *Yes, because people who are Muslim actually don't come from the Netherlands.*

The discussion showed above clearly reveals children´s thinking around categorisation based on people. The children here literally argue that Ramadan is celebrated by *others,* not '*by the Dutch people'*. Besides stating this, they argue that people who are Muslim are not Dutch, or at least different. This aspect will be further discussed in chapter 6.

In the Dutch population there seems to exists a clear majority and a clear minority, with cultural habits that are not all categorised as *Dutch*. This minority consists of people who themselves, or have a family that, come from other countries. Moreover, children reflect on celebrations from both a majority and a minority perspective, as becomes evident in the quote below.

Statement: *Celebrating Sinterklaas (5th of December) is typically Dutch.*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Well, I am not sure about that because for instance, other people in the Netherlands might not celebrate it.*

The Sinterklaas celebration was by some children considered *partly Dutch* for the reason that it is also celebrated in Belgium. However, the quote above reveals another reason for this celebration to not be considered typically *Dutch* is because *other people* in the Netherlands do not celebrate it. The word *other* in this context seems to refer to the minority group people in the Netherlands, who are considered a vital part of the population as well. However, these *others* do not seem to be all people having roots in other countries. The people considered *others* or *a minority* are by the children referred to as Muslim, and this categorisation has according to the children more to do with religion, than with the country of origin.

Researcher: *Okay, and Prinsjesdag and Ramadan, are that typically Dutch celebrations?*

Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Prinsjesdag is, but Ramadan… I am not so sure about that, because it is more Muslim people who do that and not the Dutch. Although, it could be that some Dutch people also celebrate that but I do not know about that.*

Researcher: *Okay and are there many Dutch people who are Muslim?*

Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *I think quite some.*

Researcher: *Okay, but it is still not a Dutch celebration you say?*

Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Mmm… not really, it is possible but it is more something that is for Muslims and Turkish people.*

> Researcher: *Okay, so is being a Muslim then actually something that came from another country to the Netherlands, a tradition?*
>
> Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, actually it is […]. It happens now in the Netherlands and in other countries as well I think, but hmm most Dutch people do not do that so actually it is not really something Dutch.*

At the same time, the children do not always distinguish clearly between describing a person or group as for instance Turkish or Muslim, as can be interpreted from the text above. Even though people in the Netherlands celebrate a celebration, if the majority of people do not practice the celebration, then it will never be considered as being *Dutch*. The majority group is in this context thus very important for defining the culture, according to the children (Jensen, 2011).

All children in this study recognised cultural traits that they reckoned as unique, original, and Dutch, whereas they at the same time argue that these traits are not shared with everyone in the country. Alongside the Dutch culture, there seem to exist cultural traits that are more open to everyone in the country and embraced by people from different origins, as Girl 5 for instance describes it.

> Girl 5 (9 y/o, non-European): *Here is see Kingsday, Eastern and Christmas.*
>
> […]
>
> Researcher: *Are these celebrations that all people in the Netherlands celebrate?*
>
> Girl 5 (9 y/o, non-European): *No, I do not think so […] Well because for instance Eastern and Christmas, in the Netherlands there are quite some people from other countries and people from other countries do not believe in that.*

Girl 5, having moved herself from another country, describes that although she knows the Dutch traditions, she acknowledges that many people do not necessarily practice them. This shows that, besides the culture described as original and dominant, there are other cultures. This could be analysed in terms of cultural hybridity, which describes the believe of globalisation causing a mixture of cultures and thereby the production of new cultures (Ritzer, 2007; Verkuyten, 2005). Verkuyten (2002) links this to the formation of a non-static perspective on culture. Hybridity in this context creates blurred boundaries causing a breakdown of the notion of things belonging to one culture (Verkuyten, 2005). These new cultures challenge multiculturalism to emphasise *togetherness-in-differences* instead of *living-apart-together* (Verkuyten, 2005). The following subchapter elaborates on this idea.

The analysis of findings in this thesis indicates that children, through their agency, form their own ideas through their own experiences and not specifically from socialisation by older generations. This might mean that, as Zinnecker (2002) argues, the authority of older

generations over the cultural reproduction can be perceived as weakening. Children thus play a core role in cultural transmission from past to present time (Leonard, 2011). This analysis shows a mixture of the co-figurative and the pre-figurative style because, on the one hand, the older generation tries to be dominant by its cultural knowledge socialisation through education (citizenship education, history cannons, TV programmes), and, on the other hand, we cannot ignore that the world is changing so fast, that the older generation cannot in all ways be the dominator of cultural knowledge (technological inventions, effects of globalisation). This *older generation* in the Netherlands seems to recognise this as well, as they focus in their *citizenship education* on preparing the new generation to form their own statements and ideas upon topics important for the Netherlands (CED groep, 2012). This is also acknowledged by Liljestrand (2012), who argues that the role of a teacher in citizenship education is to facilitate citizenship instead of developing students into citizens.

5.2.4 Togetherness in differences through hybrid cultures

Through the above paragraphs, it has already been mentioned that besides a culture perceived as totally *Dutch* and other cultures perceived as *non-Dutch*, a *partly Dutch* category exists in which cultural traits are shared with more people and diverse groups in the Dutch society. The following paragraphs focus on these traits considered to be part of the *partly Dutch* category and children´s opinions about this. At the end, a schematic figure is presented in which all the discussed items in this chapter merge together.

Discussions between children about food reveal that culture is non-static. Understood in this context, food can fit into the *Dutch*, the *partly Dutch*, and the *non-Dutch* category, for the reason that opinions about this could differ between people. Besides this, older generations have less influence over how and if cultural traits would be taken over by the next generation, as children do not show so many signs of knowledge gained by attempted socialisation processes. Nevertheless, the following quote shows that, even though food is perceived as non-static, also here a *partly Dutch* category can be observed.

Statement: *Eating pork is Dutch.*

Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Turkish people cannot eat that, Moroccan people cannot, Pakistani cannot, but Dutch people can.*

Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *Well they do not clean pork so we cannot eat that.*

Girl 2 (8 y/o, non-European): *We can eat cow meat but in another way than you do. We buy it in another shop.*

Girl 4 (9 y/o, non-European): *It is just that some people can eat it and others cannot, but Dutch people can. Well, I do not really know.*

Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *No, because Muslims and Turkish people cannot eat that and they are also part of the Netherlands.*

Boy 7 (9 y/o, Dutch): *It is certainly not part of being Muslim, but it is a Dutch habit.*

The quote shows a division between children who argue that there exists a Dutch culture for only people considered as *Dutch*, and children who define Dutch culture being shared with everyone in the Dutch society. Besides this, it shows that the differences between the *us* and *the others* does not mean here that they are perceived as contradicting groups by the children. The way that Girl 6 argues shows that *the others* seem to be included. In this way, children understand this phenomenon as an *us and them* instead of as an *us versus them* (WRR, 2007). Even though outsiders can never become insiders (WRR, 2007), they form a group that forms another *us* with hybrid cultures.

The children show that although some things are perceived as typically Dutch and other things not, they perceive traits of hybrid cultures as something positive.

Statement: *It is important that everything in the Netherlands is Dutch.*

Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *No! Pizza is also Italian.*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *And we really like pizza! I like it that we can also eat other things.*

Girl 2 (8 y/o, non-European): *No that is not important. It is important to share, so other countries can also have tulips.*

Boy 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *I do not agree, because there are many things here that they also have in other countries. That way we learn from other countries that there are several other things as well.*

Boy 8 (9 y/o, non-Dutch): *No, that is really not important.*

All children agreed with each other that not everything in the Netherlands should be Dutch. Besides perceiving foreign cultural traits as something positive, they perceive it as something important as well by highlighting the importance of sharing between and learning from other cultures and people from other countries. This is also apparent in the following quote;

Statement: *It is good that there are things in the Netherlands that are not typically Dutch.*

Boy 7 (9 y/o, Dutch): Yes, because then you learn new things. You learn things from other people who think differently.

Boy 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): Yes it is actually a bit like a mother who shows her child how the washing machine works.

All seventeen children agreed on the above statement. As Boy 7 states, learning from other people who think differently is highly appreciated and valued. This occurs to be an important feature for a multicultural society to share a certain level of sameness to live peacefully together.

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Especially because contemporary societies become increasingly diverse through accelerating globalisation and immigration (Guibernau, 2007). The hybrid cultures that the children described therefore could be another way of perceiving other cultures, integrated as part of the Dutch society, which could be a solution for societies in which immigrants are not always included by cause of differences in religion, culture or behaviour (Guibernau, 2007). Besides this, the described phenomenon fits into the definition that Murphy-Berman and Kaufman (2002) use to describe globalisation. They have noticed that the focus of globalisation lies on a decrease in the importance of, among other things, cultural processes that provide new linkages between people. Boy 6 describes this as *'a mother who shows her child how the washing machine works'*. This suggests an intercultural socialisation, where people with different backgrounds learn from each other, learn how to live together, and try to find something they can share. Through such socialisation practices, one can assume that people from different backgrounds and cultures together establish hybrid cultures.

Another vital aspect of hybrid cultures referred to by the children is that the people that belong to the Dutch society know how to live together and how to share their similarities and differences. This was discussed in the following quote;

> Statement: *Everybody should learn how to deal with each other in the Netherlands.*
>
> Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, because if you come from another country and you know almost nothing about the Netherlands then it is important that you get to know the rules, Gods, and symbols. You should learn that in school.*
>
> Boy 11 (9 y/o, European): *Yes, otherwise there will be more terrorist attacks. In the Netherlands you have to be good and kind.*

Even though Boy 1 seems to refer here to immigrants adapting to the Dutch culture, he focuses on the importance of getting to know specific elements that are important for sharing culture. Boy 11 reacts on this by stating the importance as well in arguing for the possibility of more terrorist attacks. This shows that children recognise that hybrid cultures are important for the need of safety. It could be expected that when people within a society disagree on certain important aspects of their culture, there is a higher chance of conflict.

Boy 11 is not the only one referring to safety. Already during the first method Boy 5 referred to the need for more safety as well.

> Researcher: *Okay, and that shield that you drew for the future, for protection, that seems like a good idea! Do you think that it can really be realised in the Netherlands or do you think it is needed for instance?*
>
> Boy 5 (9 y/o, European): *Yes, I think it is needed.*

Researcher: *Okay, can you tell me why you think that?*

Boy 5 (9 y/o, European): *Because that can protect us very well.*

Researcher: *Okay, and do you think that the Netherlands needs more protection?*

[...]

Boy 5 (9 y/o, European): *Yes, a lot of protection* […] *Because the Netherlands is the whole time in a lot of fights with other countries.*

Researcher: *Do you also know which countries?*

Boy 5 (9 y/o, European): *Approximate outside of Europe.*

Boy 5 drew the Royal palace covered by a protective shield in the air, arguing that the Netherlands needs more protection from countries outside of Europe. This can be perceived as a form of othering, whereby the term *other* refers to strangers who are very different from *us* to which negative characteristics are described (Jensen, 2011), such as being a danger for the Dutch society. A reason for this is that a host society like the Netherlands, can perceive immigrants as a threat to their national identity, culture and labour-market (Guibernau, 2007). The *others*, according to Boy 5, are people from countries *outside of Europe*. This could be seen in relation to what Huntington (1996a) describes as the dominant division between *the West and the rest*. Hereby he refers to conflicts between Muslim and Asian societies on one side, and the West on the other side. One of the issues that divide the West from, in this context, *countries outside of Europe*, is the will from the West to protect their cultural, social, and ethnic integrity from non-Westerners (Huntington, 1996a). This could lead in this context to the will to adopt a cultural differential perspective. Followers of this perspective believe that cultures are not much affected by globalisation, and that terrorist attacks are an example of a clash between the Islamic and Western culture and the differences between them (Ritzer, 2007). Nevertheless, the data in this research show that cultures are affected by immigration as a form of globalisation. Due to immigration, people from different backgrounds live together and thereby form new cultural hybrids to which everyone belongs, alongside the cultures that the host society and the immigrant societies adopt separately. The children described that they are in contact with people from many different cultures and origins, which affects the way they reflect on the Dutch culture. Culture in that way provides the context through which change is constructed (Murphy-Berman & Kaufman, 2002).

From one perspective it seems arguable that cultures stay in a way unaffected by globalisation. The children explained this phenomenon by arguing that although influences from other cultures are welcome, they will never become as Dutch as a culture that has Dutch origins.

Especially when children argue around celebrations connected with another religion than Christianity, there seems to be a separation of cultures that as a mixture does not replace the primary Dutch culture. This reflects the paradigm of cultural differentialism described by Nederveen Pieterse (1995).

From another perspective, one could argue that globalisation leads to sameness, which means that cultures of different countries change in the same way by the effects of globalisation and therefore become similar to each other. This perspective, cultural convergence (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995), is especially visible in children's explanations around the topics food and celebrations. Children, as shown before, argue that some celebrations or types of food are not specific to one country anymore and cultures, therefore, become similar as an effect of globalisation.

After all, the cultural hybridisation perspective fits best with the outcomes of the analysis of data in this research project. This perspective focuses on a melange of different cultures that together form hybrid cultures (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995), as is the case here as well. The children in this project described in different ways how influences from other cultures are important and very much welcome to have more variation and a way of learning to live together with different people. Even though they do to not perceive all these influences as becoming Dutch, they recognised a mixture of cultures and thereby the formation of hybrid cultures that are both applicable to the Netherlands as well as to other countries. This phenomenon could also be described as *glocalisation*, which focusses on a sensitivity towards differences and adaptation whereby the people of a society are perceived as creative agents in the formation of culture (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995). The term hybridity then means that Dutch and foreign cultures together form hybrid cultures in the Netherlands. The following figure provides a schematic summary of all the above described processes that influence and form this new structure.

```
`Dutch people`  ──────────►  The Dutch society in  ◄──────────  migrants
                               the Netherlands

      │                              │                              │
      ▼                              ▼                              ▼

primary Dutch culture  ◄──────►  ( hybrid cultures )  ◄──────►  foreign cultures

      ▲                        ↗                  ↖                  ▲
      │                    ↙                          ↘              │
      ▼                                                              ▼

cultural reproduction                                    cultural reproduction
  by socialisation                                         by socialisation
    processes                                                 processes
```
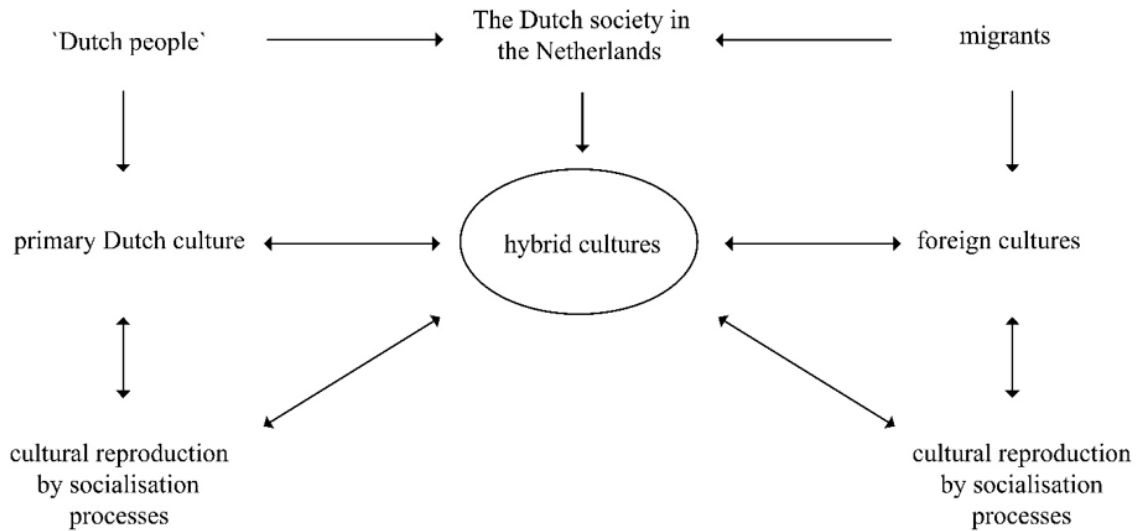
Figure 2. The formation of hybrid cultures

The above figure is a summary of all the findings described in this chapter. The figure shows that the Dutch society forms hybrid cultures and thereby forms a way for people to live together in differences. As the data shows, these hybrid cultures are influenced by the Dutch culture as well as by foreign cultures and are formed through cultural reproduction by socialisation processes between different adults, different children, from adults to children, and from children to adults. At the same time, these hybrid cultures influence the Dutch culture as well as foreign cultures, as well as the socialisation processes that affect cultural reproduction. Even though what these hybrid cultures exactly encompass is always in transition, it is clear that there are hybrid cultures next to the Dutch primary culture and foreign cultures that only reflects their origins. It could be argued that these original cultures will also change, but this needs many more generations in its redevelopment alongside hybrid cultures that are always in transition. These hybrid cultures in that way thus can also have impact on the primary culture, over a longer period of time.

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6. Hybrid Identities

Due to a new wave of globalisation in the second half of the twentieth century, questions around identity have become more central (Kaufman et al., 2002; Verkuyten, 2005). Identification, which is understood as a basic cognitive mechanism that humans use to evaluate themselves and the people around them (Jenkins, 2008), therefore became a much debated topic. New concerns around national identity have emerged across the European political landscape. These concerns are mainly related to issues of national citizenship and the management of immigration (Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015). Concerns with national identity are connected to problematisation of cultural differences within countries and in these political discourses it is argued that more coherent identification and loyalty to the nation is needed in order to handle the cultural diversity associated with Islam and non-western cultures (Van Reekum & Van den Berg, 2015). Processes of identification are thus important in order to understand *who is who* and *what is what* and that makes identification a baseline that is fundamental to the organisation of the world (Jenkins, 2008).

The title *Hybrid Identities* hints at the line of argument in this chapter. As was the case with the hybrid cultures, hybrid identities consist of a mixture of different identities that seem to form together unique identities, emerged through processes based on adaptation, othering, and other effects of large-scale immigration. Forms of hybrid identities are by the children expressed in Dutchness and is influenced by birthplace, language, place of residence, generation, and religion. Through children´s quotes, the following paragraphs show in what way children argue about their own and others´ identity. This finally results in a schematic figure of an interpretation of children´s thinking, clarified by different theories, that could serve as a way of handling the cultural diversity described above.

6.1 Identity categorisation by children in the Dutch society

In this research project the children classified not only culture, but also people and their identities into the three categories *Dutch, Partly Dutch,* and *non-Dutch*. In this way, they identified themselves and the people around them in the Netherlands. By the use of quotes, this subchapter illustrates in what way the children divide people and their identities over these three levels.

A first classification that the children used in their way of describing the Dutch society is by a division between Dutch people and Muslims, that was written by Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch) in her

mind map about the Netherlands. Her way of categorising the Dutch society defines *others* through defining similarity and difference and by doing this she shows her idea of what Dutch people are and what they are not (Guibernau, 2007; Jenkins, 2008). The Dutch society is thereby divided in people who are Muslim and people who are not, whereby Muslims are the *others*. At the same time, Girl 6 argues here that Dutch people are not Muslim. In this context this means that she classifies the people in the categories *Dutch* and *non-Dutch*, whereby Muslims are categorised as *non-Dutch others*. Understood from this perspective one could argue that this division creates two separate groups or categories. The difference between a group and a category is the recognition by its members and the people who define it. A group is recognised and defined by its members, whereas a category is not for the reason that it is externally defined (Jenkins, 2008). Girl 6 defines the group that she herself belongs to, Dutch people, and a category which to which she described the *others*, Muslims. This phenomenon is described by Verkuyten (2005) who argues that group members expect their group to be different from other groups in terms of biological background, religion, or culture. Even though this division is only based on one characteristic, creating a category for *others* gives people the illusion that they know what to expect from *them* (Jenkins, 2008). However, this category is externally described by someone not belonging to it herself. From the perspective of the *other*, it is therefore impossible to argue if this category is correctly defined in terms of recognition by its members.

Muslims being defined as *other* in the Netherlands is described by several scholars, who argue that immigrants originating from, among other countries, Turkey and Morocco are by the Dutch perceived as Muslim others (Seeberg, 2003; Smeekes et al., 2011; Verkuyten et al., 2014; WRR, 2007). Even though there are in the Netherlands also immigrants originating from other parts of the world, Western immigrants are not as easily defined as *others* as people referred to as Muslims. This can be explained by the fact that we believe in sharing a more common lifestyle with Western immigrants which confirms our social values (Hengst, 1997). Moreover, a shared identity of people in a society improves the attitudes towards different immigrant groups (Verkuyten et al., 2014). This can be seen in relation to that in order for a group to form, members need to share a common social identity. In this way, people distinguish themselves from *others* by looking at shared characteristics of their social identity (Jenkins, 2008; Kidd, 2002; Verkuyten, 2005). By defining a characteristic of someone´s social identity, people are placed in the social structure of society (Verkuyten, 2005). In this context, non-Western immigrants are by the children placed in the *non-Dutch* category on the basis of their different religion. However, a categorisation based on just one aspect of social identity is problematic,

for the reason that those people might not share other characteristics with each other (Verkuyten, 2005), and they even might share parts of their social identity with the group that is not othered, in this case the Dutch.

Moreover, a negative attitude towards immigrants is recognised by the children in political debate, as Boy 3 presents one of the main discussion points in Dutch politics.

> Researcher: *So is it actually good that there are things in the Netherlands that are not Dutch?*
>
> Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European*): Yes it is also good.*
>
> Researcher: *Yes, and what would that be good for?*
>
> Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *Because for instance in many other countries they fight about religion. You have to be Christian, and for instance sometimes they say no Muslims can come here. And also this other man in the Netherlands, some kind of King or something he said; Who wants more Moroccan people and who wants more Turkish people? And everybody said less Turkish and less Moroccan people!*
>
> Researcher: *Hmm, that is very sad that he says something like that. That man is someone who works as a politician […] And why would he say something like that do you think?*
>
> Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *Hmm well because this is a part, a part of the Netherlands that is more Christian land, and they make war everywhere about it and almost everyone is Christian instead of Muslim.*

As explained in chapter 5, the Dutch being Christian is a feature embedded in history. Seeberg (2003) explains that through the understanding of the relation between the *self* and the *other* as a structure in society, it is possible to analyse in what way this social structure is embedded in history that forms a basis for interaction between people. Hence, it is understandable that Christians and Muslims are ascribed to different categories in terms of one distinctive aspect of their social identity. However, the situation with the politician named Wilders that Boy 3 refers to, is a very famous case in the Netherlands with many proponents and opponents. Wilders regularly opens up debate about whether more, especially Muslim immigrants, are welcome in the Netherlands or not. In Dutch media there are heated debates on whether Islam is or should be part of the European and Dutch culture, while there are no debates on this topic concerning other religions (Essed & Trienekens, 2008). There seems to be a global panic of local people's reactions to the consequences of globalisation and mass-immigration whereby people feel that *alien* cultures are infiltrating their country (Essed & Trienekens, 2008)

Even though Muslims are being categorised as *other,* they are not always classified as *non-Dutch*.

> Statement: *Ali-b is Dutch (a famous singer in the Netherlands).*
>
> Girl 2 (8 y/o, non-Dutch): *I don't totally agree. He is Muslim, but he was born in the Netherlands. For that reason he is half Dutch and half Muslim. That is with all Muslims who are born in the Netherlands.*

The quote above shows that Girl 2 describes Ali-b through an identity that forms a mixture of being Muslim and Dutch at the same time, which is a combination of the *Dutch* and the *non-Dutch* category. As will be described later in this chapter, being born in the Netherlands is one of the important features of categorising someone as Dutch. However, being Muslim makes a person *an other* at the same time. Through this, Girl 2 describes another category that in this thesis will be referred to as *partly Dutch*. This category forms through a combination of people considered as not being part of the *Dutch* category, while at the same time these people can have features of Dutchness and thus share a part of their social identity, in this case, in terms of birthplace.

Those made up groups and categories explained above, generate collective identities because identity provides the key between the individual and society (Hengst, 2009). Identities are actively negotiated with less resources to reference scripts because the prescribed identity patterns have shrunk in the individualised and pluralised world. People, therefore, have to negotiate their identity themselves more actively (Hengst, 2009). An example of this is, for instance, as described in chapter 2, the Netherlands that had before the depillarisation in the 1960s clearly defined groups/pillars by which the society was divided in terms of religion or other significant characteristics. These groups had their own sports clubs and television channels that rendered active identity negotiation less needed. When this came to an end, boundaries between groups became more blurred and there was more need to actively construct identities (WRR, 2007). Besides this, contemporary children in the Netherlands are much more confronted with children of their own age from other cultures and nations, which leaves them with impressions from different cultures that will influence the way they negotiate their own identity as well as a collective identity (Hengst, 1997). In relation to this, collective identification is based on similarities, which means that the less people have in common, the more difficult it is to establish collective cohesion (Hengst, 1997; Jenkins, 2008; Kidd, 2002). The more features of Dutchness a person has, the closer this person comes to having a Dutch identity. The following paragraphs explain the features and the process by which people can acquire Dutchness, according to the children. The different features in this category make the *partly Dutch* category described in this chapter a little bit different than the same category described in terms of culture.

6.2 Acquiring Dutchness

The diversity of immigrants is greater than in any historical period (Guibernau, 2007). Nevertheless, immigrants are not always included in the host society on the basis of religion, physical appearance, language, culture, or behaviour, that is too distinct from the habits and customs from people of the host society. On the basis of these features, immigrants are sometimes perceived as a threat to a nations' identity, culture, and labour-market (Guibernau, 2007). Moreover, Europeans do not base the definition of their social collective on their nation per se. They rather consider people from non-Western countries as *other*, from whom they expect to be more different. This can be perceived in relation to that collective identities form on the basis of similarities (Hengst, 1997). Nevertheless, the children in this research project argued that immigrants and people from the host society together form identities through which they communicate with each other. Children explained that within these identities, different features of Dutchness exists through which people can develop in becoming more and less Dutch on the basis of birthplace, place of residence, generation, language, and religion. These features appeared to be the underlying structure of identification and will be discussed accordingly.

6.2.1 Birthplace based Dutchness

Birthplace is by the children understood as the most influential feature when describing someone as Dutch.

> Statement: *Everyone can become Dutch.*
>
> Girl 5 (9 y/o, non-European): *You can if you for instance come from another country then you can speak Dutch, but then you are not totally Dutch. Because maybe you were not born in the Netherlands and well if you are born in the Netherlands then you are actually really Dutch.*
>
> Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Because actually you come from another country so then you are actually a bit Dutch. But you can never become totally Dutch, because you come from another country.*

Even though racial or ethnic classifications are often misleading, people tend to classify themselves and others as belonging to ethnic groups in terms of a genetic link (Danesi & Perron, 1999). Among several scholars there are different understandings of the term ethnicity. In this thesis this term is understood as the description of national origins in terms of birthplace (James & James, 2008). As can be interpreted from the quote above, birthplace is by the children described as an important factor for the formation of someone's identity. If someone is not born in the Netherlands, this person can never become as Dutch as someone who is born in the Netherlands. Birthplace seems therefore in the first place the most important factor in the formation of someone's identity. A common ethnicity creates boundaries between people that

make them unique and in this way ethnicity contributes to the formation of a political community (Guibernau, 2007). However, different immigration flows in history, from countries with different ways of living than most of the Western cultures have made communities multicultural. Political communities with one shared culture and shared ethical background therefore do not exist anymore in present time (Cardús, 2010).

Moreover, ethnicity is an important aspect in the creation of someone's personal identity and thereby how we understand ourselves and others (James & James, 2008). Besides that, ethnic origins provides the basis for a national identity (James & James, 2008). In connection with this, both Girl 5 and Girl 9 argue that someone's ethnic background describes the first personal aspect of how a person is categorised. In a community, people who do not share the same ethnic background are thereby othered from each other in one of the most essential aspects in the creation of a group identity. A national community is defined as a description of the members who feel that they belong to it (Triandafyllidou, 2006; WRR, 2007), and thereby share traditions, values, and symbols (Smith, 2006). Together the members of the community form their national identity and a same type of culture. In contemporary societies like the Netherlands, this becomes a problem when the members of the nation originate from different places and when the society is changing due to new flows of immigration or other effects of globalisation. The reformation of their national identity can then be problematic (Gellner, 2006; Low, 2000; WRR, 2007). Besides this, nobody can influence their place of birth, which makes categorization on the basis of birthplace even more problematic (Low, 2000; WRR, 2007). Moreover, in order for the nation to exists, the members have to believe that they are part of the same group. If members do not recognise that they share certain important characteristics, discrimination could appear which negatively influences mutual identification. A successful nation state needs mutual identification whereby its members are internationally oriented (WRR, 2007). Nation states therefore engage in nation building processes, such as citizenship education that was described in the previous chapter. Fortunately, birthplace is not the only aspect through which people become categorised and through which members can establish mutual identification.

6.2.2 Residence based Dutchness

If a person is not born in the Netherlands, an important feature for measuring Dutchness is according to the children the amount years a person has been living in the Netherlands, as becomes clear in the following quote;

Researcher: *And those people, who then maybe would like to come and live in the Netherlands. Can they immediately become Dutch? Are they then also a Dutchman immediately?*

Girl 4 (9 y/o, non-European): *Not immediately, but if they already live for some years, 5 years, in the Netherlands, then you could already call them a Dutchman.*

Researcher: *Okay, so it depends on for how long someone has been living here if someone becomes a Dutchman?*

Girl 4 (9 y/o, non-European): Yes.

Through the way Girl 4 argues, it seems that someone acquires Dutchness through the amount of years of living in the Netherlands. The longer a person lives in the Netherlands, the more Dutch that person becomes. Even though Dutchness also depends on other factors, such as birthplace, generation, language, and religion, it is reasoned that through years of living in the Netherlands someone becomes increasingly Dutch. In order to know more about this phenomenon, a statement for the attitude survey was established so that more children could state their opinion about this.

Statement: *Everyone can become a Dutchman.*

Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *No if you already live for 42 years in Turkey and them come here, then you cannot just suddenly become a Dutchman.*

Girl 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Why? If you live 42 years in Turkey or 43 years in Spain then you could become Dutch if you flee to the Netherlands and you only hear children speaking Dutch and if you know the rules.*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *No because actually you are then just Turkish, like the mother of my friend.*

Girl 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *You can become a little bit Dutch.*

According to some of the children, if a person has lived a long period of his life in another country it becomes more difficult for that person to become Dutch. Likewise, it is easier to become Dutch for someone who has been living in the Netherlands since a younger age. This seems to be based on the idea that when a person has a longer history somewhere else, his identity and culture have already developed quite strong over a longer period of time, which makes it more difficult to adapt to new cultural traits. Moreover, ideas acquired at an early age are more accessible and are therefore more likely to play a vital part of, in this case, someone's identity (Bar-Tal, 1996).

What could be of relevance here as well is that nowadays it is easier for people to stay in contact with friends and family in other countries and this leads to transnational immigrants who have transnational identities: identities that consist of more cultural settings (Lechner, 2007; WRR, 2007). This means that immigrants do not only develop their identity based on the country where they move to, but identity development is a process influenced by identifications with people in a wider diaspora. Immigration of some groups to the Netherlands causes friction on

topics as individual freedom and separation of the church and the state. Because of this, multiculturalisation is always visible in the direct living environment of people. Immigration therefore plays a vital part in the discussion about national identity (WRR, 2007).

6.2.3 Generation based Dutchness

The discussion above focused on first-generation immigrants who themselves moved to the Netherlands and the way they are perceived in terms of Dutchness by the children. An aspect related to this is how much Dutchness their children and grandchildren can acquire, as they have a foreign family background, but at the same time are born in the Netherlands themselves.

> Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *If they were born elsewhere then I don't find them really Dutch, because then they also haven't been raised here. But if they were born here then I find them a little bit Dutch. However, with some for instance their mothers and fathers were born here as well but the grandparents were born in another country. And after that they came here and so on. So then I find them totally Dutch, except for the grandparents.*
>
> Researcher: *Okay, so if the grandparents were for instance born in Morocco, but he was born in the Netherlands, then he is Dutch?*
>
> Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *Yes, and if his mother and father were also born here then he is totally Dutch, but if only he was born in the Netherlands then I find him a little bit Dutch.*

In the above quote Boy 3 raises the point that people acquire Dutchness by not only being born in the Netherlands themselves, but the birthplace of older generations in the family. A second-generation immigrant is perceived to be less Dutch than a third generation immigrant. This corresponds with that young children are foremost informed about their identity through family members (Brown et al., 2007). This means that the identity of third-generation immigrants is influenced by their parents who themselves have been born and raised in the Netherlands as well, compared to second-generation immigrants whose parents have been born and raised in other countries. Their identities can therefore be believed to develop differently. In connection with this, immigrants are categorised differently on the basis of their generation and their background as coming from an immigrant family, as parts of their social identity. Even though a second-generation immigrant is born in the Netherlands as well, it can be argued that a third-generation immigrant is believed to share more parts of his social identity with the people of the host society. When immigrants adapt to the culture of the majority population, and thereby thus share more parts of their social identity, they are more likely to be included and to be evaluated positively (Verkuyten et al., 2014). Moreover, identities are formed through similarities and differences, and someone's social identity places the person in a social structure (Verkuyten, 2005), in this context by acquiring Dutchness through generational anchoring. A common social identity is important, as it is the requirement for the formation of a group identity

and thereby to be accepted by the host society. Through this acceptation, in combination with recognition of the person himself as part of this group, a group identity can be formed. In this way, immigrants move from being categorised to being perceived as part of the group.

However, it would be naïve to think that immigrants recognise themselves as absolute part of the group identity of the host society. Identification is about connections between people in different contexts which all create parts of people´s identity. Globalisation and immigration influence the creation of transnational identities which is now a permanent characteristic in many countries like the Netherlands. Today it is easier for people to stay connected to for instance their relatives in their home country and those people will therefore have a different identity development than previous groups of immigrants. Thus because of globalisation, immigrants are not primarily focused on their country of settlement and this influences national identity (WRR, 2007).

6.2.4 Language based Dutchness

For people both living in and moving to the Netherlands, language is an important aspect in the creation of their social identity, according to the children. For someone wanting to become Dutch or belonging to the society, language in an influential factor. In fact, language is by the children described as a feature through which one can acquire Dutchness.

> Researcher: *Do you think that people can become Dutch?*
>
> Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *Yes, if they practice Dutch language.*
>
> Researcher: *Okay so if they speak Dutch then they become Dutch?*
>
> Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *Not immediately, because you were born in Turkey for instance, but you are going to the Netherlands and you want to try to speak Dutch then you have to practice first.*

Boy 3 argues that someone can acquire Dutchness by practising the Dutch language. A similar result was found in research on *what it takes to be Danish,* where respondents argued that a first requirement for becoming Danish was to learn the Danish language (Jenkins, 2011). Similarly, in an international survey on nationality, 84% of Dutch adults argued that being able to speak Dutch is important for being considered as truly Dutch (Pew Research Center, 2017). Compared to the other countries participating in the Survey, the link between nationality and language was strongest in the Netherlands. Even though speaking the language does not make a person immediately Dutch, as Boy 3 explains, it is a necessity to try to speak the language in order acquire Dutchness.

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes but you don't have to be Dutch if you speak Dutch. My friend for instance, his mother is Turkish and his father is Dutch.*

Researcher: Okay, and what is he then? Is he then…

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes I think that he is a bit of both, because he can speak Turkish very well but also really good Dutch.*

Even though learning the Dutch language is mentioned as important, Boy 1 argues that speaking the language does not make you necessarily Dutch. Besides, he defines a person as being both Turkish and Dutch for speaking both languages. Language can in this context be regarded as a practice of nationalism that aims to form unity on behalf of the whole population who are believed to share the same language, values, and the land on which they live (Danesi & Perron, 1999; Low, 2000). In that way, language plays a central role in the creation of someone's identity (Jensen, 2011).

Besides that mastering the Dutch language provides people with Dutchness, language was by children perceived as a practical necessity.

Researcher: *If you live in the Netherlands, then you have to learn to speak Dutch.*

Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, if you cannot speak Dutch then it becomes difficult to go grocery shopping, you have to have food and go to school. You also have to talk with other people so for that you have to speak Dutch.*

Boy 9 (9 y/o, European): *Yes, otherwise it becomes difficult to make friends if you cannot speak Dutch.*

Language was by the children perceived as a social and practical necessity for living in the Netherlands. For becoming friends and communicating with other members of the society there is need for speaking the same language. Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) explain that it becomes increasingly important for individuals from different cultural backgrounds to cooperate and communicate. Especially when there is communication between people with different backgrounds, misunderstandings are commonplace. Speaking the same language is therefore, according to the children, a practical necessity for living successfully together in the same country.

6.2.5 Religion based Dutchness

Besides all the features described above, religion was mentioned by the children as a feature having a strong influence on someone´s identity. As outlined before, in the Netherlands there is strong debate about whether Islam is a threat to Dutch national identity and if a culture that is based on norms and values from Islam clashes with Dutch national culture that is based on norms and values from Christianity. From his point of view, Boy 3 describes this phenomenon.

Researcher: *And uhm what do you think that people from other countries think about Dutch people?*

Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *Pff bad.*

Researcher: *Yes? Are Dutch people bad?*

Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *Yes like a lot of Turkish and Moroccan people say that […] because they are Muslims as well.*

Researcher: *Okay, and what do they say about Dutch people?*

[…]

Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *Well, for instance bad words about your boss, like we kill him and stuff is what they say.*

Researcher: *Okay, and do you know why they would say something like that?*

Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *Yes, because some Dutch people want war because they are Christian and they want more Christian people than Muslims.*

Researcher: *Okay, is that why the Turkish and Moroccan people are angry? Because they also live here ... is it about that?*

Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European): *Yes, but I don't understand it. Why is it only about religion? Why is it so important what your beliefs are? - he sighs –*

Religion having an influence on identity is a very sensitive topic in the Netherlands. As shown above, not only *the Dutch* but also immigrants feel that their culture is in danger and feel threatening tensions among each other. The two groups seem to be strongly othered from each other on the basis of their religion, while at the same time they live in the same country. This suggests that religion is a strong identity marker. On the basis of religion, the people in the Dutch society ascribe each other to different categories, instead of forming a group in which everyone is included. Religion can be perceived as being a part of someone´s social identity, which places a person in a social structure (Verkuyten, 2005).

Moreover, there is a reason for why, in this context, Muslims are considered *others*, and not immigrants from Western parts of the world living in the Netherlands (Hengst, 1997). In immigrants coming from Western parts of the world we see a reflection of our own positive qualities, for the reason that they confirm our social values. *They* thus seem to have more in common with *our* lifestyle (Hengst, 1997). Besides, in the contemporary Netherlands, the differentiation between people who are Muslim and people who are not, is seen as an important categorisation of *us* and *them* (WRR, 2007). Finally, if one considers the relation between the *self* and *the other* as a structure in society, then it is possible to analyse in what way these social structures are embedded in history and form a basis for forthcoming interaction (Seeberg, 2003).

In recent history, the Kingdom of the Netherlands was a colonial society in which the majority population was Muslim (Seeberg, 2003). However, this included all parts of the Kingdom in that time and not just the population of the European part of the Netherlands, that is considered in this thesis. The people considered Muslim as *other* in the Dutch society nowadays, are however not the people from previous colonies, but people originating from, among other countries, Turkey and Morocco (Seeberg, 2003), which is also mentioned by different children, among whom Boy 3.

While the Netherlands is often displayed as a country with a multicultural society, the country is since 2001 moving towards a more assimilationist model instead (Van Reekum, 2012; WRR, 2007). There is a strong possibility that this was characterised by the change in perceiving immigrant culture as a source of social problems, particularly towards Muslim cultures. Even though the Dutch were before 2001 known for governing immigrant integration and cultural and religious diversity successfully (Seeberg, 2003; Stoltz, 2012). A likely explanation for this change are the events on 9/11 and the murders of Dutch political leader Pim Fortuyn in 2002 and Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh in 2004, which were described in chapter 2. Both men were key figures around the debate on Dutch identity in that time. The murder of Theo van Gogh was committed by a Dutch-Moroccan Muslim man. This explains, according to Stoltz (2012), the anti-Muslim reactions of members of the Dutch society. The WRR (2007) also highlights the dissatisfaction about the Islam in the contemporary Netherlands. They argue that some people feel that the religion is a threat to the Dutch identity and modernisation, which could be viewed in relation to the cultural differentialism perspective. This perspective focusses on a clash between cultures and identities that are too different from each other (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995). Although this is exacerbated by the above described murders, the WRR (2007) describes that research points out that the Dutch were already suspicious towards Muslims before 2001. Kidd (2002) explains that already after the Second World War, immigration was discussed in terms of assimilation by which immigrants were expected to blend into the wider host culture and identity. As was described in chapter 2, since the depillarisation, immigrants' culture and identity were expected to adapt to the Dutch culture and identity, instead of that their cultural contribution became part of the Dutch culture, which was the case before (Lechner, 2008; WRR, 2007).

However, this process of othering is not only present in the Netherlands, but in many countries in the West. Many people in the West consider Islam as something outside their reality and alien to their own beliefs. Even though this is the conception of many Westerners, they have to

acknowledge, according to Ansari (2000), that Islam and its global presence is not something that can be ignored. Besides that, many people tend to assume that Muslims represent one voice that symbolises a threat to their own way of life. In this context, Islam is not only considered as a different religion, but as something opposite of majority people's values and beliefs (Ansari, 2000). From another perspective, Tibi (2010) argues that Muslim immigrants in some cases resist social integration by reason of their belief in an 'umma' community, that strives for universal inclusion on the basis of religion. On the basis of this it can be concluded that obstacles for integration and a shared identity come from both sides (Tibi, 2010).

Anthropologists have rejected the notion of racial and ethnic classifications and study groups in terms of geographic or social criteria (Danesi & Perron, 1999). One of those social criteria is religion. However, this does not mean that ethnic classifications are rejected in research or not mentioned anymore by research participants.

> Statement: *It doesn't matter what you look like, everyone can be Dutch.*
>
> Boy 4 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Uhm I don't really know because some people are also uhmm the Dutch government did not allow more refugees anymore.*
>
> Researcher: *Okay, and does it matter what you look like then?*
>
> Boy 4 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, because it is not allowed anymore to see black faces in the Netherlands.*
>
> Boy 5 (9 y/o, European): *Ooooh that is racist!*
>
> Boy 4 (9 y/o, Dutch): *That's what they say…*
>
> Researcher: *Who says that?*
>
> Boy 4 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Oh that is the Dutch uhhh the boss, someone who says 'more or less foreigners' and another one does not mind about that. He says that foreigners can come here. So I agree with that one.*

As could be analysed from the above, children agree on the idea that racial classifications are not allowed, which again shows how it has become taboo in contemporary society. However, their way of referring to a specific group makes clear that there exist other ways to refer to specific groups, by the use of other terms. The politician that Boy 4 refers to is Wilders, who is famous for his dissatisfaction towards Islam as a religion and the influences this has on Dutch national culture and identity. However, concerns about social cohesion and national identity are not only present in the Netherlands. In many European countries radical right parties receive increasing support (Guibernau, 2007). According to some theorists, traditional social structures based on religion are breaking down, which causes feelings of a loss of sense of belonging and thereby feelings of insecurity. As a result, a political discourse that underlines the distinction of

belonging between *us* and *them* is strongly presented by right-wing politicians (Guibernau, 2007). Understood from this perspective the children are thus aware that the classification of people considered Muslim, is negatively valued and thereby othered from Dutch people and the differences between them as groups. Moreover, the children's reasoning suggests that religion has taken over for the notion of ethnicity and *racial classification* when it comes to drawing borders between *us* and *them*. The notion of religion then could be analysed through the theoretical lens of ethnic identity and the way Guibernau (2007) describes the construction of a political community. Understood in this way, if a common ethnicity, or in this case religion, contributes to the construction of a political community, then membership in a political community is based on the belief of a shared religion.

If the social identity of people is othered in terms of an important feature, in this case religion, there could be problems for a group identity to form. However, from the children´s perspective, religion being a decisive factor is perceived as both understandable and at the same time questioned by the children. This could be analysed from the way that Boy 3 argues above, as well as how Boy 2 argues below.

> Researcher*: Okay, and if I talk about people and say the word ´we´, what do you think about?*
>
> Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *For instance us two, we can have different beliefs and follow a different religion, but we can be friends.*
>
> Researcher: *Okay, so 'we' that can be everyone who is here?*
>
> Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes.*
>
> Researcher: *Everyone in the Netherlands?*
>
> Boy 2 (8 y/o, Dutch): *Yes.*

Perceiving religion from this perspective, one could argue that even though people in the Netherlands are othered in terms of religion, there seem to not always be a problem between people with a different religious background. Besides, one could argue that even though Dutch people and immigrants describe each other to different categories, they meet each other in shared boundaries and form cultural traits and hybrid identities through which they acknowledge similarities among them. Even though religion is differentiated between the groups, identities are multi-dimensional and more factors are thus of influence that create similarities (Jenkins, 2008; Seeberg, 2003).

One could analyse this phenomenon through the lens of which James et al. (1998) describe the structures of society. They explain that the actions of the members of a society together form a structure that in turn regulates patterns of interaction. In the above context, this means that the

way people perceive racial groups is changed through the way people have, through their agency, changed the structure of their society whereby religion has taken its place. This could mean that even though the way that the new generation thinks is based on the structure of their society, they could through their agency change this structure as well. This implies that the way religion will be perceived in the future can change again through children's agency. This corresponds with the structural sociology of childhood branch, described by Alanen (2001). The focus in this branch is on how the micro context and children's experiences are influenced by the macro context. By use of this research perspective it can be explored how, in this context, the structure of how we perceive religion influences children's thinking and vice versa. This corresponds with the pre-figurative style of cultural reproduction. Followers of this style believe that younger generations show older generations their new ways of thinking about developments in culture and identity (Mead, 1978). In this specific thesis this all means that, even though children are socialised into the idea of Islam as being different, they both internalise this idea as well as that they transform it. Boy 2 in the quote above reasons that there exists an inclusive *we*, besides the difference that he acknowledges, which he could have gained from socialisation processes from the older generation.

6.3 Togetherness in differences through hybrid identities

Through the above described features by which people can acquire Dutchness, it has become clear that even though Dutch people and immigrants will never have the same identity, they can through the similarities that they have form groups. These groups form the basis of a society in which people can live together. These new constructions form another *us*, the children explained, and could be called cultural hybrids (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995), from which hybrid identities are formed. The following paragraphs provide information on how these cultural hybrids form hybrid identities, according to the children.

6.3.1 An alternative understanding of who we are

Perceiving globalisation and its effect on cultures and identities provides another understanding of who we are. This dynamic description of us, is explained by Girl 6.

> Researcher*: Okay, if they talk in the Netherlands about ´us´, who do you think people mean?*
>
> Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *I think the Dutch people.*
>
> Researcher*: The Dutch people, and who are that, the Dutch? Is that everyone who lives in the Netherlands?*
>
> Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Yes that is possible, but it can also be the Muslims because they also live in the Netherlands. But I don't know.*

Researcher: *Okay, so it can be everyone who lives in the Netherlands?*

Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Yes that is possible, it can also be only the Dutch, so not the Muslims and the Turkish people, it can also be only the Muslims and the Turkish people.*

Researcher: *Okay, so for instance 'we' can be everyone who is Dutch, but also everyone who is a little bit Dutch and a little bit non-Dutch, or all those people together, is that all possible?*

Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, that is all possible.*

Through the way Girl 6 argues it can be analysed that there are several descriptions of *us* possible, in which different groups of the Dutch society are included and excluded. Three forms of *us* are here observable; all foreigners, all Dutchmen, and everyone together. The interaction of global and local inputs form thus cultural hybrids that create new forms of social organisation which reflect contemporary societies in which multiple identities establish (Ritzer, 2007; Verkuyten, 2005).

National boundaries become blurred because of globalisation, and globalisation also affects solidarities within and between countries and this influences national identities (Lindström, 2010). In contemporary societies in globalised Europe, identity is a negotiable tool for the position that an individual or social group occupies. In these societies, identities are multiplied and based on differences such as; generation, religion, and immigrant status (Cardús, 2010). WRR (2007) acknowledges this and proposes a working perspective through which multiple processes of identification are recognised in order to strengthen social cohesion, instead of focussing on one national identity. In this view, hybrid identities are believed to form a better reflection of the society than national identity does. Nationalism should therefore be perceived as a reflection of different hybrid identities that together aim to form unity on behalf of the whole population (Smith, 2006). This reflects the perspective of Triandafyllidou (2006) who explains that in a heterogeneous society, members are expected to be more close to each other than they are to outsiders, which could be achieved to the different features of Dutchness described in this chapter. People in the society from different groups find unity through the features by which they can define their Dutchness. In this way, hybrid identities form another *us* that reflect nationalism on behalf of the whole population.

6.3.2 Embracing differences

Through the variety of cultural hybrids that the features of Dutchness provide, new identities start to form (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995). Hybridisation in this way thus means more heterogeneity instead of homogeneity (Ritzer, 2007; Verkuyten, 2005). The heterogeneity of the Dutch society was by the children perceived as something positive, as shown below.

Statement: *It is good that there are different types of people living in the Netherlands.*

Boy 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): A*gree, in that way you also take into account other people what they find important and what their faith is and what they want*.

Boy 3 (9 y/o, non-European*): Yes people can learn. In many other countries people have arguments about religion. While here you may just decide whatever you want to do and what you want. That is good in the Netherlands.*

Boy 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Yes in that way we come closer to world peace. Well then you can communicate with more people and what they think. Because, for instance, if someone was born in another country and when he was 4 he came to the Netherlands. Then we can also taste that food and maybe we will then also eat that in the Netherlands.*

Boy 8 (9 y/o, European): *Yes otherwise there are only Dutch people here and then we cannot play with others. I also have friends who come from other countries.*

From the way the children argue it can be concluded that they embrace differences in the country and perceive this as something positive. It provides chances to learn and to make new friends. Besides, for world peace it would be good that people communicate with each other and find out what *other people* want. In that way you thus learn to think from more perspectives. The way children reasoned clearly resonates with the cultural hybridisation perspective. This can be also seen in relation to the idea of hybridity and its linkage to the formation of new ethnicities. Through this, a non-static perspective on ethnic culture can be formed in which hybridity breaks down the notion of belonging to an ethnic group (Verkuyten, 2005). Dutch identity in that way embraces identities from people coming from different places than only the Netherlands. These identities do not replace the identity of people coming from the Netherlands, but rather form parallel to it. The next step is then that people need to recognise each other's identities as belonging to the same nation, in order to find unity (Gellner, 2006).

Through this way of perceiving identity, there is space for acceptance of nationalism from foreign cultures as well. Globalisation is sometimes wrongly understood as a one-directional process (Murphy-Berman & Kaufman, 2002; Nederveen Pieterse, 1995). Many people believe that globalisation causes the weakening of nation states and a decline in nationalism. At the same time globalisation influences nation-state formation as well as long-distance nationalism as can be seen for instance with Kurds in Germany, Tamils in London, and Jewish and Palestinian diasporas (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995). Through hybridisation, long-distance nationalism could be perceived as something positive, instead of only as a threat to national unity.

Besides describing unity and positive aspects of heterogeneity in the country, the children were aware of another side of heterogeneity that might bring danger to the country.

Statement: *It is good that there are different types of people living in the Netherlands.*

Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *It would not be fun if there would be only Dutch people in the Netherlands. But there should not be too many people in the Netherlands. Because in crowded places IS drops bombs sometimes, so there should not be too many people living in one place because then it is no longer safe for the people in the country.*

Girl 5 (9 y/o, Non-European): *Only if nice people come to the Netherlands, not if bad people come.*

Girl 6 (9 y/o, Dutch): *Yes, like people from IS for instance.*

Even though it seemed through the first quote that long distance nationalism was positively valued by the children, they raised their awareness of possible dangers. As a reflection of the world we live in nowadays, this could be understandable. Children in this way seem to thus both embrace the differences in the country and see the positive aspects of this, while at the same time they are aware of the negative side that globalisation might bring, danger. This might also be reflected from the way people categorise each other. Human's ability to categorise, in this context between good and bad people, is central to conflict and conflict avoidance (Jenkins, 2008). Categorisation in that way contributes to a feeling of having a situation under control. Through categorisation, people get the illusion that they know what to expect from unknown others (Jenkins, 2008). In this way, categorising between good and bad people might bring an illusion of safety. Once you only let people in who are considered good, you might make sure that no bad things will happen to the people in the host country.

6.3.3 Identity formation processes that result in hybrid identities

An interpretation of the identity formation processes described throughout this chapter can be summarized into the figure presented below.

Figure 3. The formation of hybrid identities
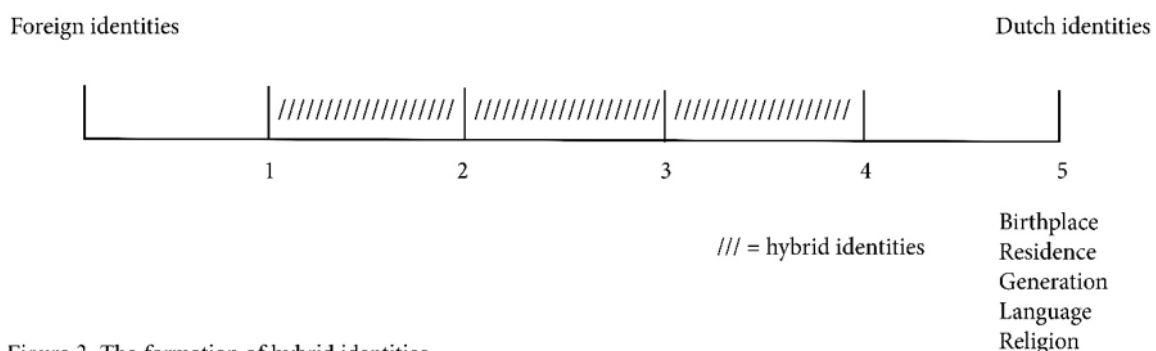
The figure is a summary of how children understand identity processes in the Netherlands and is a representation of hybrid identities. The five features described in this chapter provide the background of how Dutch a person can or will become by gaining those specialities of being a

Dutchman. In the middle section, several combinations of the Dutch features and foreign features together form hybrid identities and a form of nationalism that is a reflection of the whole population (Low, 2000; Smith, 2006). Through the five features, nationalism provides a way of living together in a social system in which they share values, language, and occupy the same land (Danesi & Perron, 1999), or other features described in this chapter.

As the figure shows, however, someone with all those five features will never become a foreigner. In the same way, a foreigner will never achieve total Dutchness when not all the five features are part of his identity. This was also described by Girl 1, when she was asked if foreigners could become totally Dutch.

> Girl 1 (8 y/o, Dutch): *No, because if your father and mother come from another country, that is something you cannot change, it stays that way.*

A feature such as generation is something that cannot be changed, according to Girl 1. Foreigners in that way can never achieve total Dutchness. Besides this, it could be argued that articulation power is here at play as well. People use articulation power to stay othered from each other. When outsiders gain, in this context, too much Dutchness, insiders will find a way to stay different from *them* and in that way protect their identity (WRR, 2007).

The middle part of the figure and its hybrid identities was similarly described in research on Danishness by Jensen (2011). Even though he describes this in-between stage of identity in a different way, it seems that this stage is a way of rethinking othering, and a clear dichotomy between *us* and *them*. This does not mean that othering is not a useful concept, but this way of perceiving othering provides a different understanding and usefulness of the concept in which identity formation is perceived as a dynamic process (Jensen, 2011). The hybrid identities shift the importance of adapting exactly to the majority culture, and provide a way of reflecting on identity processes that immigrants face in a society like the Netherlands. Moreover, from children's perspective it does not matter if everyone is totally Dutch.

> Statement: *It does not matter if you are totally Dutch or just a little bit.*
>
> Girl 4 (9 y/o, non-European): *Yes, because Dutch people and other people are just the same, they only come from different countries.*
>
> Boy 6 (9 y/o Dutch): *What matters is what you are inside, what you think and feel.*

The formation of hybrid identities described in this chapter thereby form a new way of integrating immigrants in the country. It shifts the perspective from adapting to the host identity to accepting differences and similarities and through that try to form a group instead of describing each other to different categories. What thus actually seems to matter is what you

are inside instead of focussing on the features of your social identity and the way they are perceived by others.

7. Conclusion

The main focus of this study was to explore and describe processes by which children evaluate their own and others' culture, and their own and others' identity in the contemporary Netherlands. The six chapters of this thesis focused on the description of background information of the country, an outline of current debate on national identity and culture in a macro and micro perspective, related theories, methodological reflections of the fieldwork process, and analysis of research findings. The information chapter 7.1 provides answers to the research questions described in chapter 1. After that, the explanations of processes described in chapter 5 and chapter 6 will be evaluated in a macro perspective followed by recommendations for further research and policy.

7.1 Processes by which culture and identity are reproduced

The children who participated in this research project have had a considerable say in the development of the research methods as well as on the direction this thesis has taken. Even though the overall decisions were made by the researcher, the children have formed the research into this final shape. In the first place, through what children drew, wrote, and told in the first two research methods, five topics occurred to form an underlying structure (symbols, food, celebrations, people, religion). On the basis of this structure, the children argued for cultural aspects and people being either *Dutch*, *partly Dutch*, or *non-Dutch*. Moreover, the analysis of research findings in chapter 5 and chapter 6 were organised on the basis of the structure of children's arguing.

7.1.1 Cultural structures revealed by children's perspectives

Culture is by the children understood as non-static, which means that cultures develop through generations as well as that cultural traits are perceived differently by different people. The analysis of research findings shows that children acknowledge processes of socialisation whereby cultural traits are transferred between generations through different forms of education. Besides that, children themselves reconstruct cultural structures and are in that way active agents in interpretive reproduction in the formation of new cultural hybrids. An example of this is the way children shared their reasoning for things being Dutch by looking for clear patterns and explanations. As explained in chapter 5, children make groups of cultural traits. Children then divide cultural traits as being *Dutch*, *partly Dutch*, or *non-Dutch* by looking at the group the cultural trait belongs to, as for example milk/cow/cheese. However, the cultural

structures have in the first place influenced the way children group cultural traits. Cultural reproduction can therefore be seen as structural at the same time as children's agency influences the redevelopment of the structures. Besides learning through intragenerational education, children reasoned for learning intergenerational, by learning form other children. Moreover, learning intra- and intergenerational is one of the focus points of *De Vreedzame School*, a teaching programme for citizenship education, by which children gain knowledge about Dutch culture and identity and give meaning to this knowledge together with other children. Children occurred to be aware of both adults socialisation, and intergenerational learning in both directions. This means that children acknowledged that they learn from adults, as well as that adults learn form them. Besides that, the children explained that culture is also produced and reproduced in the encounter with and as an opposition to other cultures. Cultural traits are stronger defined, according to the children, when they are acknowledged by both insiders and outsiders as a representation of a culture.

Besides processes of socialisation, children showed clearly their contribution in cultural reproduction by arguing for cultural traits as being *Dutch*, *partly Dutch*, or *non-Dutch*, through the use of self-defined characteristics. Children argued for cultural traits belonging to the described categories on the basis of uniqueness, religion, and majority or minority recognition. Children ascribed cultural traits to the *Dutch* category when they identified this as something unique and not shared with other cultures. By arguing in this way, it shows that there are cultural elements that stay largely unaffected by globalisation and that members of the culture protect these elements as part of their unique culture. This reflects the cultural differential perspective, through which it is believed that cultures remain different from each other and are insensitive to globalising factors. Religious practices were by the children always categorised as either *partly Dutch* or *non-Dutch*. As an important factor for categorisation, the children argued for Christianity based cultural traits as *party Dutch* for the reason that these traits are not unique for the Netherlands, but shared with other countries and cultures. Besides the fact that Dutch culture was in history defined by Christianity, secular values have taken over the notion of religion as defining culture. Especially in comparison to cultural traits originated from Islam, cultural aspects based on Christianity are categorised as *partly Dutch*, whereas cultural aspects of Islam are categorised as *non-Dutch*. By defining cultural traits on the basis of religion, an *us* and *them* dichotomy is likely to occur between people from different cultural backgrounds. Other than religion as a defining aspect, the people who practice cultural traditions is another important factor for categorisation. Majority practices, like Halloween, were by the children

described as much more likely to be accepted as part of their culture than minority practices, like Ramadan. Processes of othering are very much of influence for the division between majority and minority practices. These last two aspects also reinforce each other. Cultural traits based on another religion than Christianity might also be othered for the reason that these traits are practised by the minority group of the population.

Besides a culture defined by children as being shared with only Dutch people, hybrid cultures were by the children described as being shared with everyone in the Dutch society. This shows that there is not necessarily an *us or them* dichotomy in the Netherlands, but an *us and them* grouping of people who through their similarities share culture. Hybrid cultures are by the children described as important for the reason that learning from people who think differently is reckoned as necessary for living peacefully together. Intercultural socialisation, whereby people from different cultural backgrounds learn from each other, establish hybrid cultures by which members of a society feel connection to one another. Hybrid cultures consist of cultural traits originating from different cultural backgrounds and are always in transition for the reason that a society and who belongs to a society is dynamic.

7.1.2 Processes of identification revealed by children's perspectives

Identity is by the children expressed in features of Dutchness and develops through birthplace, language, place of residence, generation, and religion. On the basis of these features the children categorise people in the Dutch society as either being *Dutch*, *partly Dutch*, or *non-Dutch*. A first categorisation of people over these categories is by defining someone as *Muslim* or *non-Muslim*. Children in that way define others by measuring differences on the basis of religion. Especially non-Western immigrants are ascribed to this *non-Dutch* category, which could be explained by the fact that people believe in sharing a common lifestyle with Western immigrants compared to non-Western immigrants. However, through the different features of Dutchness, people are ascribed within the *partly Dutch* category in which they can move from being more foreign or more Dutch. Within this *partly Dutch* category, Dutch people and immigrants together form identities through which they communicate.

Even though political communities with one shared culture and shared ethical background do not exist in a globalised world, children defined birthplace as a first representation of Dutchness. People in the Dutch society are thereby othered from each other in way that defines the formation of a group in an unfavourable way. However, birthplace is not the only feature by which children describe Dutchness. A second measurement of Dutchness is described by the

children in terms of residence, whereby someone acquires Dutchness on the basis of years of living in the Netherlands. The longer a person lives in the Netherlands, the more Dutch a person becomes. Besides, the age of a person when immigrating to the Netherlands, influences the degree of Dutchness based on residence. Moreover, when people are born in the Netherlands but have an immigrant family background, their Dutchness develops on the basis of the generation they belong to. This means that a third-generation immigrant will be perceived more Dutch than a first-generation immigrant, according to the children. This categorisation is based on the believe that someone's identity is influenced by the identity development of the parents and grandparents. Compared to a first-generation immigrant, a third-generation immigrant is believed to share more Dutchness based on the Dutchness their family has developed through their parents and grandparents and the amount of time that they together have been living in the Netherlands. Additionally, people acquire Dutchness through speaking the Dutch language. Even though speaking the Dutch language does not make a person immediately Dutch, language is by the children expressed as a necessity for acquiring Dutchness. On top of that, language was by the children expressed as a practical necessity for communication between society members, making connections, and building friendships. Religion is the fifth and last factor that children described as influencing Dutchness. Through their way of categorisation, children appear to be aware of the classification of Muslims in the Dutch society that is negatively valuated. Children are aware of the fact that Muslims in the Dutch society are ascribed as *other*. However, besides replicating the idea of Muslims being different, children question this categorisation and provide a perspective through which they define different forms of *us*. In this way, people can meet each other in shared boundaries and from hybrid identities through which they recognise similarities among them.

From children's arguments it is analysed that there exist hybrid identities through which members of the Dutch society share similarities. However, this does not mean that children define people in the Dutch society by having the same identity. They rather explained that people share, through their features of Dutchness, similarities which makes them less different than outsiders. Additionally, the children expressed a positive attitude towards differences. Differences, according to the children, provide chances to learn new things and to make new friends. This way of perceiving national identity is a non-static perspective on ethnic culture whereby hybridity breaks down the notion of belonging to a political society on the basis of birthplace alone. This perspective of a multicultural society could be a way of embracing globalisation whereby *othering* becomes less central. Othering processes still occur, but it could

be argued that defining *selves* and *others* in this way becomes more accepted and less valuable for the development of identity. In this way, different forms of *us* are approved. Besides, it shifts the expectation of adapting to the host identity to finding similarities by which a shared identity is acknowledged alongside a Dutch or foreign identity.

7.2 Children´s perspectives taken into consideration

One of the ambitions of this thesis aims for exploring how the outcomes of this thesis can improve our understanding of the way societies make distinctions between people in a multi-ethnic society. Besides that, from the outcomes of this thesis it could be discussed that perceptions of immigrants in societies like the Netherlands are changing. The previous paragraphs of this thesis have already addressed the way that children describe their own and others' culture and their own and others' identity in the contemporary Netherlands. On the basis of this, it can be described in what way globalising factors are perceived and how attitudes towards these factors are changing.

The children who participated in this research project have presented novel ways of perceiving immigrants and the way that they belong to *us* with their cultures and identities. Besides that, the children argue for features through which immigrants can acquire Dutchness. Moreover, the children reason for a similar but different way of perceiving immigrants than was described by Dutch government policy. The WRR published in 2007 a report in which they argued for a shift in perspective from one clearly defined national identity to distinguishing between functional, normative, and emotional identity. By focussing on these three processes of identification, instead of one defined identity, they expect people to feel more connected with one another (WRR, 2007). This would strengthen social cohesion in the Netherlands and thereby promote a more open orientation. Similar in this policy and children's perspective is the focus on several identities, while they differ in the sense that children describe a mixture of cultures, whereas the focus in policy is on connections with a Dutch identity and culture. Even though this perspective seems to be a beginning of thinking towards hybrid identities, the report was based on theoretical, historical, and indirect empirical material. Direct communication with members of the Dutch society was thus lacking. Whereas adults' perspective were indirectly taken into consideration through previous research that the report builds upon, children's perspectives were not considered at all. The report even described that education and the army are two important institutions for developing individuals into citizens. This argument reflects the perspective of children as human becoming, instead of children being considered as human

being with valid opinions and part of the society here and now. A children´s perspective on culture and identity in a Dutch context is therefore very much needed. The way that children argued around culture and identity partly connects with the perspective described by WRR (2007), however, the children brought in new ways of perceiving culture and identity. As was described before, children argue for features of Dutchness through which immigrants are being perceived as *partly Dutch*, which focusses in that way on including them into society instead of rejecting them when they do not have all five features of Dutchness. By accepting that not everyone in the society has the same identity and thereby acknowledging that the aim is not to achieve being all the same, it is possible to find new similarities and to form new structures for hybrid cultures and hybrid identities.

Throughout this thesis it has become clear that children as a new generation change the structures of society. Children´s agency influences how immigrants are and will be perceived in the Dutch society. The basis that they form provides the foundation of how future generations will reflect on effects of globalisation that affect their society. Children are therefore a very important source to find out more about this phenomenon and to gain a broader understanding of how the younger generation of the society deals and will deal with contemporary and future challenges caused by globalisation.

Partly, Dutch policy seems not only to be built upon intergenerational socialisation but also on giving children the space to reflect and to form an opinion about contemporary society. Through the citizenship education programme *De Vreedzame School*, which was mentioned before in this thesis, it has become clear that there is already focus on giving meaning to existing knowledge together with children. Children in that way learn to reflect on their role in society. However, this could be perceived as an act of tokenism or as a way of preparing them to become a reflective citizen, for the reason that children´s perspectives are actually not considered in the construction of new policies to strengthen social cohesion. Citizenship education in that way can be perceived as a way of preparing citizens for society, instead of discussing with citizens upon their role in society and what they find important that really brings change outside of only the direct school community. From another perspective, citizenship education influences the way that children reflect upon their role in society and thereby how they develop their way of being a proper Dutch citizen. The strategies that children learn influence the way that they practice and make use of their agency today and in the future. Citizenship education in that way thus strengthens children´s agency capabilities. In that way, citizenship education can be perceived as a means to protect Dutch culture and identity by teaching (future)citizens how to

argue, reflect, and analyse critically. The combination of history cannons, by which children learn the cultural aspects of the Dutch identity through gaining knowledge of Dutch history in a global context, and citizenship education, thereby forms a strong basis that the Dutch government uses to strengthen social cohesion in the Netherlands whereby they at the same time protect their primary culture and identity.

In chapter 2.3 is has already been outlined that Dutchness in public debate is understood as the ability of people to open up for dialogue, to seek consensus, to be democratic, to be dissentient, tolerant, egalitarian, to promote free speech, to be honest, and to have informal relationships. This description reflects an open attitude towards the unknown things, which could influence the reception of immigrants in the country. If the Dutch are really as open as this description outlines, it could be expected that immigrants would have a good chance of integrating and being accepted in the society. However, from another perspective, this could mean that if immigrants themselves do not fit this description and do not support this idea of Dutchness, problems may arise. Being democratic and consensus-seeking therefore has pros and cons. However, through children´s opinions and descriptions of cultures and identities, this thesis presents a way of dealing with differences in a multicultural society.

As was outlined before, concerns about national identity and social cohesion are not only present in the Netherlands. Many European countries try to find ways to strengthen social cohesion in their country by finding ways to change the reception of immigrants. Strengthening social cohesion and national identity is thus not only a present pattern in the Netherlands alone. However, even though many countries nowadays struggle with immigration flows, this thesis provides an answer to a Dutch context on this global pattern.

7.3 Recommendations for further research and policy

Even though globalisation and its effect on national cultures and identities is a much debated topic in public, political, and research debate, children's interpretations of the effects of globalisation are lacking. The importance of the topic can be interpreted from the amount of newspaper articles and research papers, which are present in many countries in Europe. Even though the topic gains so much attention, there is almost no focus on children's perspectives and attitudes towards this topic. Further research on children's perspectives of cultures and identities could form new and different ways of understanding the contemporary world, which could even develop solutions for today's and tomorrow's problems concerning integration. To establish this, there should be first a shift in thinking whereby children become accepted as

citizens and a fruitful part of society. This thesis shows how young children of 8 and 9 years old are very much aware of the situations happening in their country and how they form independent perspectives regarding this. Rejecting children's participation in these discussions is in my opinion therefore an outdated phenomenon.

A research project with a bigger sample carried out in the Netherlands or in other European countries could provide more detailed answers on how children describe culture and identity in a national context. Only through more research done on this topic, we could provide stronger argument on the fact that children have fruitful ideas on how to tackle problems related to globalisation and immigration. Besides research in a Dutch context, comparative approaches in a European context could reveal patterns of children's thinking in different countries. On the basis of this, researchers can form a better understanding of how much space children in each country get for practising agency and the influences of this on their ideas on the topic. On the basis of this, researchers can show that children are rightful citizens who can provide different views on the problems of society. Instead of waiting until children reach adulthood, children's creativity can be used to tackle problems in society.

Besides the need for further research, policies regarding integration are recommended to reform on the basis of the findings of this research. As the results have shown, the present becomes more and more coercive in developing the future culture. This means that children´s ideas on culture are becoming more prominent in the development of culture and identity. Children's perspectives, therefore, should be taken more into consideration.

Based on the findings of this research I suggest that policies regarding integration could take a more open character. Instead of focussing the integration of immigrants on becoming Dutch, the focus could shift towards looking for similarities. Dutch culture in that way is still part of integration policy but becomes less central in the outcome. It can be expected that this open character encourages the search for similarities and acceptance of differences whereby people believe to be part of the same group, instead of categorising each other into different categories.

Through children's explanations on citizenship education, it seems that this open character is already partly integrated in education policies. Even though this citizenship education is built upon the impression of proper Dutch adult citizens that can perform in a democratic society, children learn to think independently and to respect differences. Moreover, citizenship education could develop to strengthen the abilities of, and possibilities for children to state their perspectives. Besides this, more platforms should be provided by which children can reflect

and discuss topics concerning integration and happenings they overhear from the wider public discussion, including extremities. When children are provided with techniques for critical thinking and discussion, and they get the space to present and discuss their perspectives, adults can increase their knowledge of children's perspectives and allow children to engage in finding solutions for societal problems.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethical approval letter NSD

Appendix B: Information letter parent(s)/caretaker(s)

Appendix C: Information letter children

Appendix D: Informed consent form parent(s)/caretaker(s)

Appendix E: Informed consent form children

Appendix F: Research tools (interview)guide

Appendix A: Ethical approval letter NSD

Marit Ursin

7491 TRONDHEIM

Tilbakemelding på melding om behandling av personopplysninger

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 01.07.2017.
Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

54996	Children's perceptions of Dutchness
Behandlingsansvarlig	NTNU, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig	Marit Ursin

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.10.2017, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Dersom noe er uklart ta gjerne kontakt over telefon.

Vennlig hilsen

Marianne Høgetveit Myhren

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

Appendix B: Information letter parent(s)/caretaker(s)

My name is Nathalie Kik and I am a student of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. In Norway if follow the Master program called Childhood Studies at the Norwegian Centre for Child Research. This study focusses on research with children all around the world about their lives, childhood, views and opinions. For my Master Thesis I want to write about what children between the age of 6 and 10 think about the concept Dutchness. Dutchness in this project can be described as something or someone that children would describe as Dutch and why. The aim of this project is to get a better understanding about children's views on this and to publish the outcomes of the research in a thesis

There will be no direct benefit to you for participation in this study. However, I hope that the information obtained from this study may be used for further academic research on this topic and for the renewal of policy and educational services for children.

Please read the information in this letter carefully before deciding whether or not to allow your child to take part in the project. If you or your child decide not to take part there will be not disadvantage to you or your child and I would like to thank you for considering this request beforehand.

What does participation in the project imply?

In this project your child can be part of 4 activities; drawing and talking about the drawing, making a mind map together with other children and talk about this, an interview with pictures, and a group discussion with other children. Your child can decide in which of the activities he/she would like to take part. The duration of each activity will be not more than one hour and will be held during the school day. When the activity will take place will be discussed with the teacher beforehand. The research will start after the summer holiday and will finish approximately in the last week of October.

Should your child talk about experiences that I believe may be harmful for him/her, I am obliged to follow this up by informing the Social Worker in the school.

You and your child can withdraw from the project at any moment without further explanation. During an activity your child can decide not to answer specific questions or decide to stop the tape recorder at any time. I will not start activities with your child without his/her and your consent for this. The information letter and consent form that are given to your child is enclosed.

Results of the project will be published, but every effort will be made to preserve confidentiality. All data that will be produced during the activities will be anonymized, so that no information can be related back to specific children and no harm can be done. The published information will thus in no way be linked to your child specifically. During the data collection of this project, all data will be securely stored so that only I will be able to gain access to it. After the project, any personal data will be destroyed. Any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years and after that destroyed as well.

If you have any further questions, feel free to contact me. E-mail: nkik1@stud.ntnu.no

If you decide to allow your child to take part in this study, please sign the consent form and return it to the teacher of your child. Thank you!

Appendix C: Information letter children

My name is Nathalie and I am writing a report for my University work. It is like homework. My report is going to be about what your views are of Dutchness. Dutchness describes someone or something you think is Dutch and why/why not. It is important that adults learn from children what they think about this, because in the Netherlands a lot of different people live together. Sometimes it is for adults also difficult to describe what is Dutch.

If you agree to take part in the activities that I will organise, I would like you to tell, write or draw different things. Adults do not always know what children think so it will be interesting to hear what you think!

You do not have to talk to me if you do not want to. If other children want to talk to me, but you do not want to, that is fine. It is your own choice together with your parents'/caretakers' permission to take part in the activities.

The activities can be; drawing and talking about the drawing, making a mind map together with other children and talk about this, an interview with pictures, and a group discussion with other children. You can choose which activities you would like to do. There will be no right or wrong answers in these exercises. It is just to know more about what you think! At the beginning of the activity I will explain what the activity is specifically about. You can then still decide to not take part.

Together with your teacher we can decide when we can do the activities, so that it does not take too much of your time. Each activity will maximum take 1 hour of your time.

If you do not like the activity or what we are talking about you can decide to stop. It is okay if you do not want to answer all my questions. When we are talking, I will use a tape recorder so that I can remember what you have said for my report. If you do not want this, that is fine.

I will type the things on the tape and the only people to be able to see it will be me and my teacher, Marit. After we have finished with the words and the tape they will be locked away for 5 years and then destroyed. Nobody else will thus know what you have said.

When I write my report, I might write about some of the things you have talked about but I will not use your name so people will not know they are your words. If you want, you can choose another name that I can use in my report

If you have any worries after our talk you can come and talk to me. I will keep everything private, but if I think that you might not be safe I might have to tell your teacher so he/she can help you.

Your parents/caretakers might have said it is okay for me to talk with you but if you do not want to talk with me then that is fine. I will not talk to you unless you want to. We will also talk with your teacher to make sure that we can go activities during the school day. You can ask me any question you like before you agree to take part.

Thank you!

Appendix D: Informed consent form parent(s)/caretaker(s)

By signing this consent form, I confirm that:

1. I have read and understood the information concerning this project and I understand the purpose;
2. I have had the opportunity to ask questions. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction;
3. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage of the project;
4. I understand that participation is voluntary and that me and my child can withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost;
5. I understand that my child will not participate in the study without his/her own consent;
6. I will/have also read a copy of my child's information sheet and consent form;
7. I understand that the research data on my child will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which time it will be destroyed, and that all personal information will be destroyed at the end of the study;
8. I understand that only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to the personal information of my child once the transcript is made;
9. I understand that the results of the project will be published but my anonymity and my child's anonymity will be preserved;
10. I give my consent for the researcher to notify the Social Worker at the school should my child disclose personal experiences during the research of a nature that the researcher believes may be harmful to my child;
11. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form.

Name parent/care taker…………………………………………………………..

Name child participant…………………………………………………………..

Grade and teacher……………………………………………………………….

Signature of parent/care taker

………………………………

Date………………………….

This project has been reviewed and approved by

the Norwegian Centre for Research Data & the Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Appendix E: Informed consent form children

Nathalie explained to me that:

1. If I do not want to talk to her that is fine;
2. If I participate, she will be asking me questions about my opinion and views on Dutchness;
3. Dutchness describes someone or something you think is Dutch and why/why not;
4. There are no right or wrong answers and that if I do not want to answer some of the questions that is fine;
5. If I just want to participate in some of the activities that is fine;
6. Any time I want to stop talking that is fine and she will turn the tape off;
7. She is writing a report for her homework;
8. She will write about some of the things I have talked about but won't use my name. I agree that is fine;
9. The tape and copy of my words from the tape will only be seen by her, her teacher, Marit, and that the tape and the copy of my words from the tape will be kept private;
10. If I have any worries about our talk I can talk with her;
11. She will tell my teacher that I will take part in the activities during the school day;
12. My parents/care takers will also read this form and should tell her if it is okay for me to take part in the activities. If my parents say no, I cannot take part;
13. I will get a copy of this form.

I agree it's OK for Nathalie to talk to me about Dutchness;

I agree it's OK for Nathalie to use the tape recorder;

I agree it's OK for me to take part in:

1. Drawing and talking about my drawing

2. Concept mapping (together with other children)

3. Photo interview

4. Discussion (together with other children)

My name is………………………………………….

My age is…………………………………………

Date……………..…………………………………..

I am in grade ...……………………………………….

The name of my teacher is………………………….

Appendix F: Research tools (interview)guide

1.   Individual drawings

1.1   Observation sheet

1.2   Drawing; what do you think is Dutch?

2.   Collective mind map

2.1   Observation sheet

2.2   Mind map; What is Dutch?

3.   Individual interview with pictures

3.1   Observation sheet

3.2   Pictures used in the interview

4.   Attitude survey

4.1   Observation sheet

4.2   Statements

1. Individual drawings

Objectives
To explore children's perceptions of what they perceive as Dutch, visually and orally
To explore possible sub-topics for the last two research methods

This method explores topics that the children come up with themselves

How many children?
Approximate 20 children, individual drawings, eventually organised in small groups so that there is less chance that children copy each other

How many researchers?
1

How long will it take?
Approximate 1 hour

What equipment do I need?
- Informed consent forms from each child that participates and their parent(s)/caretaker(s)
- Drawing form: Drawings about Dutchness, to be used by the child
- Pencils or other drawing material
- Observation sheets for this specific tool to be used by the researcher
- Envelope for the drawing forms, envelope for the observation sheets, envelope for informed consent forms
- Tape recorder to record the interview about the drawing
- Clock or timer to measure the time

What do I do?
- Before to meet the child(ren) I fill in the general information on the observation sheet
- Welcome the children and give each child the drawing form and pencils
- Ask the children to fill in their personal details: boy/girl, name, date of birth,
- Tell children the aim of the tool and explain the method, ask if they still agree to participate, explain how much time it will take and what they can expect from me, together we check each step of the form, give children the opportunity to ask questions beforehand and tell them that they can ask more questions at any time
- I ask the children if it is okay to use the tape recorder and tell them it is possible to stop recording at any time, once they agree I will start to record
- Ask the children to make a drawing about what they perceive as Dutch and tell them explicitly that every 'answer' is right, it is their own expression
- After they finish the drawing I will individually ask questions about the drawing; give them a personal compliment; ask if they can tell me explicitly what they drew, the reason why they drew it and if it has a specific meaning; other questions that follow on the answers that the children give. I will write down their answers on the observation sheet
- Thank the child(ren) for his/her/their participation and stop the tape recorder
- Check if they filled in the right information and collect the forms in the envelope

Copy of any form, schedule or other materials that will be used:

1.1 Observation sheet

Tool: Individual drawing about Dutchness

Name researcher: Nathalie Kik

Eventually: name/code of child(ren) that participate: ....

....

Number of children: boys....................... girls........................total...

Date of session:...

Time of session: from... to ....

Place of data collection...

What factors might have influenced the collection of data during this session?

- Researcher:

- Child(ren):

- Characteristics of place:

- Weather:

- Interruptions or distractions:

- Other:

Other specialities that came up during this session:

1.2 Drawing; what do you think is Dutch?

My name is:

I am a boy/girl:

My age is:

My grade is:

My teacher is:

Date:

My drawing:

2. Collective mind map

Objectives
To explore children's perceptions of what is Dutch; orally, visually and in writing
To explore how children react on each other's views and ideas on this topic
To crosscheck outcomes of the previous method
To explore possible sub-topics for the last two research methods

This method explores topics that the children come up with themselves

How many children?
Approximate 20 children organised in groups from 4 to 5 children

How many researchers?
1

How long will it take?
Approximate 1 hour per group

What equipment do I need?
- Informed consent forms from each child that participates and their parent(s)/caretaker(s)
- Form: mind map; What is Dutch? to be used by the children
- Pencils or other drawing and writing material, big sheets
- Observation sheets for this specific tool to be used by the researcher
- Envelope for the mind map forms, envelope for the observation sheets, envelope for informed consent forms
- Tape recorder to record the explanation about the mind map
- Clock or timer to measure the time

What do I do?
- Before to meet the children I fill in the general information on the observation sheet
- Welcome the children and give the children the sheets and pencils
- Ask the children to fill in their personal details: boy/girl, name, date of birth,
- Tell children the aim of the tool and explain the method, ask if they still agree to participate, explain how much time it will take and what they can expect from me, together we check each step of the exercise, I will give children the opportunity to ask questions beforehand and tell them that they can ask more questions at any time
- I ask the children if it is okay to use the tape recorder and tell them it is possible to stop recording at any time, once they agree I will start to record
- Ask the children to make a mind map about what they think is Dutch and tell them explicitly that every 'answer' is right, it is their own expression
- I will tell the children that after they finish the mind map together one of them can explain the mind map; I will give them a personal compliment; then I will ask if they can tell me explicitly what they drew, the reason why they drew it and if it has a specific meaning; other questions that follow on the answers that the children give
- Thank the children for their participation and stop the tape recorder
- Check if they filled in their personal information and collect the forms in the envelope

Copy of any form, schedule or other materials that will be used:

2.1 Observation sheet

Tool: collective mind map about the Netherlands

Name researcher: Nathalie Kik

Eventually: name/group code of child(ren) that participate: ....

....

Number of children: boys....................... girls.....................total..

Date of session:...

Time of session: from.. to ....

Place of data collection...

What factors might have influenced the collection of data during this session?

- Researcher:

- Child(ren):

- Characteristics of place:

- Weather:

- Interruptions or distractions:

- Other:

Other specialities that came up during this session:

2.2 Mind map; what is Dutch?

Names of persons in the group are:

-...age:............................   boy/girl   grade:

-...age:............................   boy/girl   grade:

-...age:............................   boy/girl   grade:

-...age:............................   boy/girl   grade:

-...age:............................   boy/girl   grade:

Date:

Our mind map; What is Dutch? (use big sheet)

3. Individual interview with pictures

Objectives
To explore children's perceptions of what they think is Dutch and what maybe not and why; visually and orally
To explore topics that can be used in the last method
To crosscheck outcomes of the previous methods

How many children?
Approximate 20 children, individual interviews

How many researchers?
1

How long will it take?
Approximate 20 minutes per interview

What equipment do I need?
- Informed consent forms from each child that participates and their parent(s)/caretaker(s)
- PowerPoint with pictures
- Observation sheets for this specific tool to be used by the researcher
- Envelope for the observation sheets, envelope for informed consent forms
- Tape recorder to record the interview
- Clock or timer to measure the time

What do I do?
- Before to meet the child(ren) I fill in the general information on the observation sheet
- Welcome the child and explain the aim of the tool and the method, ask if they still agree to participate, explain how much time it will take and what they can expect from me, give children the opportunity to ask questions beforehand and tell them that they can ask more questions at any time
- I ask the children if it is okay to use the tape recorder and tell them it is possible to stop recording at any time, once they agree I will start to record
- Tell the child explicitly that every 'answer' is right, it is their own expression
- Ask the children to look at the picture and explain what they see. Do they perceive this as Dutch, why or why not? And what specifically makes this picture Dutch or not Dutch? Is it important that everything is Dutch? Is it good that there are also things that are not typical Dutch in the Netherlands?
- Thank the child for his/her participation and stop the tape recorder
- Collect the forms in the envelope

Copy of any form, schedule or other materials that will be used:

3.1 Observation sheet

Tool: Individual interview with pictures

Name researcher: Nathalie Kik

Eventually: name/group code of child(ren) that participate: ....

....

Number of children: boys....................... girls........................total..

Date of session:..

Time of session: from.. to ....

Place of data collection..

What factors might have influenced the collection of data during this session?

- Researcher:

- Child(ren):

- Characteristics of place:

- Weather:

- Interruptions or distractions:

- Other:

Other specialities that came up during this session:

3.2 Pictures used in the interview

<u>Celebrations[8]</u>

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[8] The pictures presented in this method are based on information gathered from method 1 and 2 and are thus based on children´s answers.

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Symbols

People

Religion

Food

4. Attitude survey

Objectives
To explore children's perceptions about what they think is Dutch and what not; orally
To crosscheck outcomes of the previous methods

How many children?
Approximate 20 children, organised in groups from 4 to 5 children

How many researchers?
1

How long will it take?
Approximate 1 hour for each group

What equipment do I need?
- Informed consent forms from each child that participates and their parent(s)/caretaker(s)
- Examples of statements that I will use in an extra form
- Room that is big enough so that we can sit or stand in a circle and a line
- Observation sheets for this specific tool to be used by the researcher
- Envelope for the observation sheets, envelope for informed consent forms
- Tape recorder to record the discussion
- Clock or timer to measure the time

What do I do?
- Before to meet the child(ren) I fill in the general information on the observation sheet
- Welcome the children
- Ask the children to fill in their personal details: boy/girl, name, age, date of birth,
- Tell children the aim of the tool and explain the method, ask if they still agree to participate, explain how much time it will take and what they can expect from me, together we check each step of the form, give children the opportunity to ask questions beforehand and tell them that they can ask more questions at any time
- I ask the children if it is okay to use the tape recorder and tell them it is possible to stop recording at any time, once they agree I will start to record
- Tell the children explicitly that every 'answer' is right, it is their own expression
- As a researcher I will come up with a statement where the children can agree or disagree with. Children choose whether they agree or disagree and I will ask the reason why(!) If children find this difficult I will ask following up questions that can make them think deeper about the topic. Children can react on each other's opinions and ask each other questions. Very important in this method is the conversation/discussion that follows than if the children chose to agree or disagree. Knowing why and knowing children's statements is the aim.
- As warming-up I will start with some easy statement so that the children feel how the exercise works, gradually the statements will reach a higher level
- Thank the child(ren) for his/her/their participation and stop the tape recorder
- Check if they filled in their information and collect the forms in the envelope

Copy of any form, schedule or other materials that will be used:

4.1 Observation sheet

Tool: attitude survey; What is Dutch?

Name researcher: Nathalie Kik

Eventually: name/group code of child(ren) that participate: ....

....

Number of children: boys...................... girls.......................total..

Date of session:...

Time of session: from.. to ....

Place of data collection...

What factors might have influenced the collection of data during this session?

- Researcher:

- Child(ren):

- Characteristics of place:

- Weather:

- Interruptions or distractions:

- Other:

Other specialities that came up during this session:

4.2 Statements

Names of persons in the group are:

-..age:........................   boy/girl   grade:

-..age:........................   boy/girl   grade:

-..age:........................   boy/girl   grade:

-..age:........................   boy/girl   grade:

-..age:........................   boy/girl   grade:

Date:

Possible positions: strongly agree, agree, no opinion, disagree, strongly disagree

Statements[9]

1. (warming-up) I like cheese
2. (warming-up) I like to go to school
3. (warming-up) I think that red is a beautiful colour

Celebrations:

1. Celebrating Sinterklaas is typically Dutch
2. Celebrating Christmas is typically Dutch
3. Celebrating Ramadan is typically Dutch
4. Celebrating Eastern is typically Dutch
5. Celebrating Kingsday is typicaly Dutch
6. The fair is typically Dutch
7. Celebrating Carnaval is typically Dutch
8. Celebrating Halloween is typically Dutch
9. Prinsjesdag is typically Dutch
10. Celebrating New Years is typically Dutch

Symbols:

11. Orange is Dutch
12. Clogs are Dutch
13. Tulips are part of the Netherlands
14. Mils are part of the Netherlands
15. Dykes are part of the Netherlands
16. Kinderen voor Kinderen is Dutch
17. The lion is Dutch
18. Ali-b is part of the Netherlands

People:

19. I am Dutch

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[9] The statements presented in this method are based on information gathered from method 1 and 2 and are thus based on children´s answers.

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20. My family is Dutch
21. My classmates are Dutch
22. You can see if someone is Dutch
23. If you live in the Netherlands, then you are a little bit Dutch
24. If you live in the Netherlands, then you have to learn to speak Dutch
25. Everyone can become a Dutchman
26. Dutch people can wear a headscarf
27. Dutch people have blond hair and blue eyes
28. It doesn't matter what you look like, everyone can be Dutch
29. You have to be born in the Netherlands to be a real Dutchman
30. It is good that there are different types of people living in the Netherlands
31. It doesn't matter if you are totally Dutch or not
32. You can also live in the Netherlands if you are not Dutch
33. It is sometimes difficult to live together with many different people
34. It is useful that many different people live together
35. Everyone should learn in school about the Netherlands and Dutch things
36. Everyone should learn how to deal with each other in the Netherlands
37. It is important that everything in the Netherlands is Dutch
38. It is good that there are things in the Netherlands that are not Dutch

Religion:

39. Being a Christian is Dutch
40. Being a Muslim is Dutch
41. It doesn't matter what your religion is in the Netherlands
42. The classes of *De Vreedzame School* are important in the Netherlands

Food:

43. Cheese is Dutch
44. Milk is Dutch
45. Pizza is Dutch
46. Fries are Dutch
47. Licorice is Dutch
48. Sprouts are Dutch
49. Kale is Dutch
50. Risotto is Dutch
51. Split pea soup is Dutch
52. Eating pork is Dutch
53. Bitterballen are Dutch
54. In the Netherlands we eat a lot of food that actually comes from other countries
55. Even though some food might actually come other countries, it can become Dutch
56. Dutch food can also become part of other countries if people eat it a lot there.