

Finding Balance and Identity:

Second and Third Generation Immigrants in the Netherlands

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Author's Note

Before beginning, I would like to say thank you to all of those who have helped me complete this project. First, I would like to thank Omar Nahas and Isabelle Vilters for guiding me through this project. Mrs. Vilters, as my advisor, kindly volunteered her time and effort to help me in each stage of my research and writing. Omar, as my academic director, has guided me through each conceptual stage of this project. Second, I would like to thank my homestay family for providing me with a space to work, and even helping me to find interviewees. Third, I would like to thank all the interviewees—without their help, this project would not have been possible. I thank them for their time, their honesty, and their interest in my research.

I am a junior at Lafayette College double majoring in Government & Law and International Affairs. Thus, this research project is outside of what I usually study and research. So, why did I choose this? I am the daughter of two immigrant parents. My mother, who is originally from the Netherlands, struggles to stay connected with both her Dutch identity and her American identity. People always ask her if she feels Dutch *or* American. How can she choose? She has lived in the U.S. for exactly half of her life. Usually, both countries feel like home, but sometimes neither country does.

My father is originally from Australia. When he was still young, my father's family came to the U.S. for his father's two year work contract. For the next sixteen years my father patiently waited to return to Australia, while every two years his father's job offer was extended. When he was twenty-two he was forced to relinquish his Australian passport and get U.S. citizenship in order to attend an American medical school. This small legal matter shook his sense of identity. He felt obligated to give up his Australian identity and accept the fact that he was now American. Since then, he has realized that he does not have to choose—he can be American and still be connected to his Australian heritage.

My parents can feel half and half, but what about the next generation? My sisters and I struggle to stay connected to both sides of our heritage. On one hand we feel connected to the cultures of our heritage: we speak Dutch, use Australian expressions, etcetera. But, on the other hand, we do not quite fit in when we visit the Netherlands or

Australia. When I started talking to second and third generation immigrants in the Netherlands from Morocco and Turkey, I saw that they struggled with this same problem, but on a much larger scale. All three parts of my identity are contained within a Western culture and are all fairly comparable. Further, I live in the U.S. where it is perhaps more acceptable and certainly more common to have a hybrid identity. Turkish culture and Moroccan culture are *very* different from Dutch culture, and Dutch society is not accustomed to hybrid identities. Furthermore, Islam is a relatively new religion to the Netherlands and Islamic culture is perceived as very different from Western cultures. My personal life gives me just a taste of what it would be like to be a second or third generation Turkish or Moroccan immigrant in the Netherlands. For that, I can begin to appreciate how hard it would be. There is little academic research already existing on second and third generation immigrants in the Netherlands. Hopefully, this research project will encourage more studies on second and third generation immigrants in the Netherlands.

Introduction

What is this all about?

The Netherlands has a large population of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. With a population of approximately 16.6 million, almost 20 percent of the population is non-indigenous. Turkish and Moroccan immigrants each represent approximately one tenth of the entire population, together accounting for one fifth of the immigrant population.¹ The Netherlands began accepting Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the 1970s. These immigrants were accepted as guest workers for manual labor jobs. Most historians agree that the first generation of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants did not intend to stay permanently in the Netherlands. Further, native Dutch people did not expect them to stay permanently, which many historians believe is the root for some of the modern intolerance of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands. Despite this, this generation of immigrants stayed because of the better economic opportunities in their new home.

There is a great deal of literature discussing the challenges that the first generation of these immigrants face. Often overlooked are the struggles faced by these people's children and grandchildren, who are the second and third generation immigrants. Adolescence is a tumultuous time of trying to discover a sense of self. This development process is even more complicated for second and third generation immigrants, who risk feeling lost between two cultures and two countries. To achieve positive integration, children of immigrant families must feel connected to their Dutch identity as well as to their heritage.²

This paper will explore some of these issues by asking two main questions: First, how do second and third generation immigrants establish their sense of identity and connectedness to both Dutch and Turkish (or Moroccan) culture? To answer this I will examine schools, after school activities, neighborhoods, families, and even such seemingly insignificant things such as what type of food is eaten at home. The second

¹ Garssen, Joop, Han Nicolaas and Arno Sprangers (2005). *Demografie van de allochtonen in Nederland (Dutch)*. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.

² De Ruiter, Jan Jaap. February 8, 2008.

question will examine the schools. Generally speaking, in urban areas, the majority of second and third generation immigrant youth attend “Black Schools,” which is an informal name for schools that are primarily attended by children of immigrant families.³ Recently, a new type of school has emerged in the Netherlands called “Schools in the World,” which are Black School that have earned this new name by participating in an integration project.⁴ Thus, the question is, how do these schools help or inhibit second and third generation immigrants establish their sense of identity?

The results show that there are five aspects of daily life that are most important to second and third generation immigrant youths develop their sense of identity: school, after school activities, home life, neighborhood, and religion. Second and third generation immigrant youths achieve positive integration when these five aspects of life expose them daily to both Dutch culture and to the culture of their heritage. In other words, they need to have balanced interaction with both Dutch society and with their heritage in their daily lives in order to have a balanced sense of identity.

The results on the school study show that schools have a great capacity to facilitate second and third generation immigrant youths in developing a balanced sense of identity. Black Schools can help second and third generation youths simply by being multicultural. Beyond that, Black Schools do not appear to be taking any active measure to facilitate intercultural learning. Schools in the World seem to provide a more positive environment for second and third generation immigrants. Schools in the World actively embrace their multiculturalism and have enhanced their curriculum to include more cultural studies.

The first chapter will discuss the challenges of being a second or third generation Turkish or Moroccan immigrant in the Netherlands. This section will focus on the sociological challenges faced by the youths, rather than focusing on, for example, the socio-economic challenged faced by the adults. This section will illuminate how it is difficult for second and third generation youths to achieve positive integration, that is, a sense of connection to Dutch culture *and* a sense of connection to their heritage.

³ Gibson, Margaret A. “Complicating the Immigrant/Involuntary Minority Typology.” *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 3, Ethnicity and School Performance: Complicating the Immigrant/Involuntary Minority Typology (Sep., 1997), p. 435.

⁴ WORLD SCHOOLS

The second chapter will examine *how* second and third generation immigrant youths achieve positive integration. I will do this by presenting the research findings based on interviews conducted with second and third generation immigrant youths in the Netherlands.

The third chapter will discuss how schools in the Netherlands facilitate or inhibit second and third generation immigrant youths in finding their balanced sense of identity. This discussion will be limited to a comparison of two types of schools in the Netherlands (Black Schools and Schools in the World) to see which provides a more positive experience for second and third generation immigrant youths. Please note that the majority of formal research was focused on the issues addressed in Chapter 2, while Chapter 3 is more speculation and qualitative analysis based primarily on informal interviews.

Chapter One

The Challenges of Being a Second or Third Generation Immigrant in the Netherlands

Before considering how second or third generation immigrant youth in the Netherlands develop their sense of identity, it is important to review the struggles that they face. There is a large body of research concerning economic disadvantages for immigrants, but these challenges are more relevant to the adult population of immigrants. This section will focus on the social challenges, particularly the challenges of developing a sense of identity. The discussion is limited to second and third generation immigrant youths from Turkey and Morocco.

1.1 Positive Integration Model in the Netherlands

Most people appreciate that finding your identity in a new country is, of course, very difficult. Often overlooked is the challenge of finding your identity in a country of which you are a second or third generation immigrant. You are much further removed from your parents' culture—you are physically separated, but also disconnected in other ways, such as not being fluent in your parents' mother-tongue. At the same time, you are often not that much more connected to the new country's culture, perhaps because of a different physical appearance, existing negative stereotypes, or other alienating differences. This gap can lead second and third generation immigrants to struggle to find their identity.

To examine this issue, I pose the following question: In what ways is it particularly difficult for a second or third generation Muslim immigrant in the Netherlands to find their identity? Before answering, I will first present clarifying terms and my methodology. I define "finding your identity" as achieving what John Barry's model of cultural contact would call "positive integration".⁵ That is, a person's ability to *maintain self*, while also *building a relation* to the society in which they now live. I will examine four ways in which achieving positive integration is problematic for second or third generation Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands. [1] The polarizing effects of the

⁵ De Ruiter, Jan Jaap. February 8, 2008.

rhetoric used by many native Dutch people (including policy makers) of outsider (*allochtoon*) and insider (*autochtoon*). [2] The racial stereotypes of being an immigrant. [3] The overly politicized nature of being a Muslim immigrant in the Netherlands. [4] The loss of lingual connection to their heritage.

From my research I concluded that there are several ways in which it is particularly challenging to achieve positive integration as a second or third generation immigrant from a Muslim country in the Netherlands. It is perhaps, in a few ways, more challenging than being a first generation immigrant. I base this conclusion on four main findings. First, it is slightly more acceptable for a first generation immigrant to have a hybrid national identity (e.g. Turkish-Dutch), but second or third generation immigrants are forced to choose an identity (e.g. Turkish OR Dutch), which leaves an *incomplete sense of identity*. Second, second and third generation immigrants can feel rejected by Dutch culture when they realize that, at first glance, they will always be seen as an outsider if they are not white, even if they are actually third generation Dutch citizens. This can *destabilize their sense of identity*. Third, immigration from Muslim countries is highly politicized in the Netherlands and second and third generation immigrants are often expected to be ambassadors and spokespeople for their country of origin or even for all of Islam. This expectation that everything they do or say is a political statement can make them feel *self-conscious and uncomfortable with their identity*. Fourth, second or third generation immigrant youth often only speak Dutch, usually with a minimal level of language abilities in their mother tongues. This can also *destabilize* their identity because without a lingual connection they can not feel at home when visiting family and friends in their native country, nor can they communicate with the Imams, the religious leaders of mosques. In these ways, it is particularly challenging to be a second or third generation immigrant in the Netherlands. The following sections explain these four findings separately.

1.2 Polarizing Rhetoric:

“Do you consider yourself Dutch? Yes or no?”

American culture is founded in the notion of being a “Melting Pot”. This means that most people are not “just American”. Many people are Irish American, Italian

American, Scottish American, African American, etc. Even after several generations of living in the United States, American's will proudly use these hybrid names to identify themselves. The Netherlands is much more heterogeneous culturally, ethnically, and religiously. For example, more than 84 percent of the population is ethnically white.⁶ Further, the Dutch are simply not used to “hybrid” identities. You are either *autochtoon* or *allochtoon*. There are only two choices for national identity in Dutch culture—insider or outsider.

Consequently, when a Dutch person meets a third generation immigrant, curiosity always sparks the question, “Do you consider yourself Dutch?” This question is unfair. How can a third generation immigrant claim their grandparents’ home country as their own and reject the country that they have grown- up in? At the same time, how can they reject their heritage and submit to assimilation? There should be more than two options to this question. It is easier for a first generation immigrant to claim a hybrid identity. In interviews in Lombok, I noticed that most first generation immigrants referred specifically to how long they lived in their original country for, and how long they had lived in the Netherlands. In this way, a first generation immigrant can avoid choosing identity by referencing where they have lived. A second or third generation does that have that option. Forcing second and third generation immigrants to answer how they identify themselves question inevitably leads to an *incomplete sense of identity*. Whatever they choose, they have rejected a part of themselves. The Dutch mentality of *autochtoon* or *allochtoon* makes it harder for 3rd generation immigrants to achieve positive integration.

1.3 Racialized⁷ Notion of Allochtoon:

“You will always be an outsider”

The vast majority of immigrants in the Netherlands are non-white. As a result, the Dutch associate the term “allochtoon” with being non-white. This stereotype causes people whose family has lived in the Netherlands for three generations to still be treated as outsiders. Consider this example from my research:

⁶ Garssen, Joop, Han Nicolaas and Arno Sprangers, 2005.

⁷ The term “racialization” refers to the phenomenon of a particular thing, name, or idea being associated with a particular ethnicity.

On Amsterdamse Straatweg, I interviewed a man whose grandparents had emigrated from Turkey to the Netherlands. His parents were born and raised in the Netherlands, and so was he. He spoke only Dutch, worked in the Netherlands, and had only traveled to Turkey for vacations. I asked him how he identified himself. He said without blinking, “I am Turkish.” He explained that he used to say he was Dutch, but that over the years he realized that he was not treated fairly, especially in the business world. Why would he call himself Dutch if he was not going to be treated as Dutch?⁸ The Dutch only see that he is not white, and assume that he is an “allochtoon” without ever considering that he could be (and is) a born and raised Dutchman.

By contrast, I interviewed a Flemish man who had been living in the Netherlands for the last twenty years. Two decades is a long time, but it is a shorter history than the third generation Turkish-Dutch man. He said he considered himself mostly Dutch. I asked if other Dutch people consider him an allochtoon or an *autochtoon*. He laughed and said, “Een autochtoon, zeker! Ik woon hier!” (which means, “A culturally Dutch, surely! I live here!”).⁹ The white man had no trouble being accepted as Dutch. I acknowledge that there are only two examples and my research is not complete, but the comparison remains significant. A non-white Dutch citizen will continue to be seen as an allochtoon even after multiple generations of citizenship.

The racialization of the word *allochtoon* is particularly problematic for third generation immigrants from Muslim countries. Most first generation immigrants will always feel at least a little bit like an outsider, so it is perhaps easier for them to accept that Dutch people will *see* them as outsiders. By contrast, it uproots a sense of identity when a second or third generation immigrant is seen as outsider by the society that should¹⁰ be accepting them. The Turkish-Dutch man *had* felt Dutch, until he realized that he would always be seen as an allochtoon simply based on racial stereotypes. At this point, he rejected his Dutch identity. It is *destabilizing to your identity* to feel stereotyped and even rejected by what is supposed to be your own society. The racialization of the

⁸ Informal interview. “Man 1 on Street”

⁹ Informal interview. “Man 1 on Street”

¹⁰ Of course all people *should* be accepting of new people and new cultures, but it seems particularly important for a society to accept those who have been born and raised in their country. I think that it would be particularly painful for a Dutch citizen to feel rejected by Dutch society simply because they have an immigrant heritage.

word “allochtoon” makes it hard for second or third generation immigrants to achieve positive integration.

1.4 Muslim Immigrants are Overly Politicized:

“You are the Ambassador to Your Country and Religion”

Second and third generation immigrants have strong insight into their parents’ cultures as well as Dutch culture. But, that certainly does not make them an ambassador to their parents’ country, religion, or culture. A third generation immigrant will have more experience with some multicultural issues, but unless they are a theologian, anthropologist, or some other academic, it is unlikely that they can “explain Islam” to a native Dutch person or “explain Muslim culture”. Perhaps a third generation immigrant would be able to use their experience to help facilitate communications between the Dutch and Muslim communities in the Netherlands, but is not likely and it is certainly not their *responsibility* to play this role.

A guest lecturer at SIT spoke about her frustration of being a third generation Turkish immigrant to the Netherlands.¹¹ Islam and immigration from Muslim countries has become so politicized in the Netherlands because of pervasive negative stereotypes about Islam. The Dutch expect that second or third generation immigrants can give insight on these issues. She felt that in the Netherlands there is an expectation that one immigrant can speak for all the immigrants. Further, there is an expectation that one Muslim can represent all of Islam. This creates pressure on second and third generation immigrants to make every action a political statement. Consider the example of what Joceelyn Cesari calls a “Modern Orthodox” in her Book *When Islam and Democracy Meet*: women who wear *hijab* to prove to Westerners that they can be modern *and* Muslim.¹² This is a perfectly valid reason to wear *hijab*, but it is notable that the motivation is then dependent on an outsider’s response. It can be dangerous to make a

¹¹ Cakir, Leyla. Lecture given on April 2, 2008 at the School for Internatinoal Training in Utrecht, NL for the “Women” Unit.

¹² Cesari, Jocelyne. When Islam and Democracy Meet: Muslims in Europe and in the United States. New York: Palgrave MacMillam, 2004. p. 165.

political statement part of your daily sense of self. Your sense of identity is then rooted in the outsider.

The Dutch expect second and third generation immigrants to bridge the gap between first generation immigrants and the culturally Dutch. Having your actions politicized and displaces your sense of identity. Second and third generation immigrants in the Netherlands are often particularly *self-conscious of their identity*, which makes it hard for them to achieve positive integration.

1.5 Loss of Lingual Connection:

“Language is intrinsic to culture and religion.”

Most second and third generation immigrants from Morocco and Turkey are not fluent in their parents’ native languages. This lack of language skills creates two main challenges for second and third generation immigrant youths. First, it disconnects them from the society of their parents’ country. Second, it disconnects them from the Islamic community because there is currently only one mosque in the Netherlands that performs religious ceremonies in Dutch. These two issues are discussed below:

Language is important to connecting immigrant youth’s to their parents’ society, and without the language skills, immigrant youths can often feel alienated from their heritage. Based on interviews, most second and third generation immigrants speak or understand their parents’ language to some basic degree, but are not fluent. The small minority that consider themselves fluent is still limited to conversational skills. They usually lack subtleties in their vocabulary usage; they lack academic or professional vocabulary; and, their writing skills are usually limited to simple grammatical structures. This can create a large disconnect with the culture of their heritage. Without language fluency, it is difficult to feel at home in their native country. For immigrant youths who are questioning whether they “fit in” to Dutch society, it is destabilizing to know that they can not quite fit in to the society of their native country.

Language is important to connect Muslim immigrant youths to Islam. Most second and third immigrants from Morocco and Turkey come from Muslim families. For most Muslims, Islam is not simply a religion, but an entire way of living. In fact, Islam is often called a “culture” rather than a “religion”. Thus, a sense of connection to Islam is

intrinsic to their identity as an immigrant in the Netherlands. Unfortunately, there is only one mosque in the Netherlands that holds their religious ceremonies in Dutch.¹³ This means that second or third generation immigrants who only speak Dutch will struggle to become a part of their local Islamic community. Further, most Imams speak very limited Dutch and many speak no Dutch at all. This is highly problematic for second or third generation immigrant youths in the Netherlands who are only fluent in Dutch. Imams are supposed to be spiritual and moral guides for their Muslim community. The Imam often serves as a counselor and mentor for Muslims. Many Muslims visit their Imams regularly to discuss moral dilemmas or other spiritual issues. With this language barrier, Imams can not fulfill their role for immigrant youths. Even the Imams who do speak Dutch do not have an understanding of Dutch society, including the Dutch education system, the Dutch work world, and other things. This means that immigrant youths cannot discuss the challenges of *being* a second or third generation immigrant in the Netherlands with their Imam. Thus, the loss of their parents' language can make it difficult for an immigrant youth to feel connected to their religious community. This makes second and third generation immigrant youths in the Netherlands to feel disconnected from their Muslim identity and their Muslim heritage. Without feeling connected to their heritage, they can not achieve positive integration.

1.6 Section Summary:

It would be easy to assume that a second or third generation immigrant has had enough time in a new country to easily find their identity. Hopefully, this paper illuminates that just because one are a life-long Dutch resident and citizen does not make one *feel* Dutch. In fact, this paper should expose some of the challenges that are unique to second and third generation immigrants. Their identity is *incomplete* when they are expected to choose either Dutch or non-Dutch culture. Their identity is *destabilized* when they feel racially stereotyped as an outsider. They are made *self-conscious* of their identity when they are expected to represent all immigrants and all Muslims on highly politicized issues. They also feel *disconnected* from their religious community and their

¹³ Guest Lecturer. Lecture given on February 8, 2008 at the School for International Training in Utrecht, NL for the "Integration Class".

Muslim heritage, because of the lack of fluency in their parents' language. These factors make it difficult for immigrant youths in the Netherlands to achieve positive integration.

Chapter Two

Developing Identity:

Feeling Connected to Dutch Culture and to their Native Culture

Now that we have considered the challenges of finding a sense of identity, let us consider how a sense of identity is actually formed. As discussed, positive integration means that the individual feels connected to both the culture of their heritage, as well as connected to, in this case, Dutch culture. My research shows that the basic aspects of daily life are most important to helping a youth feel connected to both cultures. For example, speaking Arabic and eating Moroccan food at home can help a second or third generation immigrant youth from Morocco feel connected to their Moroccan heritage. Participating in after school activities with culturally Dutch youth may help the second or third generation immigrant child to feel connected to their Dutch identity. There must be balance in daily interactions with Dutch culture and daily interactions with the culture of one's heritage.

2.1 Summary of Findings

Interviews with second and third generation immigrant youths, as well as using academic research, revealed a number of interesting findings. Here is a summary of my conclusions:

1. Religion, home life, neighborhood, school, and after school activities are five of the most important cultural aspects of life that help shape a youth's identity.
2. Positive integration can be achieved by having a *balance* in these five areas. That is a balanced amount of interaction with Dutch culture as with Turkish or Moroccan culture.

3. Having minimal interaction with Dutch culture, and almost exclusive interaction with Turkish or Moroccan culture will make a youth feel disconnected from Dutch culture.

4. Having minimal interaction with Turkish or Moroccan culture, and almost exclusive interaction with Dutch culture can cause two reactions:
 - a. The youth can become disconnected from their heritage and feel much more connected to their Dutch identity.
 - b. The youth can feel alienated surrounded by Dutch culture, and thus, feel much more connected to their Moroccan or Turkish identity.
According to my research, this reaction is much more common.

2.2 Methodology of the Interviews

This section will explain the methodology of the interview process in three sections. First, I will discuss on the interviewee selection process and criteria. Second, I will try to illustrate the tone of the interviews and the relationship between the interviewer and interviewees. Third, I will present what types of questions were asked and I will include sample questions. Please note that this methodology applies to the interviews with the youth for this chapter. Other interviews were conducted (for example interviewing a school principal for the third chapter on Dutch Schools), but these interviews are discussed separately.

2.2a Selecting Interviewees

All the interviewees fit four criteria. The interviewees had to:

1. Be between the ages of 11 to 20.
2. Be a second or third generation immigrant in the Netherlands. (That is, either their parents or their parent immigrated to the Netherlands)
3. Have Turkish or Moroccan heritage (on both sides of their family).
4. Be currently attending school in the Netherlands.

The interviewees were not chosen from a random pool. All interviewees were found by word of mouth. For example, one interviewee is my host father's work colleague. That interviewee then helped me contact his siblings and friends for setting up more interviews, and so forth. This means that the interviewee pool is not statistically random, but it is also not homogenous. The interviewees are from different circles of friends, different schools, different jobs, different neighborhoods, and different after school activities. The only interviewees who were siblings were represented as siblings in the data analysis (in chapter 2). In this sense, the interviewee pool is random.

Before asking for consent from a possible interviewee, I briefly explained my research project. Although many researchers do not do this in order to keep their experiment "blind," I decided I would elicit more honest answers if they could see that my research is an effort to benefit the immigrant community, rather than a criticism of the immigrant community.

Before asking for consent, interviewees were also promised that their identity would be anonymous and that their contact information would not be shared.

2.2b Relationship between Interviewer and Interviewee

All interviews were conducted by me, the author. Also, all the interviews were conducted in Dutch, because I did not want the interviewees to be distracted by trying to translate their thoughts from Dutch into English. Most of the interviews occurred over the telephone simply for the convenience of the interviewees. In the cases of interviewing two siblings at the same home phone number, I made sure that each sibling had some privacy so that they could not influence each others answers. In retrospect, this was a good decision because several interviewees commented that this was less intimidating and less confrontational to "chat on the phone" rather than sit down for a formal interview.

The tone of the interview was kept conversational. If I asked a question that I thought might be sensitive (for example, a question about their religious practices), I would acknowledge explicitly that it was, perhaps, an uncomfortable question. For example, I might say, "This may seem like an odd question, but would you mind telling me...?" If the interviewee hesitated to answer I would also say, "Please feel free to not

answer if you do not feel comfortable.” In fact, no interviewee chose to skip any questions.

I also tried to make the interviewees feel more comfortable by telling them a little bit about myself. At the beginning of the interview I would introduce that I am an American student studying in the Netherlands. Later in the interview, but before I started asking the more personal questions, I would share my own experience as a second generation immigrant. I explained to every interviewee that my mother is from the Netherlands and my father is from Australia. I shared that I did not think it was fair when people asked if I felt “more Australian, more Dutch, or more American”. I tried to show that I could empathize with many of the challenges that they face in the Netherlands.

2.2c Types of Questions

Generally, I avoided using academic or politicized language in our conversations. For example, I did not use the words “integration”, “second generation immigrant”, or “Black School”. I limited the vocabulary for two reasons. First, the youngest interviewees were only eleven years old, and I wanted them to easily understand the questions. Second, I wanted all my interviewees to feel comfortable to converse, and not get the impression that this was a stiff academic survey.

Although I did have a list of questions that I wanted to have answered in each interview, I did not ask all the questions in the same order or with the same wording every time. I tried to let the conversation have a natural flow.

As will be seen in the data analysis, the questions covered a wide range of topics. Some of the “simpler” topics were: after school activities (and if there are other second or third generation immigrants who also participate), what kind of food is eaten at home, what languages are used at home, what is the decorative style of the house, etcetera. More complex issues were also discussed, such as how do they identify themselves, how do they think other people see them, what do they think is the most important aspect of their life that connects them to their heritage, etc.

2.3 The Interviews and the Interviewees

The following section is detailed examples of some of my interviews. I interviewed ten youths, although not every individual is discussed separately. In this section I also discuss my analysis of these interviewees to illuminate how I drew the conclusions outlined above. First, I will present some examples of how youths have found different ways to find a balance in their lives and their identities. More specifically, this section will uncover how has a youth's interaction with their heritage balanced with their interaction with Dutch culture in the five aspects of life listed above (school, after school activities, home life, religion, and neighborhood)? And further, how has this balance affected and developed their sense of identity and connection to both their heritage and to Dutch culture. In the first section, I will present three examples of youths who have different ways creating a sense of connection to Dutch culture *and* to the culture of their heritage, that is, they have achieved positive integration. The second section discusses examples of students who only feel connected to one part of their identity. This discussion is presented through two case studies of sets of siblings. In each sibling pair, one sibling felt a balanced sense of identity, while the other felt disconnected from one part of their identity. By comparing and contrasting these sibling pairs, small differences can be identified that possibly caused two youths to have an imbalanced sense of their identity. Please note that all the names that are used in this section are pseudonyms.

2.3 Examples of Two Types Balance:

My research shows that youth feel connected to both their heritage and to Dutch society when they have balanced exposure and interaction with both cultures in five aspects of life: school, after school activities, religion, home life, and neighborhood. This balance can be achieved in two ways. Here are the two ways: [1] In *each* of these five aspects, the youth is connected with the culture of their heritage *as well as* with Dutch culture. [2] While some of these five aspects of life connect the youth with *only* the culture of their heritage, the other aspects connect the youth *only* with Dutch culture. Taken as a whole, their daily interactions are still balanced between the two cultures. Section 2.3a discusses a young man who exemplifies the first way to achieve balance. Section 2.3b discusses two siblings who exemplify the second way to achieve balance.

2.3a Michael: Balance in Everything

Michael is a 19 year old whose parents left Turkey and came to the Netherlands at young ages. He was born and raised in the Netherlands and feels both Turkish and Dutch. He feels connected to both Turkish culture and Dutch culture. He developed this balanced sense of identity through a balance in the five aspects discussed previously as important to forming a sense of identity. Through school, after school activities, religion, home life, and his neighborhood he has a balanced amount of exposure to and interaction with Dutch culture as well as Turkish culture. Michael feels connected to both the Turkish and Dutch parts of his identity because each of these five aspects of life connect him to Dutch culture *and* to Turkish culture. Let us examine these five aspects of his life:

Michael is currently attending a HAVO school¹⁴ where he interacts with a diverse group of classmates and is able to connect with both Dutch culture and Turkish culture. There are slightly more students from immigrant families than there are native Dutch students. There is a wide range of countries from which the students of immigrant families are from, including a large number of students from Turkey. This allows Michael to not only connect with Turkish culture, but also more generally to feel confident as a second or third generation immigrant since many of his friends from school have faced the same challenges. This mixed group of students allows Michael to be exposed to Turkish culture as well as Dutch culture.

Michael's home life connects him to both Turkish and Dutch culture. His family eats almost exclusively Turkish food, and rarely has a Western meal, which exposes him to a part of Turkish culture. The appearance of their house embraces both Turkish and Dutch culture, as the furniture and décor includes both Western and Turkish styles. For example, the architecture and furniture is more in the Western style, which the wall hangings and room accents are more in the Turkish style. He also speaks Turkish fluently (as well as Dutch) and uses the languages interchangeably with his family. His home life is a fairly even mix of Dutch and Turkish culture.

Michael's neighborhood also has exposed him to Turkish culture and Dutch culture. When he was younger, most of the residents of his neighborhood were

¹⁴ Please see Appendix A for outline of the Dutch school system.

immigrant families, including a large population of Turkish families. Many of the stores were (and still are) owned by Turkish families selling many typical Turkish goods. Also, there are many Turkish restaurants where a variety of traditional Turkish foods are sold. According to Michael, in the recent years, more native Dutch families have moved to the neighborhood. Now, there are actually more native Dutch families there than there are immigrant families. Michael's growing and changing neighborhood has exposed him to both Dutch culture and Turkish culture.

Michael's religious views also connect him to Turkish culture without alienating himself from Dutch culture. Michael's Muslim identity connects him to an important part of Turkish culture and society. He does not consider himself a very traditional Muslim, for example, unlike his parents, he rarely visits the mosque. Being a very traditional Muslim in the Netherlands (or any other Western country) can, unfortunately, cause alienation from Dutch society. Dutch society is not only relatively secular, but also simply not yet accustomed to their large Islamic population, which can make it hard for Dutch people to then form strong friendships with very traditional Muslims. Michael's modern approach to Islam allows him to stay connected with Turkish culture without alienating his Dutch peers.

Michael participates in a number of after school activities that also connect him with Dutch culture and Turkish culture. Michael is on a kickboxing team with a very diverse group of friends. Several of his teammates have Turkish backgrounds while the other teammates' families come from Surinam, Morocco, Portugal, as well as other countries (but not including native Dutch teammates). Interacting with these friends exposes him to more aspects of Turkish culture. He also has a part-time job where he works in the evenings. His work colleagues are primarily native Dutch people, allowing him to experience different aspects of Dutch culture. Michael's kickboxing teammates allow him to connect with Turkish culture, while his work colleagues allow him to connect to Dutch culture.

Each of the five aspects of Michael's life is infused with both Turkish culture and Dutch culture. In his school, after school activities, home life, religion, and neighborhood he is able to connect with both Dutch and Turkish culture. This gives him a balanced sense of identity. Of course, there are other ways of achieving this balance

without having each aspect of life infused with *both* Dutch culture and the culture of one's heritage.

2.3b Jane and Mark: Balance in the Whole

Each aspect of Michael's life is integrated with both Dutch culture and Turkish culture. This is perhaps the ideal way of developing a sense of connection to both parts of one's identity. Unfortunately, this is not possible for many (if not most) second and third generation immigrants in the Netherlands. Jane, age 20, and Mark, age 14, are brother and sister who have found a balance in their lives in a different way. Jane and Mark have Turkish heritage, but were born and raised in the Netherlands. Jane and Mark feel connected to both their Turkish identity and to their Dutch identity. They achieved this in a different way than Michael. Each of the five main aspects of Michael's life was infused with Dutch culture *and* with Turkish culture. For both Jane and Mark, there are aspects of their lives that are completely dominated by Dutch culture. At the same time, there are aspects of their lives that are completely dominated by Turkish culture. Thus, taken as a whole, Jane and Mark still find a balanced amount of interaction with Turkish culture as well as Dutch culture. This is what allows them to feel connected to both their Dutch identity and their Turkish identity. Let us examine their daily lives more closely. They will be framed around the five aspects of life that are important to developing identity: school, after school activities, neighborhood, home life, and religion.

For both Jane and Mark, their time at school is dominated by Dutch culture. Jane attends university and Mark goes to elementary school in the same city. The great majority of students at Jane's school are Caucasian. Although there are some students who are also children of immigrant families, she does not have any class time with these students. The majority of students at Mark's school are also Caucasian, and he does not have any Turkish friends at school. Thus, during school hours, Jane and Mark are able to connect with Dutch culture, but not at all with Turkish culture.

Mark and Jane's after school activities are also dominated by Dutch culture. Jane plays basketball on a team with other university students. Her teammates are all native Dutch youths. Mark plays soccer after school. Out of his thirteen teammates, only four players are not native Dutch boys. Of these four children of immigrant families, one is

Turkish. This allows Mark to have some interaction with Turkish culture, but this is still very little. Mark and Jane's after school activities allow them to connect with Dutch culture, but not with Turkish culture.

Mark and Jane's neighborhood is full of native Dutch families, and very few immigrant families. Most of the restaurants and cafés in their hometown serve Western food, and not Turkish food. Their time spent in their neighborhood, especially the time interacting neighbors, connects Jane and Mark to Dutch culture.

Although school, after school activities, and neighborhood all connect Mark and Jane to Dutch culture, they still feel connected to their Turkish identity because their home life and religious community are dominated by Turkish culture. At home, Mark and Jane's parents speak almost exclusively in Turkish to them. Although they often answer in Dutch, they are used to hearing Turkish spoken to them. Most of their meals are traditional Turkish dishes. Of course, they sometimes eat typical Dutch food or other Western foods, the majority of their dinner's are Turkish dishes. Their house is full of memorabilia brought back from Turkey. Every aspect of their home life is infused with Turkish culture. Their home life connects Mark and Jane to their Turkish identity.

Mark and Jane's religion also connects them to their Turkish identity. Both Mark and Jane consider themselves Muslim and they both regularly visit their mosque. Muslim culture is intrinsic to their Turkish heritage, and they both value their involvement in their local Islamic community in the Netherlands. Mark and Jane both feel that religion is the most important aspect of their lives that connects them to their Turkish identity.

Mark and Jane are positively integrated into Dutch society—they both feel connected to their Dutch identity, but they also feel connected to their Turkish identity. Each aspect of their life taken separately does not expose them to both Turkish and Dutch culture. Despite this, if all five aspects of their daily lives are taken as a whole, there is still balance of exposure and interaction with both Dutch and Turkish culture. This balance allows Mark and Jane to feel connected to both their Dutch and Turkish identities.

2.4 Comparing Imbalance to Balance: The case study of two brothers

The first thing that I discovered when interviewing is that small differences in daily life can dramatically influence a youth's sense of identity. I interviewed two brothers in order to have a close comparison. Despite having been raised in the same house, by the same parents, in the same neighborhood, their senses of identity are very different. They are both third generation immigrants from Morocco who were born and raised in the Netherlands. John, the eleven-year-old considers himself "half Dutch and half Moroccan." John feels strong connection to both his Dutch culture and his Dutch identity, and at the same time, he feels a strong connection with Moroccan culture and his Moroccan identity. By contrast, his fourteen-year-old brother, Bob, considers himself Moroccan. Bob feels little connection to Dutch culture and his Dutch identity, but he feels a strong connection with Moroccan culture and his Moroccan identity. How did two brothers develop so differently? One theory to explain this could be their age difference. It is possible that John, in a few years time, will also begin identifying more with Moroccan culture. However, this would imply that Bob used to feel more connected to Dutch culture and no longer does. Bob verified that this is not true and he identified himself as Moroccan since he was younger than his younger brother. This means that it is unlikely that the age difference can explain their different senses of identity. Thus, it is important to examine the other differences between John and Bob's lives in order to understand how they developed such different senses of identity. Since religion, home life, neighborhood, school, and after school activities are five of the most important cultural aspects of life that help shape a youth's identity, let us compare Bob and John in terms of these five aspects.

Let us start with home life, since they have the same experiences in this aspect of life. Both boys, of course, have the same parents. The mother, having grown up in the Netherlands, considers herself Dutch "with an Arab flavor". The father, who moved to the Netherlands as a teenager, still calls himself simply, Moroccan. Their house looks like any other house in the Netherlands—Western style décor, furniture, and architecture. Inside the home, they speak mostly Dutch, but also some Arabic. While both sons can understand Arabic, they do not speak the language. Their mother estimates that the sons hear 80% Dutch in the home and 20% Arabic. At dinner, the family eats both traditional Moroccan food as well as Western food, including many typical Dutch meals. The

mother estimates that 60% of dinners are Moroccan dishes, while the other 40% are Western food. When looking at food, language, style, and parents as a whole, both sons and the mother agree that the home life is more connected to Dutch culture than to Moroccan culture. I would also agree with this assessment. Clearly, there is a connection to Moroccan culture, but the presence of Dutch culture is stronger.

The second aspect that the boys have in common is religion. In the Muslim community, Islam is not simply a religion, but can be an entire way of being and culture. According to my research, Islam is what is most important for Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands to feel connected to Moroccan culture. Although John and Bob's family is Muslim, only father visits the mosque with regularity. Consequently, Bob and John only feel a small connection to their Moroccan identity through Islam. The mother does not consider herself particularly religious, and neither do the sons. Occasionally, the father brings the sons to the mosque, but all the religious ceremonies are performed in Arabic so the sons struggle to understand them. Further, the Imam (a religious leader in Islam) at their mosque speaks very little Dutch. He is supposed to be a source of guidance and counseling, but the mother states that he has no understanding of the "Dutch system," including the business world, the education system, or even the culture in the Netherlands. Further, the mother said that the Imam certainly does not have an understanding of the challenges of being a third generation Muslim immigrant in the Netherlands. Thus, while the boys consider themselves Muslim, they are otherwise not strongly connected to their local Islamic community. This means that religion provides the boys with only a small connection to Moroccan culture.

After school activities are another important aspect in developing identity. The older son, Bob plays squash and does horseback riding. These sports are generally more expensive and are considered "elite sports". Unfortunately, the average socio-economic class of the immigrant population in the Netherlands is lower than the average socio-economic class of the native Dutch population. As a result, Bob's teammates and other friends from these activities are all native Dutch children. John plays soccer, which is usually a more integrated sport because it is not only cheaper and more accessible for families of all socio-economic classes, but also because it is simply more popular. Despite this, because John has excelled to a highly competitive level, his teammates are

also exclusively native Dutch children. Thus, there after school activities provide neither boy with a sense of connection to Moroccan culture.

For these boys, their involvement in after school activities affects another important aspect of developing an identity, which is the neighborhood. The boys' neighborhood is full of immigrant families primarily from Morocco, but also from Turkey, Surinam, and other countries. A large percentage of the stores and restaurants are owned by Moroccan families and they sell many traditional Moroccan goods and serve typical Moroccan food. Unfortunately, both boys are so involved with their school activities they both said that they did not have many close friends in the neighborhood. After school they go straight to their sports, come home for dinner, and then do homework until bed time. There is little opportunity for them to socialize with the young neighbors. Thus, while their neighborhood would provide a good opportunity for them to connect with their Moroccan identity, neither boy actually spends much time in the neighborhood.

The last aspect that needs to be compared for these two boys is their schools. This is only aspect that their experiences are truly different. In their home life they both have some connection to Moroccan culture, but the connection to Dutch culture is stronger. They both have some connection to Moroccan culture through religion, but, however important this is, it is still a rather small connection because they are not involved in their local Islamic community. They both live in a neighborhood full of immigrant families, especially from Morocco, but neither spend time socializing with neighbors because of their extracurricular activities. These activities include competitive soccer, squash, and horseback riding with only native Dutch teammates, so both boys have a strong connection to Dutch culture through their after school activities. Thus, given these first four aspects (home life, religion, neighborhood, and after school activities), both boys have a lot of exposure to Dutch culture, but limited exposure to Moroccan culture. Let us compare the last aspect—their schools.

John attends a school in his neighborhood that has developed the title of being a “Black School” because the great majority of the students are from immigrant families. Although the name “Black School” has a negative connotation for many people, John associates no negative stereotype with the name, so he is happy at his school. There are

many other students who come from Moroccan families, so many of his friends are also second or third generation Moroccan immigrants. Through these friends, and spending time with their families, John can feel very connected to Moroccan culture. Thus, for John, school is an important aspect of his identity development, because it connects him with Moroccan culture.

John's strong connection to Moroccan culture through his school is important, because it balances out the four other aspects of his life that are more dominated by Dutch culture. This balance allows John to have a connection with Dutch and Moroccan culture. In talking with him, he was clearly confident in his own identity as "half Moroccan and half Dutch." He takes his identity very literally—his father calls himself Moroccan and his mother calls herself Dutch, so he must be half and half. In Barry's model, John would certainly fit the category of being positively integrated. John is clearly invested in Dutch society as he has no plans of ever moving to Morocco or leaving the Netherlands at all. At the same time, he feels connected to his Moroccan heritage. John's five aspects (home life, religion, neighborhood, after school activities, and school) give him balanced involvement with and exposure to both Moroccan and Dutch culture, thus giving him a balanced sense of identity.

Bob, on the other hand, attends a school in a different city. The city is not at all multicultural, and so his high school is also not diverse. At school, all of his classmates and friends are native Dutch and they are all Caucasian. Thus, for John, school exposes him to Dutch culture, and not at all to Moroccan culture.

Bob's five aspects are then unbalanced, because he has significantly more exposure to and interaction with Dutch culture than Moroccan culture. Although this might suggest that this would make Bob identify much more with Dutch culture, he actually feels little connection to Dutch culture at all. Bob identifies himself as completely Moroccan. Through my research I have found that this reaction is not at all uncommon for third generation immigrant youths who are overexposed to Dutch culture, and underexposed to the culture of their heritage. I have theorized that this could be a symptom of the Dutch cultural tendency to polarize immigrants and non-immigrants. As explained in the first chapter (that discussed the challenges of being a second or third generation immigrant in the Netherlands), the Dutch use polarizing rhetoric for native

Dutch people and “outsiders”. While Americans are used to “hybrid identities,” such as being “Irish-American,” or “Chinese-American,” the Dutch do not have a long enough history of immigration to have “hybrid-identities” be accepted as normal. Thus, third generation youths, like Bob, can feel pressured to choose one country to identity with.

But, why did Bob choose to align himself with Morocco? Given that Bob was born and raised in the Netherlands, speaks very little Arabic, only visits Morocco every two years, is not involved in the Islamic community, and has few other strong connections to Moroccan culture, it is surprising that he identifies himself as Moroccan. Immigration is not only still relatively new in the Netherlands, but it is also primarily from non-Western countries, thus, the great majority of immigrants in the Netherlands are non-white. This means that even third generation immigrants will still be seen as “outsiders” simply because they are not white. It is extremely difficult to feel at home in a place where everyone sees you as different.

Bob does not at all feel ostracized by his friends, but he is aware that he is seen as different. Feeling “different,” even without a negative connotation, can easily make a youth feel alienated. Bob has very few friends who are also from immigrant families, so he does not have many people who he can discuss this challenge with. As stated before, the Imam at his mosque also does not understand this challenge. It seems that Bob identifies himself as Moroccan not so much because he feels strongly connected to Moroccan culture, but actually because he feels alienated from Dutch culture. Interestingly, when I discussed this theory with Bob’s mother in a separate interview, she agreed. Bob’s five aspects (religion, home life, school, neighborhood, and after school activities) are dominated by Dutch culture, which has created an imbalance. This imbalance has made him feel alienated by Dutch culture and caused him to align himself entirely with his Moroccan heritage.

2.5 A Different type of Imbalance: A Case Study of Two Siblings

Like John and Bob, Sarah and Peter are two siblings who also have very different senses of identity. Peter is twelve years old, which is only one year older than John. Peter, like John, feels connected to his Moroccan heritage *and* he feels connected to his Dutch identity. Sarah, like Bob, is fourteen years old. Also like Bob, Sarah does not feel

connected to Dutch culture and only sees herself as Moroccan. Despite these similarities, Sarah's imbalanced sense of identity was caused by very different reasons than Bob's imbalanced sense of identity. Bob felt alienated by Dutch society because he was surrounded by Dutch culture in every aspect of his daily life and rarely could interact with Moroccan culture. This alienation caused him to see himself as Moroccan. Sarah does not feel connected to Dutch culture because she does *not* interact with Dutch culture on a daily basis. The five aspects of her daily life are infused with Moroccan culture, almost exclusively. Thus, Sarah does not feel connected to the Dutch part of her identity because she is *isolated* from Dutch society. Let us compare Peter and Sarah's daily lives, as divided by school, religion, home life, neighborhood and after school activities.

First, let us examine their schools. Peter attends a school that is very diverse. There are many native Dutch students, but there are also many students from immigrant families, including families from Morocco. As a result, when Peter is exposed he can connect to both Dutch culture and to Moroccan culture. By contrast, Sarah's school has many more students from immigrant families than native Dutch students. Most of the students have Turkish or Moroccan heritage. This means that when Sarah is at school she can connect with her Moroccan part of her identity, but she does not have much opportunity to interact or connect with Dutch culture.

At home, both Sarah and Peter are able to connect with their Moroccan heritage. Although they mostly speak Dutch with their parents and with each other, the rest of their home life is infused with Moroccan culture. They eat a wide variety of types of food, including a large amount of Moroccan food. Rarely, however, do they eat typical Western or Dutch dishes. Their house is decorated with a Moroccan style. Further, they rarely celebrate Dutch traditions. Sarah and Peter are able to connect with their Moroccan identity when they are at home, but they do not have much interaction with Dutch culture through their home life.

Through their home life, Sarah and Peter have also become involved with their local Islamic community. Sarah and Peter are both practicing Muslims. The whole family follows most Islamic practices, although they are also not entirely traditional. For Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands, Islamic culture is intrinsic to Moroccan culture.

Sarah and Peter both said that their Muslim identity was the most important aspect of their life that connected them to their Moroccan identity.

After school, Sarah and Peter spend their time very differently. In all the other interviewee analysis, we have reviewed neighborhood and after school activities separately, but for Peter, these two aspects are combined. Peter usually plays soccer in the neighborhood with other young boys. He does not play on a formal team, but every afternoon he plays soccer with his neighbors. His neighbors are very diverse, including native Dutch families, Turkish families, Moroccan families, Surinamese families, etc. There is no single dominant ethnicity in his neighborhood. Consequently, the boys he plays soccer with are also ethnically diverse. This means that Peter's after school activities and neighborhood connect him to both Dutch culture and to Moroccan culture.

Sarah, by contrast, does not spend much time in their neighborhood at all. After school, she spends time with friends from school, usually at their houses. As discussed, her school does not have many native Dutch students. Consequently, she has very few friends that she spends time with after school who are ethnically Dutch. Most of her friends that she spends time with after school are Turkish or Moroccan. Thus, her after school activities allow her to connect with her Moroccan identity, but these activities do not connect her to her Dutch identity. While her neighborhood *would* give her an opportunity to connect with Dutch culture, she does not regularly spend time in her neighborhood.

As is clear, Peter has many more opportunities to interact with *both* Dutch culture and Moroccan culture. This helps him have a balanced sense of identity—he considers himself “Moroccan-Dutch or Dutch Moroccan, depending on which one [he] happen[s] to say first”. Sarah does not have many regular opportunities to interact with Dutch culture. She socialized almost exclusively with other youths of immigrant families, including a great majority of Moroccan friends. As a result, she is *isolated* from Dutch culture and considers herself Moroccan. She does not identify at all with Dutch culture and does not feel like she is a part of Dutch society.

2.6 Alternative Theories Can Not Be Ignored

Now that I have presented my reasoning for how these youths established their sense of identity, it is important to recognize that there are *countless* other variables and possible explanations. This section will present a few other possible explanations for some of the trends that appeared in the research:

2.6a Age and Choice

Two things that I have not discussed are *choice* and *age*, which, in my opinion are actually related. As adolescents grow older they can *choose* who they spend their time with. As seen in the example of Sarah, although her neighborhood would have provided an opportunity to connect to Dutch culture, she chose to spend her time with her Moroccan and Turkish friends. Further, even though most of the students at her school are from immigrant families, there are also many native Dutch students. Despite this, she *chose* (even if it was subconscious) to have friends who were all from Turkish and Moroccan families. Please note that this is not intended as a criticism—it would be quite understandable for children of immigrant families to form friendships quickly with each other, because they have shared so many of the same experiences, including having faced similar challenges in Dutch society. Thus, it is important to acknowledge that my model does not account for choices made by the youths. This is especially important when considering the older group of youths who are able to make more choices themselves as to who they spend their time with.

2.6b Age and Political Awareness

The issues of age and choice are further complicated by political awareness. As youths grow older, they become more aware of political issues. As a child of Turkish or Moroccan parents grows older, they may become more conscience of the stereotypes surrounding Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands. John (who is 11 years old) and Peter (who is twelve year old) feel connected to both their heritage and to their Dutch identity. By contrast, both their older siblings (who are both 14 years old) do not feel connected with their Dutch identity. Bob feels alienated by Dutch society, and Sarah feels isolated from Dutch society. This might not be because of how they spend their time, but it might be because they have become more aware of the negative stereotypes of Muslim

immigrants in the Netherlands. Thus, increased age, combined with increased political awareness, might make second and third generation immigrant youths feel disconnected from Dutch culture, and consequently their Dutch identity. I do not have concrete evidence supporting or disproving this theory, but I think it is very plausible.

2.6c Is this Just a Phase?

Within the span of one interview, one boy changed his answer from “I am definitely Moroccan—a Moroccan living in the Netherlands. I am not Dutch” to “Actually, I am just Dutch with a Moroccan background.” This exemplifies how much adolescents are still changing and developing their views. It is normal for a person to be constantly changing their views of themselves, especially for youths who are still developing. It is important to recognize that my research only captures one small moment in the lives of the interviewees. It is possible that if I continued to interview this same group every five years for rest of their lives, that their answers would regularly change, develop, strengthen, or weaken. The balance in their lives will be continually changing. For example, a new job, marriage, children, moving neighborhoods, or any other change in daily routine will change the balance of their lives. My research is based on interviews with only ten youths. While it is possible that my theories are true, it is possible that there are also other explanations. Let us continue to the next section which discusses the role of schools in youth identity development.

Chapter 3

The Role of Schools

Now it is clear that a *balance* is necessary. Further, it is established that it is *possible* to create this balance through a wide variety of ways. But, how would it be possible to ensure that every youth had the opportunity to find this balance? What institution, person, family member, coach, or teacher has the capability of helping youth find a balance? To answer this question, it is useful to examine Bronfenbrenner's Cultural-Ecological model.

3.1 The Bronfenbrenner Model Explained

Bronfenbrenner viewed youth development as the progressive accommodation throughout the lifetime between a child and their changing environment. A child's "environment" can be seen as topologically nested structures ranging from *microsystem* to *exosystem* to *macrosystem*. Of course, these layers overlap and change and grow throughout a child's lifespan, but considering them separately allows for clearer analysis of youth development. First, there is microsystem level, which includes all of a child's most intimate social spheres that **directly** affect a child's development. Family, school, day-care center, and after-school activities are all microsystems. Second is the exosystem, which includes the neighborhood, the parent's social network, and the work world. These exosystems all **indirectly** influence the child's development. Last, is the macrosystem, which includes societal ideologies and cultural values. The macrosystem is also an **indirect** influence in a child's development.¹⁵

3.2 The Potential of Schools in Helping Youth Develop their Identity

I have concluded that when considering how it might be possible to facilitate youth finding a balance in their identity, I think the focus should be on the microsystems.

¹⁵ Eldering, Lotty. "Ethnic Minority Students in the Netherlands from a Cultural-Ecological Perspective." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 3, Ethnicity and School Performance: Complicating the Immigrant/Involuntary Minority Typology (Sep., 1997), p. 335.

I have come to this conclusion for a variety of reasons. First, in my interviews, most students cited examples of microsystems that helped them feel connected to Dutch and Turkish or Moroccan culture, such as after-school activities, their home life, etc. Second, as Bronfenbrenner points out, the microsystem level is the only level that *directly* affects a child's development.¹⁶ Third, the microsystem has the most flexibility for immediate action and change. That is, even if I were to conclude that the most important thing for Muslim youth in the Netherlands would be to change the societal ideologies of the Netherlands, that would be a long, slow process and would not benefit the current generation of youngsters. Neither is changing the neighborhoods or the work world (on the exosystem level) something that can happen in the short-term. Microsystems, on the other hand, can be changed *now* to help the current Muslim youth to find a balanced sense of identity. This leaves the question, which type of microsystem has the most potential for having the greatest impact in helping youth find their identity.

Schools appear to have the most potential for a variety of reasons. First, in the Netherlands, attending school is required by law, even if a student does not yet have Dutch citizenship. Thus, unlike extracurricular activities and other microsystems, the school is a microsystem that *every* youth is involved in. Second, the school is probably the only microsystem that can influence *other* microsystems. For example, schools often coordinate social events for students, such as dance or field trip.

3.3 Schools in the Netherlands

The majority of second or third generation immigrant youths in the Netherlands attend the Black Schools. For this reason, my research was originally focused on Black Schools and their role in immigrant youths developing their sense of identity. As I began researching I discovered that, in Utrecht, twenty one Black Schools have participated in a government sponsored project to become "Schools in the World". Schools in the World were originally Black Schools, but earned this new name by participating in a governmentally approved integration project. This type of school is becoming increasingly popular in the Netherlands. In fact, many administrators of Schools in the World will continue to appear in Utrecht and also be in other cities within the next

¹⁶ Elderling, 336.

decade. As such, I decided to reshape this discussion in order to compare the roles of Black Schools and Schools in the World in the development of immigrant youths identity. The question is, do these schools inhibit or facilitate positive integration (connectedness to Dutch identity and to heritage) for second and third generation immigrant youths from Turkey and Morocco? Further, in comparing Black Schools and Schools in the World, is one type of school better at facilitating positive integration?

3.4 Similarities between Black Schools and Schools in the World

To begin the comparison of Black Schools and Schools in the World, it is important to consider what they have in common in terms of facilitating or inhibiting a second or third generation immigrant youth in finding their identity. My research¹⁷ shows that there are two main positive aspects and one main negative aspect about Black Schools and Schools in the World. The first positive aspects is that both of these types of schools allow students to stay connected to Turkish and Moroccan culture because they are surrounded by other Turkish and Moroccan youth. This allows them to learn more about their heritage simply through their friends. The second positive aspect is that the second and third generation immigrant youths have the opportunity to empathize with each other about the challenges of being a third generation immigrant youth. This allows them to feel less isolated, and more confident in their identity. The negative aspect that both these schools have is the risk, of not having the opportunity to establish a connection with Dutch culture because there are very few native Dutch students at these schools. Following is my findings and discussion of these issues:

Let us begin by discussing the first positive aspect mentioned above. By attending a Black School or a School in the World, third generation immigrant youth are more directly connected to their parents' culture simply by being exposed to more Turkish and Moroccan culture on a daily basis, because the majority of the students are also from immigrant families (often from Turkey and Morocco). For a Turkish child to speak with their other Turkish friends about family traditions, customs, and typical meals, they can learn more about Turkish culture. This is important for a child of an immigrant

¹⁷ Unfortunately, Schools in the World are so new that there is no quantitative data available to compare Black Schools and Schools in the World.

family to be learning about their heritage from people *besides* their own parents. This way, their Turkish (or Moroccan) part of their identity is not wholly dependent on their parents' experiences and personal habits. To insert a parallel example from my own experience, I began to feel infinitely more connected with my Dutch identity when I started to learn about Dutch culture from sources besides my mother. I was able to claim my Dutch identity as my *own* and not always say, "I am American, but my mother is Dutch." It is important for an adolescent to feel that they have ownership of their identity, and it is not dependent on what small taste of Turkey or Morocco they experience in their parents' house.

Consider all the ways in which a Turkish girl, for example, would learn about Turkish culture by speaking with other Turkish classmates:

Adolescents complain about the Turkish food their mothers' cook and brag about the delicious Turkish treats they make together for the holidays. They chat about what famous places they visited on family vacations in Turkey. They recount every detail of the beautiful traditional Turkish wedding they attended. They share each others clothes and jewelry, including the cute earrings bought in a Turkish market. They talk about which embarrassing expressions their father uses when he is cursing in Turkish.

In all of these conversations "Turkey" or "Turkish culture" was not the main topic of conversation. Every reference to Turkey could have been removed and it would have been a standard conversation between any two adolescent girls. That said, the references to Turkish culture are extremely important in their development of identity. By having Turkish experiences outside of their parents' home, their own Turkish identity is independent from their parents' Turkish identity. The sense that your identity is unique and that it is simply *yours* is important in feeling confident and grounded. This confidence in your own identity is important in achieving positive integration (which requires maintaining self while also connecting with the new society). I think it is important to feel that your connection to your heritage is not limited to what you have learned from your parents, because that gives you more confidence with your identity. From my own personal experience, I felt much more connected to my Dutch part of my identity when I began traveling to the Netherlands on my own. It made me feel more confident to have Dutch experiences that were not directly related to my mother's

experiences. Thus, for a Moroccan or Turkish child, attending a Black School or a School in the World can help them maintain their sense of self because their Turkish or Moroccan identity will be independent from their parents' identity.

Another reason that going to a Black School or a School in the World can positively reinforce development of identity for a Turkish or Moroccan child is that the students will be able to share in the experience of *being* a second or third generation immigrant in the Netherlands. In my paper on integration I discovered that the challenges for a second or third generation immigrant are unique to the challenges of being a first generation immigrant. Most of the students in Black Schools and Schools in the World are second, third, or even fourth generation immigrants, usually from Morocco or Turkey. They can empathize together on some of the challenges of their position.

One interview discussed the importance of being able to empathize with other friends who are second and third generation immigrants. She is a 15 year old girl who attended a Black School in Utrecht said she liked going to a multicultural school for the “little things”. The first example she thought of was that she had other friends who had to deal with being a translator for their parents. She said it was so refreshing to be able to talk about the annoyance and sometimes small embarrassment of translating for your mother at a store with someone who had had the same experiences. But these “little things” can not be written off as insignificant. Often, these small irritating moments are reflective of bigger issues. As this student and I became more comfortable talking, she admitted that while she complained about these little embarrassments, the real burden was having to be a translator for adult matters. When she was twelve she was already helping her mother translate tax forms. Her parents even brought her when they signed the deed to their house. She felt so much pressure to understand adult Dutch words at such a young age. She is connected to other children of immigrant parents in that many of them were forced to grow up quickly in order to help their parents.¹⁸ The weight of that burden is lightened when you know that you are surrounded by other people that have shared the same struggle. Your problems are not so big when you are not alone and it is good to not feel alone at school—a place you must go every day.

¹⁸ Informal interview. “Girl A” in Lombok in Utrecht, the Netherlands in Spring 2008.

There are many other examples similar to the one above. A 19 year old interviewee (with Turkish heritage) had gone to a school with mostly Caucasian classmates and only for his teenage years did he go to a much more multicultural school. He said it was refreshing to not have to explain Islamic holidays to his classmates every year. He said, “Adolescence is an awkward time for everyone, but to be one of the only Turkish boys in a white school—it is exhausting to *always* be the weird kid, with the weird parents, and weird religion.”¹⁹ Immigrants are still the minority in the Netherlands, and racial stereotypes make children of immigrants immediately seen as outsiders. For a young Turkish or Moroccan child to grow in the Netherlands feeling constantly aware of being “different” it seems healthy to have a place in your daily routine where you are not so different.

Of course, it is healthy to be around people who are different than you, but it is equally important and necessary to be able to spend time with people who you have more in common with. Positive integration requires not only the connection to Dutch culture, but also the maintenance of self. Spending time with more people who have shared your experiences can help you strengthen your sense of self. Thus, attending a Black School or a School in the World can help child of immigrant parents to achieve positive integration.

Now that I have identified two positive aspects of attending a Black School or a School in the World, it is important to acknowledge the counter-argument. Many students who attend Black Schools also live in multicultural neighborhoods, where they eat at ethnic restaurants, and can shop in Turkish or Moroccan clothing stores. If they have that sense of inclusion in their neighborhood, stores, and restaurants, perhaps the fact that they exclusively interact with Turkish or Moroccan culture inhibits them from achieving positive integration. As seen in the example of Sarah in Chapter 2, if a youth does not take time to experience and become involved with Dutch culture, they will lose any sense of connection to their Dutch identity. There is a big difference between living *next* to another culture and living *with* another culture. To achieve positive integration there must be a strong reciprocal relationship with society. Black School and Schools in

¹⁹ Informal interview. “Boy A” in Lombok in Utrecht, the Netherlands in Spring 2008.

the World and multicultural neighborhoods and shopping centers pose the risk of allowing Turkish and Moroccan youth to live without having to interact with culturally Dutch youth at all.

Ultimately, the negative aspects of attending a Black School or a School in the World as a Turkish or Moroccan student seem smaller than the potential benefits. It seems unlikely that a student would close themselves from Dutch culture, because there are so many opportunities to be involved in Dutch culture all around them. Going to the movies, or participating in club sports, or attending high level education will all lead Turkish or Moroccan youth to stumble upon more Dutch culture. On the other hand, their exposure to Turkish and Moroccan culture is still isolated to the Black School and multicultural neighborhoods. It seems important to have their school time be in an environment in which they can share more common experiences.

3.5 Which is better: Black School or Schools in the World?

From my research I have concluded that Schools in the World provide a more positive experience for Muslim Youth for four main reasons. First, Schools in the World embrace multiculturalism in their school philosophy, while Black Schools tend to ignore their diversity. This means that every teacher and administrator is committed to creating an accepting environment for students with diverse backgrounds. Second, Schools in the World have adjusted their curriculum significantly to teach the importance of multiculturalism, allowing students to feel more confident with their own diverse backgrounds. Black Schools have also adjusted their curriculum to include more languages offered, but this is only a small step in promoting multicultural learning. Third, School in the World teachers participate in “Sensitivity Training,” which prepares them to handle the cultural diversity among students *and* parents. For example, School in the World teachers are more prepared for the fact that many of their students’ parents do not speak Dutch at home. Fourth, diverse schools, like Black Schools, are stereotyped as “less academically rigorous,” or, more simply, worse schools. Schools in the World proactively fight this stereotype, which allows their students to take more pride in their education. Thus, based on these four main things, I conclude that Schools in the World provide a more positive experience for Muslim Youth.

The structure of this section is divided into four main sub-sections. Each sub-section is a topic that I compared between Black Schools and Schools in the World. The first is “General Philosophy,” the second is “Curriculum,” the third is “Sensitivity Training,” and the last is “Combating Stereotypes”. I conclude with some final remarks on this issue. The discussion begins below:

3.5a General Philosophy

The general philosophy of a school is important in what kind of experience the students will have, because *all* teachers and administrators will be committed to this philosophy. Black Schools and Schools in the World have very different philosophies on multiculturalism. According to interviews in Lombok, teachers and administrators at Black Schools ignore the fact that their students have such multicultural backgrounds. I interviewed an employee at Amsterdamse Straatweg Wijkcentrum who said, “I think teachers and administrators *think* that they are doing the students a favor by ignoring multiculturalism. They think that if they just treat them ‘normally’ that they will feel included in Dutch society. Unfortunately, it just leaves adolescents confused.”²⁰ By not discussing multiculturalism, students feel insecure about their own diverse background.

Schools in the World, by contrast, do not ignore their multiculturalism. Schools in the World embrace their diversity. Their philosophy is that the school should be a safe place of learning, where no one is teased or bothered because of who they are or where they come from. By accepting that everyone is different and unique, you have actually created a commonality—everyone has “being different” in common. Every student and every family heritage is different, and *that* is what all the students at the Schools in the World have in common. All teachers and administrators at Schools in the World are committed to this philosophy, which creates a positive and stable environment for their Muslim students. Thus, Muslim students may have a more positive experience at a School in the World (rather than a Black School) because of the philosophy to actively embrace multiculturalism in every aspect of learning.

²⁰ Informal interview. “Employee A” in Amsterdamse Straatweg Wijkcentrum in Utrecht, the Netherlands in April 2008.

3.5b Curriculum

Both Black Schools and the Schools in the World have adjusted their curriculums to better accommodate multiculturalism. Black Schools have expanded the foreign languages offered to include Arabic. While this is an important step, learning a language is not equivalent to learning about a culture. Schools in the World have not only made embracing multiculturalism their school philosophy—it is also a large part of the school curriculum. Consider the example below:

My host brother is a student at a School in the World and next week they will be showing the parents the results of a school-wide project. The students have been learning about different countries by studying them one at a time for two weeks each. They learned about the history, culture, traditions, foods, famous places, and much more. As a final project they turned each classroom into one of these countries. Parents and friends have been invited to the final presentation, where they are invited to “travel to the different countries”. Walking from classroom to classroom parents will see decorations, hear music, and taste food from each of these countries. These types of cultural classes and projects are crucial to a child’s development. In my opinion, it is not so important that the child actually remembers the history lessons on each of these countries. It is *very* important though that the child learns that learning about other cultures is interesting and valuable. The child needs to be used to experiencing cultural differences that seem foreign so that they grow-up more open-minded. Teaching an older person to be open-minded is infinitely more difficult.

3.5c Sensitivity Training

Youth in Schools in the World and Black Schools will have very different interactions with their teachers because the staff is trained differently. According to employees at the Amsterdamse Straatweg Wijkcentrum, at Black Schools, teachers are generally not provided with any additional training to handle multiculturalism. One example I found in my interviews at the Wijkcentrum is significance of the different parenting styles across different cultures. In many Muslim cultures, it is common for a child to come home from school, do their homework, given dinner, and then sent to play outside until bedtime. This is especially common for young Muslim boys, because the

daughters are expected to help with domestic chores. Muslim parents generally see child rearing as a community effort. As a result, Muslim parents are usually less directly involved with their children's school work. In both Turkish and Moroccan culture, parents are simply not expected to or used to being highly involved in their children's schoolwork. By contrast, Dutch families tend to see child rearing as a very private affair. Dutch parents are also very accustomed to being involved every night with their child's homework. This may seem like a minor cultural difference, but it greatly affects the Muslim youth's performance in school. Dutch teachers at Black Schools expect that all parents will be as involved in schoolwork as most Dutch parents are. Teachers in Black Schools will assign projects and homework with the expectation that their students will receive ample help and guidance from their parents. Without the parental help, students of Muslim families often fall behind in their school work because their parents are simply not accustomed to the Western notion that parents should be highly involved in their child's work. Teachers at Schools in the World go through what is called "sensitivity training" so that they can discuss and prepare for these cultural differences. For example, often children of immigrant families do not speak Dutch at home, and School in the World teachers are prepared to adjust their homework to accommodate this. Thus, the lack of sensitivity training at a Black School can sometimes cause students of Muslim families to perform more poorly in their school work.

3.5d Combating Stereotypes: What is in a name?

In my hometown (Washington, D.C.), there are a lot of different schools. From a very young age, every student in the D.C. area knew the stereotypes that went along with each of these schools. The first question in any small talk between students at after school activities is, "What school do you go to?" Students can not help but to use the name of a school to stereotype the student immediately: the St. Alban's boys were dumb jocks, the National Cathedral School girls were snobby, the Wilson kids were tough city kids, etcetera. I do not believe that this type of interaction between students is unique to D.C. I use this example from my own life, because I think parents often overlook how the reputation of a school (whether it is true or not) will affect their child's experience outside of school. Unfortunately, Black Schools in the Netherlands have developed a

reputation for being of lower quality. There is a stereotype that Black Schools are underfunded, with teachers who are not committed in their students' learning experience, and overridden with "immigrant children". Only one of the youths interviewed for this project said that he did not associate the name "Black School" with any negative connotation or stereotypes. All the other interviewees, even those who were only 11 and 12 years old, associated the name "Black School" with negative stereotypes.

Schools in the World began as Black Schools, but earned the title of "School in the World" by participating in various integration programs. This includes changing their curriculum, their staff training, and even making a quota for students from diverse backgrounds to *guarantee* a multicultural group of students. Schools in the World are now appearing in the papers, and quickly getting the reputation for being new, edgy, high-quality schools. It is important for Muslim youth to be able to feel confident about their educational background, and, perhaps, Schools in the World provide a greater source of pride because they have a better reputation than Black Schools do. That said, the argument could also be made that an edgy name is exactly that—just an edgy name. If Schools in the World do not prove that they actually *are* better than Black School, the name will become meaningless.

3.6 Final Remarks on Schools:

Of course, I recognize that these are generalizations about Black Schools and Schools in the World, but I think it is still safe to conclude that Muslim youth are more likely to have a more positive experience at a School in the World, rather than at a Black School. Schools in the World have a more positive philosophy of embracing multiculturalism, providing stability and confidence for Muslim students, which is particularly important given their identity confusions. Also, Schools in the World have included multiculturalism in their core curriculum, teaching Muslim students at a young age to not only be proud of their own background, but to also be open-minded to other cultures. Teachers at Schools in the World are trained to handle the cultural differences between Dutch families and immigrant families so that students will continue to perform well in school. Lastly, Schools in the World give their students a source of pride because

they have gained a reputation of being high-quality and unique. I do not write this chapter to criticize Black Schools, but actually to present an opportunity for change and growth. Schools in the World *started* as Black Schools and worked hard to earn their new title. If more people knew about Schools in the World and how great they are, maybe there would be a greater movement to transform more Black Schools into Schools in the World.

Conclusions:

Each chapter appears to be distinct, but the conclusions are all highly related. The first chapter revealed that it is surprisingly hard to be a second or third generation Turkish or Moroccan immigrant youth in the Netherlands. It is difficult to achieve positive integration, or in other words, a sense of connection to one's heritage as well as a sense of connection to Dutch culture. This means that it is hard for second and third generation immigrant youths to find their identity. The second chapter revealed that there are many ways to form identity. My research showed that identity is formed in five areas of daily life: home life, school, after school activities, religion, and neighborhood. I concluded that second and third generation immigrant youths have a balanced sense of identity when they have a balanced amount of interaction with Dutch culture and with the culture of their heritage in these five areas. The third chapter examined the schools in the Netherlands in order to discover which types of schools provide a positive environment for second and third generation immigrants. I concluded that Black Schools provide a positive environment simply by being multicultural, while Schools in the World provide an even more positive environment by embracing their multiculturalism.

My research is limited to a small number of interviews conducted in a short time frame, but I still think my work can be valuable to the Netherlands, particularly to those who are interested in education. If more teachers and school administrators understood the challenges of being a second or third generation immigrant in the Netherlands and the process of developing a sense of identity, perhaps they could better facilitate these youths in finding a balanced sense of identity. Further, if more educators saw the positive environment provided by the Schools in the World, maybe more similar projects would be created and better supported.

Even if this project does not influence educators or school administrator, I hope it will at least show that there is much more research and literature needed on this subject. If nothing else, I hope that my work will make someone else interested in continuing to investigate these issues.

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Appendix A
(Source: The European Education Directory)

STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION SYSTEM

Pre-higher education:

Duration of compulsory education:

Age of entry: 5

Age of exit: 16

Structure of school system:

Primary

Type of school providing this education: Basisonderwijs (Primary School)

Length of program in years: 8

Age level from: 4 to: 12

Junior Secondary

Type of school providing this education: Junior General Secondary Education (MAVO)

Length of program in years: 4

Age level from: 12 to: 16

Certificate/diploma awarded: MAVO Diploma

Senior Secondary

Type of school providing this education: Senior Secondary Education (HAVO)

Length of program in years: 5

Age level from: 12 to: 17

Certificate/diploma awarded: HAVO Diploma

Prevocational

Type of school providing this education: Voorbereidend Beroepsonderwijs (VBO)
(Preparatory Vocational Education)

Length of program in years: 4

Age level from: 12 to: 16

Certificate/diploma awarded: VBO Diploma

Vocational

Type of school providing this education: Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs (Senior
Secondary Vocational Education)

Length of program in years: 4

Age level from: 16 to: 20

Certificate/diploma awarded: MBO Diploma

Pre-university

Type of school providing this education: University Preparatory Education (VWO)

Length of program in years: 6

Age level from: 12 to: 18

Certificate/diploma awarded: VWO Diploma