Stereotypes about China in Dutch Primary Schools: The Role of Textbooks and Teachers in Perpetuating a Prejudiced Discourse on China

Figure 1 Front Page Workbook Theme 3

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Abstract

Primary school textbooks are filled with images and text that provide information about other countries, even if the intention of those books is not to teach about world orientation, but how to read and write. This thesis studied Dutch "Lijn 3" reading and writing books of Malmberg through Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA), which encompasses both textual Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Visual Discourse Analysis (VDA), and found that there is a significant amount of information on China within them. This information is often stereotypical, and corresponds to existing prejudice and humour on China and the Chinese ethnic minority in the Netherlands. Furthermore, interviews with teachers showed that they are aware of harmful effects of stereotypes and prejudice, but they are reluctant to intervene when they encounter stereotypes in books. They prefer to ignore stereotypes because they argue that children do not see them. This incorrect observation, that children are unable to see and understand stereotypes, creates a non-critical environment for children and teachers, in which stereotypes and prejudice teach children a power hierarchy. In this hierarchy, the Caucasian Dutch are dominant, and the rest is subordinate. This thesis suggests that stereotypes in textbooks need to be acknowledged by teachers, and communicated to children, or illustrators and authors need to eliminate stereotypes out of books, in order to change this problematic power hierarchy.

Keywords

Education, textbooks, teachers, prejudice, stereotypes, China, Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis.

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1. Introduction

Children are still learning prejudiced and stereotypical discourses on other countries in 2020 through their textbooks and teachers. This thesis explores what discourses children learn about China through their textbooks and teachers. Through textbook analysis, and interviewing teachers, it gains insights into what discourses on China are present in textbooks, and how teachers cope with these. The importance of researching what discourses are communicated through textbooks and teachers to children, lies in the power of language. The most radical idea about language is the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which emphasizes that language is not just a medium to describe the world, but it also shapes the world itself.[1] Additionally, CDA continues on this, by emphasizing that communicators are actively making choices about what they say, write, or show, and that these choices people make shape the world.[2]

The purpose of looking at choices under CDA is to study the discourse in which communication took place, and which discourse it perpetuates.[3] Therefore, the importance of researching discourses in the Netherlands about China is that discourses are not only descriptions of current social life in the Netherlands, but they also prescribe what society will look like.[4] Especially in children's textbooks, the text and images are supposedly objective, and it is thus important to know what discourses these books teach to children.[5] Teaching children existing prejudices and stereotypes about China in the Netherlands will reinforce them by affecting thoughts and behaviour. Educationalists also argue that if there are racial stereotypes in textbooks, these create a power hierarchy for the students who read them.[6] Precisely because it influences the student's perception of the world, it is important to study what the prejudiced discourses in societies are.[7] Only then can society change racial prejudices.[8]

For the purpose of this thesis, "China" is understood broadly, namely everything that is associated with China, including culture, people, language, geography, and more. This thesis

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[1] Edward Sapir, "Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis," *Journal* (1958): 69, in David Machin and Andrea Mayr, "Making Active Choices: Language as a Set of Resources," in *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2012), ProQuest Ebook Central, 16.

[2] Machin and Mayr, "Making Active Choices," 19.

[3] Ibid., 20.

[4] Ibid., 24.

[5] Ibid., 25.

[6] Henry A. Giroux and Peter L. McLaren, *Critical Pedagogy, the State, and Cultural Struggle*, (Albany: SUNY Press, 1989).; Jonathan Zimmerman, *Whose America? Culture Wars in the Public Schools*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), in Melissa F. Weiner, "Colonized Curriculum: Racializing Discourses of Africa and Africans in Dutch Primary School History Textbooks," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 2.4 (2016): 450.

[7] Incho Lee, "Teaching How to Discriminate: Globalization, Prejudice, and Textbooks," *Teacher Education Quarterly* 38.1 (2011): 59.

[8] Lee, "Teaching How to Discriminate," 60.

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considers Chinese and Dutch-Chinese culture. This research does not neglect other Chinese minority cultures, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, or other Chinese diasporas or minority cultures within mainland China, or the diversity within those groups. However, based on the interviews and textbooks, there is not another specific Chinese culture that is relevant in the Dutch primary school discourse on China. The most important thing for gathering information about China through textbooks and teachers is not that information on China is necessarily true, but that it is presented to be true. In textbooks for young children, information is often humorously intended, but teachers argued that children in grade 1 believe everything they see, and assume information in the books is true, even if it is funny.

Additionally, in the analysis of the textbooks, I will often compare Chinese cultural aspects or Chinese characters to that of Caucasian Dutch culture and characters. With Caucasian Dutch I mean the characters that bear traditional Dutch names, as well as having a white skin, mostly blue-eyes, and blonde hair. They are part of the majority of characters throughout the books, adding to the idea that they are the Dutch majority in society. Furthermore, there is no explicit statement that the Asian characters I am referring to as "Chinese" are supposed to be Chinese. Nevertheless, China was the only Asian country explicitly mentioned throughout the books, the names of the characters that looked Asian were Chinese, and I used my own experience being Dutch in what I would associate with China. Although I am not aware of the intentions of the authors and illustrators, teachers also quickly associated characters and cultural aspects of Asia with China.

My research question is: what discourse about China is taught to students of grade 1 in the Netherlands through their textbooks by their teachers? In what follows, I will first present a literature review on perceptions of China, prejudice and stereotypes, and studies on prejudice in textbooks. Secondly, I will discuss the discourse analysis methodology used in this thesis, namely CDA, VDA, and MCDA. Thirdly, I will explain the specifics of how this research was carried out in a methods section. Fourthly, I will provide textbook analysis. Fifthly, there will be a discussion about the outcome of the interviews. Finally, this thesis will end with a conclusion.

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2. Theoretical Framework

This thesis is located in the field of sociology of education and China studies. One of the macro-level study interests in sociology of education is whether the education system causes, or limits inequalities.[9] The research question of this thesis is placed within this macro-level study field of perpetuating inequality in education. Within education, I researched the discourse on China in Dutch textbooks that are taught to children in the Netherlands through text, visual images, and teachers. The problematic aspects to prejudices in textbooks are that children who use these books are affected by the discourse through seeing invisibility, stereotypes, and unrealism, which may cause their understanding of Dutch society and the world around them to be from a non-critical, white perspective only.[10] This discourse may be received as such by both minority groups and Caucasian Dutch children. Caucasian Dutch children have grown up in this discourse where they are represented as the powerful group, whereas other children have grown up to think they are not.[11] Because of this, both groups need to be aware of the stereotypes and prejudices, in order not to perpetuate the discourse about minorities in the Netherlands, or about other countries.[12] Therefore, I will study how China is represented in primary school textbooks, how these textbooks are used in class, and what discourse on China this perpetuates.

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[9] Jeanne H. Ballantine, "Chapter 31: Sociology of Education," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociology, Volume 1,* ed. Kathleen Odell Korgon, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 327.
[10] Elavie Ndura, "ESL and Cultural Bias: An Analysis of Elementary through High School Textbooks in the Western United States of America," *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 17 (2004): 146-148, 152.
[11] Ndura, "ESL and Cultural Bias," 152.
[12] D.E. Campbell, *Choosing Democracy: A Practical Guide to Multicultural Education*, (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill, 2000), in Ndura, "ESL and Cultural Bias," 152.

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3. Literature Review

This literature review will discuss several topics. First, it will discuss perceptions about China around the world. Secondly, it will discuss perceptions about China in the Netherlands, as well as the humoristic and stereotypical discourse on Dutch-Chinese people. For the purpose of this thesis, it is difficult to separate the discourse on mainland China from the discourse on Dutch-Chinese or other Chinese groups, as China is presented to children in textbooks, and by their teachers, without distinction. Thirdly, this literature review will discuss research on prejudice and stereotypes in general, and how they are interconnected. Fourthly, it will discuss previous studies that researched prejudice and stereotypes within textbooks.

3.1 China around the World

In a discussion on perceptions of China in the last thirty years, there are three dominant discourses: "China threat", "yellow fever", and "coronavirus". The dominant ideas of China threat, yellow fever, and coronavirus have influenced, and continue to influence, the perception and treatment of Chinese people worldwide. Whereas the discourses on yellow fever and China threat have been around for some time, only recently has the coronavirus discourse spread throughout the world and changed the way people think about China. The coronavirus was first discovered in China, and therefore China has been blamed for the coronavirus outbreak. This resulted in more racism towards Chinese and Asian-looking people worldwide.[13] Accordingly, although this discourse is new, it is necessary to include it in a discussion on what the prevalent ideas about China are.

The China threat theory has been around since the 1990s. China was seen as a threat because of the fear that it would change regional power hierarchies, by becoming a superpower.[14] Especially American scholars studied the China threat, as they felt significantly threatened for being overthrown as the hegemon in the world order.[15] The threat lies in its military development and investment, its political values, which are significantly different from Western political values, and its growing economy.[16] The China threat theory made people and

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[13] Carol Chan and Maria Montt Strabucchi, "Many-faced Orientalism: Racism and Xenophobia in a Time of the Novel Coronavirus in Chile," *Asian Ethnicity* (2020): 7.

[14] Denny Roy, "The "China Threat" Issue: Major Arguments," *Asian Survey* 36.8 (1996): 758.

[15] Robert S. Ross, "Assessing the China Threat," *The National Interest* 81 (2005): 87.; Roy, "The "China Threat" Issue", 769.; Emma V. Bloomfield, "Perceptions of Danger: The China Threat Theory," *Journal of Contemporary China* 12.35 (2003): 268.

[16] Roy, "The "China Threat" Issue," 759-761.

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regimes all over the world anxious about the role China was going to play in the world order, and how this would change the existing world order as a result.[17]

During the coronavirus pandemic, Chinese and Asian people around the world have experienced an increase in racism because people blame them for creating and spreading the virus.[18] The link between the virus and China is not only that it spread from there, but important figures, such as Donald Trump, have referred to the virus as the "Chinese virus", perpetuating the link.[19] Already before the virus hit other regions, fear of the situation in China caused people to be frightened of the virus, and to associate it with Chinese people, which caused them to fear, and be angry with, Chinese people.[20] The danger of the virus revived a new China threat, concerning hygiene and health.[21]

Whereas the China threat makes people fear China, yellow fever does the exact opposite because it makes people love Chinese women. Not only Chinese women are targeted by yellow fever, but other Asian women and men too. Yellow fever is a racial fetish that prefers Asians in sexual discourse or romantic relationships.[22] Because yellow fever is inherently about sexual racism, it affects Asian women through oppression and violent sexual acts.[23] The reason why Asian women are targeted with this sexual fetish is because they are supposed to have a submissive identity, which is based on the feminized Asian culture.[24]

Although much is known about the general perception of China in the West, there is less research on the perception Dutch people have of China. Of course, the above mentioned discourses on China are applicable to the Netherlands as well.[25] One of the few studies on Dutch opinions specifically is a global research on attitudes toward China, and 58% of people in the Netherlands have an unfavourable opinion of China, while 36% have a favourable opinion of

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[17] Ibid., 758.
[18] Sender Dovchin, "Introduction to Special Issue: Linguistic Racism," *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 23.7 (2020): 773.
[19] Donald Trump, "Trump Calls Coronavirus the 'Chinese Virus'," *The Straits Times*, YouTube video, 1:04, March 18, 2020, https://youtu.be/ANT9920z3ok.
[20] Chan and Montt Strabucchi, "Many-faced Orientalism," 1-2.
[21] Ibid., 10.
[22] Robin Zheng, "Why Yellow Fever Isn't Flattering: A Case Against Racial Fetishes," *Journal of the American Philosophical Association* 2.3 (2016): 401.
[23] Zheng, "Why Yellow Fever Isn't Flattering," 401-402, 404-405.
[24] Ibid., 405-406.
[25] Arjen Schreuder, "Het Racisme Tegen Chinezen Is een Puist die Nu Openbreekt," *NRC*, February 11, 2020, accessed March 19, 2020, https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2020/02/11/het-racisme-tegen-chinezen-is-een-puist-die-nu-openbreekt-a3990087.; Ruth van der Kolk, "Waarom Zijn We zo Bang voor China?" *One World*, February 14, 2020, accessed October 26, 2020, https://www.oneworld.nl/lezen/discriminatie/racisme/waarom-zijn-we-zo-bang-voor-china/.; Datemeester, "Aziatische Vrouwen Daten? Top 5 Landen om Aziatische Meisjes te Ontmoeten," accessed October 26, 2020, https://datemeester.com/aziatische-vrouwen/.

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China.[26] China in this research is defined as the People's Republic of China, including opinions about its military, economic, and political identity, and is judged on its role in the world order.[27] This indicates that the Netherlands is among the countries that have the least favourable opinion of China, and interestingly all countries with a similar GDP per capita have the same unfavourable rate.[28] Therefore, this could suggest that a dominant Dutch media discourse on mainland China would be leaning towards a negative discourse, especially if one considers the China threat and coronavirus discourse.

3.2 China in the Netherlands

I will now give a brief overview of the representations and stereotypes of Chinese culture in the Netherlands. It will become clear that the position of the Chinese minority in the Netherlands is more positive compared to the position of other minorities, and this creates the idea that racism towards Chinese people is impossible.

To summarize the position of Chinese minorities around the world, "model minority" describes their position well.[29] Chow, who studied the Dutch-Chinese model minority, came up with the idea of "multicultural schizophrenia".[30] Chow argues that there is a model minority myth, based on the idea that Chinese people are successful in the Netherlands, and that this is solely because of their cultural background.[31] This means that Chinese people are not considered to be part of a minority in the Netherlands, and are thus also not related to discussions on problems with minorities, such as racism.[32] While at first it seems positive for the Chinese group to be excluded from the minority group, this results in the idea that racism against people with a Chinese background is impossible, whereas this is not the case.[33] The Chinese are different from other minorities, because they are complimented on their Chinese-ness and how successful they are because of this.[34] The discussions about other minorities often

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[26] Laura Silver, Kat Devlin, and Christine Huang, "2. Attitudes toward China," in *China's Economic Growth Mostly Welcomed in Emerging Markets, but Neighbors Wary of Its Influence,* Pew Research Center, December, 2019, 27. https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2019/12/05/attitudes-toward-china-2019/.

[27] Laura Silver, Kat Devlin and Christine Huang. "People around the Globe are Divided in Their Opinions of China," *FactTank: News in the Numbers,* Pew Research Center, December 5, 2019.

[28] Silver, Devlin, and Huang. "2. Attitudes toward China,", 29-30.

[29] Ellen D. Wu, "Introduction," in *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 1-2.

[30] Yiu Fai Chow, "Multicultural Schizophrenia: 'You Are Different, You Are Chinese'," *Amsterdam Social Science* 1.4 (2009): 45.

[31] Chow, "Multicultural Schizophrenia," 46.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., 46.

[34] Ibid., 47.

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involve stimulating them to become more Dutch, in order to get rid of problems they cause.[35] "Multicultural schizophrenia" means that the majority is schizophrenic in their idea of how minorities should behave, namely that the Chinese are stimulated to be Chinese, and other minorities are asked to become more Dutch, in order to be successful.[36]

Something that sheds light on stereotypes about Chinese people is the humoristic culture about ethnicity.[37] Part of this consists of joking about the physical characteristics of an ethnic group.[38] Cultural stereotypes are emphasized in jokes about Chinese people, thus jokes are about yellow skin, small eyes, and braided hair.[39] Other scripts for jokes about Chinese people are diverse. Chinese people are increasingly spoken about as "lazy", and their language and accent is a frequent theme in jokes, as well as adoption, as there are many adopted people in the Netherlands from China.[40] Interestingly, the fact that they are pointed out as lazy is contradicting to the model minority myth, and questions the contradictory nature of the discourse on Chinese people in the Netherlands. Food is another frequent theme discussed in jokes, especially about restaurants and cannibalism, referring to different eating habits.[41] Kuipers and van der Ent specify in their research that the fact jokes are made does not mean that the Chinese minority is excluded by race in Dutch society, or that they are thought of negatively, but instead, it is a way to include them.[42]

Thus far we have seen that the Chinese minority is celebrated because of their cultural background, which limits the idea that it is possible to act racist towards them. At the same time, ethnic jokes, which may be considered racist, are told about the Chinese minority. Dutch-Chinese journalist Pete Wu decided to write a book about his experiences being Dutch-Chinese, and part of it is about discrimination Dutch-Chinese people face.[43] With his book, he raises attention to the discrimination against Chinese people, which is often joked about, and not seen

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Giselinde Kuipers, and Barbara van der Ent, "Etnische Humor en Etnische Relaties in Nederland: Moppen over Buitenlanders en Etnische Groepen in Nederland, 1995-2012," *Sociologie* 12.2 (2016): 172.

[38] Kuipers and van der Ent, "Etnische Humor en Etnische Relaties in Nederland," 185-186.

[39] Ibid., 185.

[40] Ibid., 191.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid., 196.

[43] Pete Wu, *De Banenengeneratie* (Amsterdam: Das Mag Uitgeverij B.V., 2019), chap. "Casual Discriminatie", "Modelminderheid", de Online Bibliotheek.

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as racist by the majority.[44] Examples of this discrimination are judgements on food customs, language, accent, and appearance.[45]

Although it was not an academic book, Pete Wu thus calls attention to the ongoing problem of discrimination of Chinese people in the Netherlands, which seems to be naturalized.[46] This thesis may contribute to understanding this problem by identifying what aspects of China are portrayed in textbooks for children. The problem of joking about Chinese people, and the stereotypes about them, may be taught to children at school. This research is thus necessary to see what implicit prejudice children learn about China. Awareness is the first step towards change, as will be argued in the coming sections by textbook analysts of stereotypes.[47]

3.3 Prejudice and Stereotypes

By studying primary school textbooks and teachers, this thesis will explain how prejudice and stereotypes are present in educational material about China. One of the first definitions of prejudice is from Allport, namely: "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization, which can be directed to a whole group or to an individual as a member of that group."[48] A scholar who agrees with the negative connotation of prejudice is Plous. His research is about the interconnection of prejudice and stereotypes, and he argues that prejudice and stereotyping are not necessarily the same thing, and do not always complement each other.[49] Nevertheless, he argues, if there is prejudice, stereotypes will most likely be present as well.[50] Although he argues that prejudice is always necessarily negative, it depends on the stereotypes if there will be prejudice.[51] He thinks that positive stereotypes will not necessarily lead to prejudice.[52] The relationship between stereotypes and prejudice is that stereotypes reinforce prejudice and discrimination.[53]

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[44] Wu, *De Banenengeneratie*, chap. "Casual Discriminatie".
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Lee, "Teaching How to Discriminate," 59.
[48] Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice: Unabridged*, (Addison-Wesley Publishing Company: Massachusetts, 1949).
[49] Scott Plous, "The Psychology of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination: An Overview," in *Understanding Prejudice and Discrimination, (McGraw Hill: New York),* 1.
[50] Plous, "The Psychology of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination," 1.
[51] Ibid., 2.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.

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Dovidio et al. partly disagree and specify that prejudice can be both positive and negative.[54] They expand the definition of prejudice to the following, "Prejudice is an individual-level attitude (whether subjectively positive or negative) toward groups and their members that creates or maintains hierarchical status relations between groups."[55] This definition highlights the fact that prejudice can be negative and positive, and that it shapes power relations in society.

Accordingly, Vescio and Weaver argue that, together with stereotyping, prejudice works as a system to cause and perpetuate social inequalities.[56] In this system, prejudices are the attitudes and feelings towards a specific group of people, and stereotypes are the believed ideas about these same people.[57] These ideas may be, "portraying one set of people exhibiting one set of values, behaviours and roles."[58] Because these two mechanisms of stereotyping and prejudice are interrelated, this thesis studies both aspects within the discourse on China in primary schools. The importance of researching prejudice is underlined by Plous, who argues that prejudice is a normal facet of everyday life, precisely because everyone is to some extent prejudiced.[59] The same is the case for stereotypes, as these are often used and believed subconsciously, but they do have some serious effects, such as influencing how people behave, and their attitude towards the group they are stereotyping.[60]

Stereotypes can be recognized in the following way. A stereotype is making a generalization about a person because of their cultural background, assuming that everyone from the same background has the same personality trait or appearance.[61] Sometimes, a stereotype is partially true, but it can also be an incorrect assumption about a group of people, which is mistakenly associated with their identity.[62] The difference between stereotypes and non-stereotypes is that a stereotype inherently judges instead of describes, cannot be verified as truthful, is not an accurate description of the people it supposedly describes, and has a

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[54] John F. Dovidio, Miles Hewstone, Peter Glick, and Victoria M. Esses, "Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination: Theoretical and Empirical Overview," *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination* 8 (2010): 7.

[55] Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, and Esses, "Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination," 7.

[56] Theresa Vescio and Kevin Weaver, *Prejudice and Stereotyping*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), par. 1, accessed June 19, 2020.

[57] Vescio and Weaver, *Prejudice and Stereotyping*, par. 1.

[58] Ndura, "ESL and Cultural Bias," 146-148, 152.

[59] Plous, "The Psychology of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination," 11.

[60] Anthony G. Greenwald., and Mahzarin R. Banaji, "Implicit Social Cognition: Attitudes, Self-Esteem, and Stereotypes," *Psychological review* 102.1 (1995): 18, 20.

[61] Nguyen-Phuong-Mai, "Potential Problems in Cross-Cultural Communications: Stereotypes, Prejudices, and Racism," CCA course HvA, part of forthcoming book publication *Intercultural Communication: An Interdisciplinary Approach: When Neurons, Genes, and Evolution Joined the Discourse,* 3-4.

[62] Nguyen-Phuong-Mai, "Potential Problems in Cross-Cultural Communications," 4.

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discriminatory nature by comparing people with another group of people.[63] Prejudice can be recognized when those that are prejudiced about another group think that they are entitled to something, to which the group they are prejudiced about should be feeling lucky to earn the same thing.[64] The way in which prejudice can lead to action is the following. As shown before, negative stereotypes can lead to a negative prejudice, which is a negative attitude towards a group of people.[65] Prejudicial attitudes can then develop into xenophobia and racism towards the group the prejudice is about.[66]

3.4 Prejudice in Textbooks

Education is a field where prejudice plays a significant role in multiple ways. One important theme in academic literature is about prejudice in textbooks concerning gender, and how this reinforces stereotypes. First, there is analysis on gender stereotypical images in textbooks.[67] A literature analysis of Peterson and Lach in 1990 focuses on previous works on gender stereotypes in textbooks.[68] They recognized that it had been advocated frequently to eliminate gender stereotypes from textbooks, so they wanted to research empirically whether this elimination had happened.[69] While they found that there was no meaningful decrease in the quantity of the stereotypes in textbooks, they did see a decrease in the quality.[70] They conclude firmly that, "the reading materials to which we expose children shape their attitudes, their understanding and their behaviour."[71] The stereotypes within them are thus an important factor in shaping children, and children should be taught the significance of these stereotypes.[72]

This corresponds to later studies that further tested this theory on gender stereotypes in textbooks. Research of Sovič and Hus demonstrates that gender symbolism in images teach children gender characteristics which are stereotypical.[73] This, and other research on images as

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[63] Greenwald and Banaji, "Implicit Social Cognition," 16-17.

[64] Zygmunt Bauman and Tim May, "Viewing and Sustaining our Lives," in *Thinking Sociologically,* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), 32.

[65] Vescio and Weaver, *Prejudice and Stereotyping*, par. 1.

[66] Bauman and May, "Viewing and Sustaining our Lives," 32.

[67] Anja Sovič and Vlasta Hus, "Gender Stereotype Analysis of the Textbooks for Young Learners," *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 186 (2015): 495-501.; Sharyl Bender Peterson and M.A. Lach, "Gender Stereotypes in Children's Books: Their Prevalence and Influence on Cognitive and Affective Development," *Gender and Education* 2.2 (1990): 185-197.; M. Yasin, et al., "A Visual Analysis of a Malaysian English School Textbook: Gender Matters," *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 69 (2012): 1871-1880.

[68] Peterson and Lach, "Gender Stereotypes in Children's Books," par. 1-5.

[69] Ibid., par. 6.

[70] Ibid., par. 10-12.

[71] Ibid., par. 50.

[72] Ibid., par. 55.

[73] Sovič and Hus, "Gender Stereotype Analysis of the Textbooks for Young Learners," 495-496.

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well as text, establish that gender stereotypical images often feature stereotypical coloured clothing; more men than women; women doing socially accepted things in private spheres; men doing naughty things in public spheres, all of which point to an uneven representation of male and female characters in textbooks.[74] Furthermore, they all emphasize the importance of these images and textual information for the children, because children will behave according to the images they grow up with. Nevertheless, all of these studies focus only on gender representations and the stereotypes and prejudices that these teach to children.

Nevertheless, gender is not the only field of stereotypes that is researched in textbooks. An example of a study that combined gender with racial stereotypes is the following. Ndura presented a study about English as Second Language textbooks in the United States, in which she did thorough analysis on texts and images, and she conceptualized how this works in the minds of students.[75] Although gender was part of her research, she also researched other cultural identity variables that may lead to biases, and thus found stereotypes on other nationalities, such as Africans.[76] She concludes that the information in the textbooks is stereotypical, invisible in terms of missing information, and unrealistic.[77] Especially for immigrants, she argues, these textbooks are not useful because they create an incorrect image of the society they are being immersed in, and this might affect their acculturation process.[78] Therefore, a similar conclusion to gender studies is presented, namely that books do not only show what discourses are present in societies, but they also tend to reproduce these discourses.

Malmberg, the publisher of Lijn 3 books, which this thesis analyses, has been featured in research on stereotypes in high school textbooks by Leiden University in 2019, which focused on women and ethnic minorities.[79] The aforementioned research established that even though Malmberg emphasized that they try to actively fight stereotypes, these stereotypes are still subconsciously being deployed according to a pattern that has been unchanged for years.[80] This thesis will in a similar way look into stereotypes of primary school textbooks of Malmberg.

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[74] Ibid.; Yasin et al., "A Visual Analysis of a Malaysian English School Textbook," 1879.; Damigella and Licciardello, "Stereotypes and Prejudices at School," 212; A. Abeyasekera, *Gender Ideologies in the School Curriculum: A Textual Analysis of Secondary School Text Books,* (Colombo: Centre for Women's Research, 2008), 31.

[75] Ndura, "ESL and Cultural Bias," 143, 145.

[76] Ibid., 146, 147.

[77] Ibid., 146-148.

[78] Ibid., 151.

[79] RTL Nieuws, "Nog een Hoop Stereotypen te Vinden in Schoolboeken: 'Het Is net Sluikreclame,'" November 13, 2019, https://www.rtlnieuws.nl/nieuws/nederland/artikel/4919541/schoolboek-stereotype-diversiteit-man-vrouw-universiteit-leiden.

[80] RTL Nieuws, "Nog een Hoop Stereotypen te Vinden in Schoolboeken,".

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To sum up, there has been a lot of research on both text and images in textbooks, researching mostly gender stereotypes. Nevertheless, scholars in the field of education in the Netherlands have not yet adequately addressed the issue of prejudice in educational textbooks, concerning cultures other than Africa.[81] This thesis will use a commonly used method in studies like these, which will be discussed hereafter, namely MCDA, based on CDA and VDA.

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[81] Weiner, "Colonized Curriculum," 450-465.

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4. Methodology

CDA has been a useful way to analyse stereotypes in textbooks for previous researchers. This concerns both analysing gender stereotypes[82] as well as racial stereotypes. Relating to the previous section, there has been analysis on gender stereotypes in textbooks with CDA by Amerian and Esmaili.[83] In the books they researched, there is again a dominance of men in terms of representation.[84] They conclude that because of this, a stereotypical gender image is implanted in the readers.[85]

Another theme in textbook analysis, apart from gender, is prejudice concerning other cultures, and how prejudice reinforces stereotypes. In the Netherlands there is little research on this apart from how Africa is represented in textbooks.[86] Similarly to how gender stereotypes shape those who read the textbooks, a stereotypical racial division also implements a particular view into students of hierarchies and power relations.[87] This is also the reason why it is important to conduct studies like this, as critical readings are necessary to discover hidden biases.[88] A next step would be to delve into the biases of the societies that produce these textbooks.[89]

This thesis used a number of different methods of data collection and analysis, namely CDA, VDA, and MCDA. First, working with CDA meant to gather data through textbooks by reading these thoroughly and searching for all aspects and themes related to China or Chinese people and culture.[90] I listed these themes beforehand because these reflected my own experience and knowledge of the Dutch image and stereotypes of China, but when I encountered other themes during the research, I added these as well. After I collected all the data, I analysed it from a CDA perspective.[91] Using the CDA theory gave me the ability to see the themes in a different light, namely by extracting interpretation from it by putting it in

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[82] Majid Amerian and Fateme Esmaili, "Language and Gender: A Critical Discourse Analysis on Gender Representation in a Series of International ELT Textbooks," *International Journal of Research Studies in Education* 4.2 (2015): 3-12.

[83] Amerian and Esmaili, "Language and Gender," 3-4.

[84] Ibid., 7.

[85] Ibid., 11.

[86] Weiner, "Colonized Curriculum," 450-465.

[87] Giroux and McLaren, *Critical Pedagogy, the State, and Cultural Struggle*.; Zimmerman, *Whose America?,* in Weiner, "Colonized Curriculum," 450.

[88] Lee, "Teaching How to Discriminate," 59.

[89] Ibid., 60.

[90] Ibid., 51.

[91] Ibid.; and Norman Fairclough, and Ruth Wodak, "Critical Discourse Analysis," *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* 2 (1997): 258-284.

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context.[92] CDA was especially important for my research because it enabled me to understand the connection between the texts that I researched and the context they were written in. [93] This allowed me to understand that the study on primary school textbooks is not isolated, but has a connection with the rest of society and the discourse in which the books are placed.[94] An advantage of conducting CDA is that it enables one to understand how power relations are debated and exerted through discourses.[95] Discourses are necessary to understand and are not to be taken for granted, because they shape the world, as well as describe it, and discourses can reveal how power is distributed.[96]

As the data in the textbooks did not solely consist out of text, I made the choice to use VDA as well, so that I would be able to apply the same theory of CDA on the drawings and photographs that were in the books. VDA is a visual method based on the textual method of CDA, with the idea that images are texts too, because they convey messages.[97] The purpose of this method is to see what discourses are visible and communicated in visual texts.[98] Centre to VDA, similarly to CDA, is the idea that images are inherently revealing beliefs about power, othering, and inequalities.[99] Furthermore, the importance of the context in which it was made is stressed as well, meaning that the visual texts can explain the discourses in society and the intertextuality with other (visual) texts.[100]

CDA traditionally thus only analyses texts, whereas VDA analyses images. Both come together under the new umbrella of MCDA, which is primarily applied in media studies.[101] MCDA, developed by Kress and van Leeuwen, emphasizes that images equally reflect meaning as do the texts that accompany them.[102] The critical aspect of this comes from the search for images and texts that look objective, but which are inherently ideological.[103] This also applies to textbooks, which are supposed to be teaching children objective knowledge. The objective

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[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Fairclough and Wodak, "Critical Discourse Analysis," 272.

[96] David Machin, and Andrea Mayr, "Introduction: How Meaning is Created," in *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2012), 4-5, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[97] Peggy Albers, "Visual Discourse Analysis: An Introduction to the Analysis of School-Generated Visual Texts," in *56th Yearbook of the National Reading Conference* 56, (Wisconsin: National Reading Conference, 2007), 86-87.

[98] Albers, "Visual Discourse Analysis," 84.

[99] Ibid., 86.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Machin and Mayr, "Introduction: How Meaning is Created," 1.

[102] Ibid., 9.

[103] Ibid.

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of MCDA is thus similar to the purpose of this thesis: to create awareness of how texts and images are prejudiced, which are normally accepted to be neutral, in order to reveal power relations.[104] Because MCDA was based on CDA, it also works as a method that realizes communication in texts or images is shaped by, and shapes society itself.[105] MCDA provides a useful framework to focus on both images and text, so I used this method as a combination between CDA and VDA, which are often used in similar studies on textbooks.

MCDA, in short, works by analysing the choices that were made in text and images to see what ideology is visible in the books.[106] A requirement for the textual analysis is to look at implicit sayings and meanings, which are not explicitly formulated.[107] The analysis of images works similarly, but has some different dimensions. It is more difficult to analyse what the ideology behind an image is, since there are more interpretations possible than in texts, even though texts are already open to different interpretations.[108] Instead of looking at what words are used or not, analysis of images focuses on who and what is present in images, and who or what is not.[109]

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[104] Ibid., 9-10.
[105] Ibid., 10.
[106] David Machin and Andrea Mayr, "Analysing Semiotic Choices: Words and Images" in *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2012), ProQuest Ebook Central, 56.
[107] Machin and Mayr, "Analysing Semiotic Choices," 30.
[108] Ibid., 31, 51.
[109] Ibid., 49.

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5. Method

5.1 Selection of a Grade

Because of the scope of this thesis, I focused on grade 1 because I had access to grade 1 textbooks and grade 1 teachers. In kindergarten, grade 1 and 2, there is often information about other countries taught in a simple way.[110] The fact that information is simplistic is useful for this research, since stereotypes about other cultures are simplistic as well, in a way that they are over-generalized, over-simplified, or false. In the education system in grade 1, information about other countries is not introduced coherently, instead, information about other countries is taught sporadically during different themes. This differs from higher grades, like grade 3-6, which are starting to learn world orientation, topography, religion, geography, and other subjects that will give condensed information on other countries.[111]

5.2 Selection of Books

In the Netherlands, schools themselves select textbooks. The government is not involved in prescribing textbooks to them. To limit the scope of my thesis, and due to access, I chose the Lijn 3 reading and writing books, published by Malmberg. The equivalent of English grade 1 is Dutch grade 3, which is why it is called Lijn 3. The books are supposed to be a bus line [lijn] that takes children on a journey, which explains the word Lijn, and there are no similar textbooks for grades below or above grade 1. The publisher Malmberg could not provide information on how large the edition is, or how many schools use these textbooks. On the website you can find eighty-two schools that use these textbooks to ask them for a reference about the books. Zwijsen publishing house, one of the few other publishers of grade 1 reading material, state that 4400 schools use their method, which they argue is eighty percent of the children in the Netherlands.[112] If we assume that these numbers are accurate, less than twenty percent of children in the Netherlands use the method of Malmberg Lijn 3. I analysed all textbooks and workbooks of Lijn 3, as well as some of their library books, which are storybooks students can read independently, in total twenty-six books. Lijn 3 is a method with twelve chapters, each book is as such one chapter about world orientation topics, so its aim is also to

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[110] Interviewee 1, Interview by author, personal interview, Maassluis, April 20, 2020.
[111] Interviewee 1, Interview.
[112] "Veilig Leren Lezen," Zwijsen, accessed July 17, 2020, https://www.zwijsen.nl/lesmethoden/veilig-leren-lezen.

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teach children about the world around them, while teaching them how to read and write.[113] The books of Lijn 3 have been written and illustrated by mostly white women in their forties or fifties with Dutch names.

There are some aspects that can be seen as limitations to my research. Excluding one instance of the word China being mentioned, all results come from myself recognizing things that I would classify as Chinese, which could be seen as stereotyping. Nevertheless, using my own prejudice as a Dutch person is a strength due to my knowledge of the Dutch contexts, and allows me to recognize whether something will be interpreted as Chinese. Furthermore, the books are written with specific purposes to teach new words, so the main purpose of some words that seem prejudiced may be chosen for educative purposes. However, when prejudiced words are used consistently with a certain group of characters, this leads to prejudice being connected to this group. Therefore, the limitations are not impacting my research in a negative way.

5.3 Purpose of the Interviews

After completing the analysis of the textbooks, I established how they were actually used by teachers in class by conducting interviews. I structured the interviews in seven parts, the interview guide can be found in appendix 2. The first part of the interview was meant to gain insight into how much students of grade 1 actually learn about other cultures in general. This included identifying which cultures they learn, what aspects of other cultures they learn, how this is presented in materials, and how the teacher approaches it. The second part was to see what teachers thought students of grade 1 know about China. The third part asked them whether they had taught about China and what they would say about China to students, to gain an indication of their knowledge and opinion about China, and how they teach this to students. The fourth part was more specifically about Lijn 3, and involved showing the teachers three pages. The first was a random story in which I thought a Chinese boy was featured, see figure 11. Another showed an, in my opinion, stereotypical representation of a Chinese restaurant, see figure 6. The last was an informative text about Chinese New Year, see figure 19. This part was meant to gain insight into whether the teachers would identify these pages as Chinese, or as another Asian culture, or not Asian at all.

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[113] Henk Huizinga, *Taal & Didactiek: Aanvankelijk en Technisch Lezen*, (Groningen: Noordhoff Uitgevers bv, 2016), 249.

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It should be noted that I already mentioned China during the interview before asking them to identify these aspects in the books. It may thus have been the case that they were influenced by my questions to identify Asian aspects as Chinese instead of another Asian culture. Nevertheless, while asking them to identify characters or cultural aspects, I asked open questions regarding to what culture or country they thought aspects belonged. I asked them to talk about it as if they would to their students, to ascertain whether they themselves would mention to their students that it was from a certain country or not, and how they thought their students would link it to a country. The fifth concerned their opinion about Lijn 3, when it comes to representation of China, and if they used other materials, how these were better representative or not. The sixth part was about their education, and how they were taught to teach about other countries. Furthermore, I asked them their own definitions of stereotypes and prejudice, and how they were taught to deal with this in class. The final part was about how they thought stereotypes in textbooks could influence children. Additionally, I asked them how they thought teachers could best handle stereotypes that may be in books.

5.4 Method of the Interviews

Due to COVID-19, the interviews were conducted through Skype, Zoom or telephone. In total I conducted 6 interviews. The first interviewee was someone in my household, which was the only face-to-face conducted interview. In the first interview I wrote the answers down, but from the second interview onwards I recorded all interviews with a voice recorder, so that I could easily transcribe them and look back. One interview took 13 minutes due to time restrictions of the interviewee, other interviews ranged from 24 to 35 minutes.

5.5 Process of Finding Interviewees

Initially, I wanted to interview teachers who worked at the same school organization in Rotterdam as where the first interviewee worked. I asked this interviewee to bring me into contact with other possible interviewees. Nevertheless, these contacted people did not want to be interviewed. Secondly, I asked all schools in the school organization of the first interviewee whether they worked with Lijn 3, and if they wanted to participate. Only a few schools actually used Lijn 3, and not one school responded, or agreed to participate. I thus decided to let go of the school organization and started to contact teachers around the country to see if they wanted to participate. On the website of Lijn 3 there was a list of schools that were willing to be contacted as references for Lijn 3. Fifteen people on this list were contacted to see if they were

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willing to participate, and only three responded, of which two actually completed the process of making an appointment. Finally, I decided to let go of the idea that all teachers needed to have used Lijn 3, so I used my personal connections to find interviewees who worked in primary schools.

5.6 The Interviewed

This study included one male and five female teachers. All of them were white with Dutch names. Two were in their late twenties, three in their fifties, and one in her sixties. Five teachers worked at schools in the province of South-Holland, and one in the province of North-Holland. Four worked with Lijn 3, or had worked with Lijn 3 in the past, and two teachers had no experience with Lijn 3. Their careers as teachers ranged from five to forty-five years. Their names were changed in order to keep anonymity.

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6. Textbook Results

I immediately found that the characters in the books were diverse, but still overwhelmingly white with Dutch names. Some names indicated that characters were Turkish and Moroccan, and there were some dark-skinned characters as well. Teachers agreed during the interviews that the books had an inclusive character representation that was similar to the diversity in classrooms. China was the only country that was literally mentioned in the textbooks. Out of the twenty-six books, seventeen displayed names or people that can be interpreted as having a Chinese background, or Chinese cultural artifacts. There were two pages that were explicitly about China. This means that in more than half of the books, China is represented, if it would be interpreted as Chinese. This chapter will discuss several themes that have been found in relation to China, and will conclude that images and texts on China are stereotypical, often unrealistic, and simplified in a negative way to amplify the differences between Chinese and non-Chinese characters or cultures. The themes can be divided into two categories, namely weird and different.

6.1 Weirdness

One overarching theme in relation to China in the books was weirdness, which was especially mentioned in textual parts. Weird has a negative connotation, but I am using it precisely because it was literally mentioned in the books. The words for crazy [gek],[114] strange [vreemd], and weird [raar] have been mentioned in relation to Chinese people, language, behaviour, and owned objects. These words were probably mentioned and repeated often because children need to broaden their vocabulary.[115] Nevertheless, it is striking that Chinese culture or characters were used to illustrate weirdness. The fact that information about China was thus often accompanied by something or someone weird, creates an image of Chinese culture to be weird.

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[114] The word [gek] was not used in a funny and friendly way, but in a more similar way to [vreemd] and [raar], which is why they can be grouped together under the theme of weirdness.
[115] Interviewee 1, Interview.

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6.1.1 Language

On a page about treasures, there are four aspects relating to treasures explained. I identified them as treasures from China because the book explicitly mentions, "Treasures from China [schatten uit China]" at the start of it, there are also Asian teapots depicted on this page, and a ship journey is identified as long, and thus has to come from a place far away. One of themes is a block of gold in a shipwreck with inscriptions on it. The textbook reads, "On that gold was written in a weird language: good luck". The characters are not real characters, but look like Chinese characters. Additionally, it argues that they mean "good luck" [veel geluk], but that is not what they mean because there is no meaning.

Figure 2 Teapot Theme 8

Figure 3 Treasures from China Theme 8

Figure 4 Block of Gold Theme 8

Another example of how the Chinese language is represented to be weird in the textbooks is the following. The name "hoelang", of the restaurant discussed hereafter, refers to a stereotypical joke about Chinese people. This joke is especially popular at primary schools, as I know from my own experience, and experiences of the teachers. The clue of the joke is both in the idea that Chinese people are short, and that their names are unpronounceable. One person would ask another "How tall [hoe lang] is a Chinese?" Another person would then guess a low number, since it is expected that the joke is about how tall Chinese people are. This is due to the stereotype that Chinese people are short. But the clue appears to be that it is not a question, but a statement, namely that "hoelang" is the name of a Chinese person, because the word sounds like a Chinese name. This joke is thus inherently prejudiced. It generalizes that all Chinese people are short, and that they have a weird language with weird names in it.

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Figure 5 Restaurant Hoelang Sign Theme 3

6.1.2 Food and Restaurant

Figure 6 Restaurant Hoelang Theme 3

In the Netherlands, it is often assumed that Chinese people work in, or own, a Chinese restaurant. It has long been the case that Chinese immigrants owned Chinese restaurants or cafeterias, but the second and third generation Dutch-Chinese often choose other career paths.[116] Nevertheless, the association between Chinese people in the Netherlands and their restaurants is still clearly visible in the textbooks. The stereotypical search-plate, on which children need to search for words with a specific letter, showed the interior of restaurant "hoelang". Aspects that indicate that the restaurant is Chinese are the Chinese lantern, the font style of the name "hoelang" that is reminiscent of Chinese characters, and the chopsticks with bowls of rice and noodles, in addition to the reference of the joke "hoelang". Besides an abstract painting on the wall, as well as a diverse group of restaurant visitors and non-Chinese aspects such as a teddy bear or a euro on the floor, there are various stereotypical representations of Chinese restaurant culture. First of all, the restaurant interior is messy, with food on the ground and animals walking around. Secondly, a dish that has been served on one of the tables is a

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[116] Mérove Gijsberts, and Willem Huijnk, and Ria Vogels, *Chinese Nederlanders: Van Horeca naar Hogeschool*, (Social en Cultureel Planbureau, Den Haag: 2011), 22-23, 78.

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boot. The object that people would normally wear on their feet is placed on a plate with coleslaw, and has a knife and fork in it, as if it would be edible. This weird dish of an inedible boot adds to the image that Chinese food is weird. Authentic Chinese cuisine, as is often not found in Chinese restaurants in the Netherlands, which serve Chinese-Indonesian food,[117] is thought of to be strange, as well as cruel to animals.[118] The sign "today shark-fin soup" also refers to a controversial debate in the Netherlands about animal cruelty in Chinese eating habits, namely killing sharks to only eat their fins.[119] Another animal cruelty stereotype is that Chinese people eat dogs, which Dutch people think is disgusting.[120] The books had the opportunity to use this stereotype because there was a girl named Lie, a character that I identified as Chinese, based on her appearance and her name, who owned a dog. Her main story-line was to cook and talk about food, but there was never the idea that her dog may be eaten by her or her Chinese family, which demonstrated that not all Chinese people eat dogs, but can keep them as pets.

Figure 7 Lie and her Father Theme 3

Figure 8 Today Shark-fin Soup

Figure 9 Boot Theme 3

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[117] IsGeschiedenis, "De Geschiedenis van de 'Afhaalchinees' in Nederland," accessed October 28, 2020, https://isgeschiedenis.nl/nieuws/de-geschiedenis-van-de-afhaalchinees-in-nederland.

[118] Gert Bleus, "15 Chinese Gerechten waar je Maag van Omkeert," *P Magazine*, January 30, 2020, accessed October 28, 2020, https://pnws.be/15-chinese-gerechten-waar-je-maag-van-omkeert/.

[119] Marije Vlaskamp, "Haaienvin Is in China een Elitair Liflafje," *Trouw*, April 19, 2020, accessed October 28, 2020, https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/haaienvin-is-in-china-een-elitair-liflafje~b5852939/.

[120] Agnes de Goede, "Nikki Bezoekt Hondenfestival in China: 'Verbijsterend, zoveel Leed'," *RTL Nieuws*, June 22, 2018, accessed October 28, 2020, https://www.rtlnieuws.nl/nieuws/buitenland/artikel/4251636/nikki-bezoekt-hondenfestival-china-verbijsterend-zoveel-leed.

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6.1.3 Characters

Some Chinese characters were depicted as having weird behaviours. In the book on treasures, the main story is about princess Loeloe. Her name and appearance are reminiscent of a Chinese royal, especially because of the "Treasures from China" poster, and the story is about her crown. This story seems to present the Chinese princess as positive and exiting, but she was represented as an incapable and helpless princess, who lost her crown. She needed help from pirates to get her crown back, but it appeared that she had put her crown away in a cupboard herself, while sleepwalking, which was described as both [vreemd], [raar], and [gek], all ascribing negative weirdness to the Chinese princess.

Figure 10 Princess Loeloe Theme 8

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6.2 Difference

The other overarching theme in the textbooks about aspects that I identified as Chinese was difference. Not all Chinese aspects were depicted as weird, but some were different compared to non-Chinese characters or cultural aspects. In the sections below, I will explain how they were different.

6.2.1 Appearance

The first theme of difference was appearances. There was a tendency to depict Asian characters significantly different from other characters through small eyes, black hair, and yellow skin. It is true that people with an ethnic Chinese background may look different in some ways than Caucasian Dutch people regarding skin colour, hairstyles, hair colour, and eye forms. Nevertheless, these aspects of difference were overdone, sometimes even in a ridiculing and highly stereotypical way, which did not resemble the bodily features of Chinese people. However, it should be acknowledged that all non-Chinese characters had exaggerated appearances, and their images were also not life-like.

Smaller eyes are something that both children and adults quickly associate with Chinese people, and other Asians in general, due to the epicanthic fold.[121] A common graphical depiction of their eyes is to draw them as stripes or dots, to highlight how small and thin their eyes are. This also happened in the textbooks, where Chinese characters' eyes were often stripes when they laughed, and dots or oval shapes when they did not laugh. Compared to the non-Chinese characters in the books, there was always a difference between their eyes. The eyes of

Figure 11 Dong Laughs Textbook Theme 2

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[121] Naomi Priest, et al., "'You Are Not Born Being Racist, Are You?' Discussing Racism with Primary Aged-children," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 19.4 (2016): 818.

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the Caucasian characters were oval or round, and thus also different from reality. To illustrate the difference between the Chinese characters and the non-Chinese characters, we can use the example of Dong, whom I identified as Dutch-Chinese because of his yellow skin tone, black hair, stripes as eyes, his name, and because he spoke Dutch. When Dong was laughing, his eyes formed two stripes, but when his non-Chinese friends were laughing, their eyes were open and round. The differences between them are thus amplified compared to real life.

Another example is of the Dutch-Chinese girl Lie, who also spoke Dutch but had a Chinese name, yellow skin, small eyes, and a hairstyle that looked like Asian conical-hats. Her eyes were always differently shaped than those of her non-Chinese friends. Whereas the eyes of the others were shaped round or vertically egg-shaped, her eyes were almost twice as small, and egg-shaped horizontally.

Figure 12 Lie and her Friends Theme 3

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A second aspect to their appearance was hairstyles. Something that all Chinese characters had in common was that they had straight black hair. A few wore their hair in buns, and one had a ponytail. Some examples of hairstyles can be found in figure 13 and 14, and other figures.

Figure 13 Lei Library Book 12

Figure 14 Twins Jing and Wendy Theme 10

The girl Lie also had different hair than others. Her hair was shaped in a triangle, sticking out to either side of her head. Her hairstyle is reminiscent of the identically shaped conical-hats that are often associated with Asian countries such as China, Vietnam, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, and the Philippines.[122] Her hair shape, besides her skin colour, eyes, and name, is thus an additional aspect to ascribe a stereotypical Chinese identity to her.

Figure 15 Lie Theme 3

The third aspect to their appearance was the colour of their skin. Five of the thirteen drawn Chinese characters had a yellow skin, or a more yellow tone than the other characters on that page. It should be acknowledged that the skin colour of Chinese people may be different than those of Caucasians. Nevertheless, the yellow aspect is not visible in reality. The yellow

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[122] Jesus T. Peralta, "Salakot and Other Headgear," *National Commission for Cullture and the Arts (NCCA) & Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Relgion (ICHCAP),* UNESCO (2013): 232.

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colour stems from the act of Western scientists who categorized "Mongolians" in a system of coloured races. They chose a colour that was neither black or white: yellow.[123] Because of the prevailing idea that skin colour is something that distinguishes people from each other, being yellow has been used by both Westerners and Asians to identify themselves in relation to the other.[124] Now it is used to identify East Asians, also Japanese and Koreans, and it is still a pervasive idea to think of East Asians as yellow.[125] The illustrators of Lijn 3 have adopted this idea, because of which it is easy to identify Asian characters, such as Lie and her father in figure 7. The yellow aspect has thus been exaggerated in the books by making the skins of the Asian characters yellow instead of a skin colour. This also amplified the differences between Chinese and non-Chinese characters, in the same way differences in eyes and hair did.

6.2.2 Names

The second theme was names, through which the Chinese characters were easily identifiable. Their names often separated them from other students, but also from other Asian students when it was impossible to know where characters that looked of Asian descent came from. The names that were mentioned were: Lie, Lei, Loeloe, Lin, Jing, Dong, and Yan. Only one Chinese character had a western name: Wendy. I still identified her as Chinese because Wendy was a twin with Jing, who both looked similarly Asian, and Jing's name indicated that they were Chinese twins.

6.2.3 Capability

The third theme is about differences in capability. There were various discussions about the capabilities of Chinese characters. Whereas the capabilities of Dutch characters would not be questioned, it occurred a few times that the capabilities of Chinese characters were questioned in school and playing settings, as well with princess Loeloe. Figure 16 shows an example in which not one student gets asked whether they are capable to read a word, but the teacher only asks the Chinese boy, "can you do that too, Dong?" as if his ability to read is different from the rest of the group.

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[123] Michael Keevak, *Becoming Yellow: A Short History of Racial Thinking,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 2, 6.
[124] Keevak, *Becoming Yellow,* 8.
[125] Ibid., 22.

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Figure 16 Can You Do that too Dong? Theme 2

One instance was remarkable, which features this contrast in capability, see figure 17 and 18. When a Dutch boy tried to aim the arrow in the rose, it hit his friends' face by accident. Dong thought that this was funny, and thus aimed the arrow on his friends' face too, but he hit the rose instead. He was thus unsuccessfully succeeding. I interpreted this incident as referring to the reputation of Chinese people of being hardworking,[126] and that this is the reason why Dong could not do different than shoot the arrow in the rose. Interestingly, this hardworking and successful image is thus combined with the question of whether Chinese characters are capable. In the literature review we also identified contradictions in Dutch perception about Chinese people, for example Chinese people are a model minority vs. lazy.

Figure 17 Dong's Arrow Theme 2

Figure 18 Dong's Arrow Theme 2

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[126] Racheal A. Ruble, and Yan Bing Zhang, "Stereotypes of Chinese International Students Held by Americans," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 37 (2013): 208.

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6.2.4 Red and Gold

The fourth theme concerns colour. Red and gold frequently accompanied Chinese characters or objects in images, but the colours were also mentioned in text. For example, princess Loeloe's crown was both drawn and mentioned to be red and gold. Additionally, Lei (figure 13) wore a red qipao, there was a block of gold in treasures from China, and the interior of restaurant "hoelang" depicted both colours. These colours are thus intrinsically linked to China, and create an association between the colours and China, as well as indicate difference from non-Chinese aspects.

Figure 19 Red and Gold Library Book 12

To summarize, the information gathered throughout the textbooks indicate that China is either represented as different or weird. The books represent both Chinese culture, such as an information page on Chinese New Year, as well as the Dutch-Chinese culture and people, such as all the student characters. Because of these, Dutch-Chinese students are able to recognize people that look like them in the books. Consequently, there are these points of identification, but there are some aspects that represent China stereotypically and negatively. Examples are the weird Chinese food customs or appearances, which are invented or exaggerated, and give an inaccurate image of Chinese people to non-Chinese students. The stereotypes and prejudices are not limited to appearance alone but extend to behaviours and reputations. Examples are being hardworking yet incapable compared to Dutch characters, or the representation of Chinese as a weird language with weird names.

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7. Interviews

This chapter will discuss what teachers think about stereotypes and prejudice, China, and how they approach this with their students. I structured the findings of the interviews around three sub-questions: to what extent do teachers know and care about China to identify something as Chinese? What do teachers do with that identification in class? What is their evaluation about stereotyping, and how do they teach this? I will finally conclude that teachers are often unable to identify something as Chinese, they lack incentives to teach about other countries, they assume a racelessness position, thereby ignoring racism, stereotypes, and prejudice, and this is all created by the dominant idea that stereotyping and prejudice are not a problem, or important enough, to discuss in grade 1.

7.1 To What Extent Teachers Know and Care about China

7.1.1 How Teachers Are Educated

All teachers were unanimous that they learn little about other countries during teachers' college for primary education ["Pedagogische Academie voor het Basisonderwijs" (PABO)]. Rather than about countries, they usually only learn about the five largest religions in the world in a religion class: Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam. They learn about religions or countries through researching and presenting their findings to each other. Teachers also do not learn about how to deal with prejudices and stereotypes while teaching, but all of them wanted to emphasize that, "every child is unique,"[127] and, "worth equal."[128]

Of the little information they learn, it includes outdated stereotypical information about other countries, such as China. One teacher sent me a photo of the PABO textbook to learn about teaching Dutch to children. The fragment she sent was titled, "Chinese children at school," and was originally from a 1994 book, but also in the most recent version of 2020 as well.[129] The prejudiced and stereotypical information was thus taught to teachers in a period of more than twenty-five years. The first problematic thing from this fragment was that it spoke about "Chinese children", completely ignoring their possible background of being born in the Netherlands, having one or two Dutch parents, or being adopted. The second problematic statement was, "Dutch teachers experience Chinese children to be silent [...]," reinforcing the

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[127] Interviewee 4, Interview by author through Skype, Maassluis, October 14, 2020.
[128] Interviewee 6, Interview by author through telephone, Maassluis, October 15, 2020.
[129] Folkert Kuiken, and Anne Vermeer, *Nederlands als Tweede Taal in het Basisonderwijs*, (Amersfoort: ThiemeMeulenhoff, 2013), 11.

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stereotype of Chinese students being silent. "They usually stay home in the weekends, because father and mother have to work in the restaurant." This sentence reinforces the stereotype that Chinese people in the Netherlands are solely working in restaurants. It continues with, "The Chinese children watch at most a Chinese-language video in the weekend, or go to their grandmother who is also only speaking Chinese." This fragment gives rise to the idea that Chinese children are only capable of speaking Chinese, and that their Dutch-language skills are less than their Chinese language skills. Nevertheless, children with a Chinese background perform better in schools than Caucasian Dutch children, and the aforementioned idea is thus prejudiced and incorrect.[130] Therefore, because this fragment is taught to teachers, they may treat their Chinese students differently or teach the stereotypes in it to all students.

Kader 1.1 Chinese kinderen op school

Nederlandse leerkrachten ervaren Chinese kinderen vaak als zwijgzaam in de bekende kringgesprekken op maandagmorgen. En die kinderen ervaren de gesprekken vaak als een marteling. Want ze schamen zich te moeten zeggen dat ze in het weekend niet zoals hun Nederlandse klasgenootjes uit zijn geweest. Ze blijven in het weekend meestal thuis, omdat vader en moeder in het restaurant moeten werken. Hooguit kijken Chinese kinderen in het weekend naar een Chineestalige video, of ze gaan naar oma die ook alleen maar Chinees spreekt. Maar daar kun je in het kringgesprek op school, vooral omdat dat op een andere taal- en cultuurwereld betrekking heeft, niet over vertellen. Nederlandse leerkrachten zouden daar meer op moeten inspelen. Onder meer door te vragen wat de kinderen op de video gezien hebben.
Bron: M. van der Made-Yuen, 'Mijn nichtje is een paard; Chinees en Nederlands: beide moeten geleerd worden'. In: Het jonge kind, november 1994, p. 74-76.
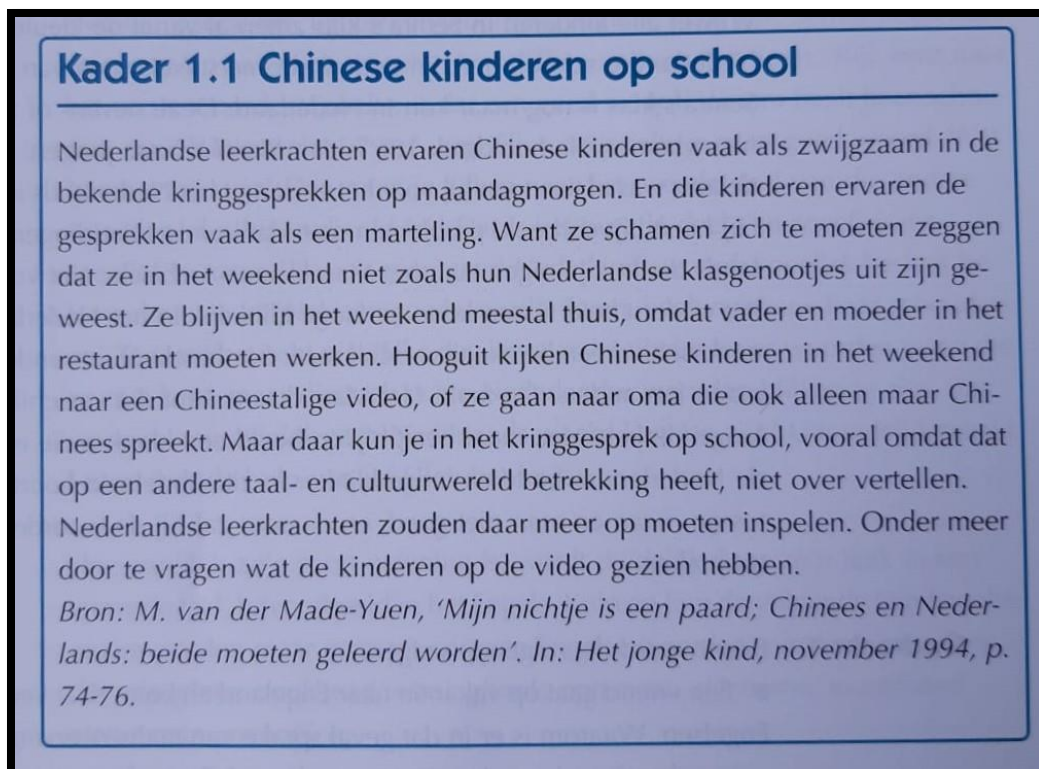
Figure 20 Textbook "Nederlands als Tweede Taal in het Basisonderwijs"

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[130] "Adoptiekinderen uit China Zitten Vaker op het VWO," CBS, accessed July 22, 2020, https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2015/24/adoptiekinderen-uit-china-zitten-vaker-op-het-vwo.

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7.1.2 How Teachers Care to Teach about Other Countries

It differs per school how much children learn about the world around them. However, all teachers I interviewed agreed that in grade 1 learning how to read and write are most important, and everything else is secondary, and other countries are "peripheral matters."[131] They agree that children in higher grades learn more about other countries in a less simplistic way because their attention span is longer than those of six-year-olds, and there is more room to discuss things that are not centre to the curriculum. Teachers also argued that six-year-olds are not able to understand concepts such as other countries yet. Another thing that shows teachers are not interested in teaching about other countries is how they fail to recognize aspects of cultures. The teachers were often not able to identify Chinese aspects correctly. One teacher saw a girl wearing a qipao, which is a traditional Chinese dress, but she identified it as a "Chinese kimono,"[132] which in fact is Japanese. The same teacher also identified mooncakes, a traditional Chinese pastry, as cookies. Another teacher misidentified lanterns as balloons, but still related these to China.

7.1.3 How Teachers Teach about Other Countries

Textbooks are not intended to teach grade 1 students about other countries. Therefore, most of the concrete information children learn about other countries is through thematic projects and presentations on countries of students themselves, or videos on children's news programs such as Jeugdjournaal, Klokhuis, and Schooltv.[133] Students will then gain knowledge about a country and its culture. Besides that, teachers will only discuss countries if students bring them up. Teachers thought that children only learn about other countries through concrete information, and not through images, short stories, or photos that appear throughout books, or other materials that do not have a world orientation purpose. They were thus unaware of how sporadic information throughout textbooks can educate children.

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[131] Interviewee 2, Interview by author through Skype, Maassluis, October 1, 2020.

[132] Interviewee 2, Interview.

[133] Jeugdjournaal is a news program targeted at children by simplifying the news and having different topics than adult news. http://www.jeugdjournaal.nl. Klokhuis is a program that teaches children about specific topics, having a different topic each workday. http://www.hetklokhuis.nl. Schooltv is a website that collects videos on a platform that teach children about all sorts of topics. http://www.schooltv.nl. Teachers often watch these programs in class with their students.

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7.2 What Teachers Do with Their Identification in Class

7.2.1 Teachers Take a "Racelessness" Position

Most interviewed teachers shared the idea that children in grade 1 are unable to see different appearances in images, or stereotypes at all. These teachers acted similarly to previously researched teachers who often denied the importance of race differences in classrooms by taking a "racelessness" position, arguing that children do not think about who comes from what background or make judgements based on that.[134] Nevertheless, this research suggested that children do attribute race to people based on skin colour before they attend schools.[135] To say that children do not see skin colour and identify people based on that is thus an incorrect observation from these teachers. Interviews with other teachers also contrasted this, because some teachers said that children do recognize differences in the appearances of characters in books. Furthermore, teachers took a racelessness position based on the idea that the multi-cultural classrooms they taught in automatically indicated that racism and stereotypes could not be present in their classrooms. "You are multi-cultural, so you are not stereotyping,"[136] was one teacher's statement. They used the multi-cultural environment as an excuse for not having to address prejudice, stereotypes, or racism.

7.2.2 Teachers Think That Children Are Unable to See Chinese Aspects

Besides thinking children cannot see differences in appearances, four teachers also thought that children are unable to recognize Chinese aspects in textbooks. Interestingly, while discussing the "hoelang" search-plate, they argued that they had never heard children mention something Asian or Chinese about it. Another teacher also acknowledged that most things that reminded him of China would for children not be linkable to China, such as "hoelang" and "shark-fin soup". They thought that children would only be able to link it to China if they had seen it before in a Dutch-Chinese restaurant, or Chinese New Year celebration. This idea that children are unable to learn new things, or expand their knowledge of concepts, such as those of countries, is highly doubtful. Research contradicts this, and argues that children's knowledge is expanded when they encounter common elements of a concept, and can link this to what is

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[134] A Kempf, "Colour-blind Praxis in Havana: Interrogating Cuban Teacher Discourses of Race and Racelessness," *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 16.2 (2012): 246-267.; Priest, et al., "'You Are Not Born Being Racist, Are You?'", 823.
[135] Yarrow Dunham et al., "The Development of Race-Based Perceptual Categorization: Skin color Dominates Early Category Judgements," *Developmental Science* 18.3 (2015): 479-480.
[136] Interviewee 6, Interview.

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already stored in their memories.[137] Because of these new links, children are able to expand and strengthen their knowledge of a certain concept.[138] Single episodes of stereotypes on China, without intervention of teachers, can thus lead to children developing a stereotypical concept of China.[139]

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[137] Patricia Bauer, et al. "Characters and Clues: Factors Affecting Children's Extension of Knowledge through Integration of Separate Episodes," *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology* 111 (2012): 692.
[138] Bauer, "Characters and Clues," 692.
[139] Ibid., 681.

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7.3 How Teachers Evaluate the Importance of Stereotyping

7.3.1 Teachers Think That Stereotypes Are Not Problematic

No teacher in this study considered themselves to be prejudiced, and they all thought stereotypes were harmful if children would learn them. Stereotypes are harmful because children "just believe everything"[140] they see or read. Nevertheless, some teachers argued that textbooks used to be more stereotypical when they were young, and the decrease in stereotypes over time meant for them that stereotyping is now not bad enough to intervene when encountering them in the classroom because they compare it to the overt racist stereotypes they encountered as children.

It became clear that teachers did not think stereotypes were problematic in how they discussed the "hoelang" search-plate. Some teachers thought that these stereotypes were not bad and could do no harm, others thought that it was highly stereotypical but argued that children would not be able to see these stereotypes, and yet others thought that it was so exaggerated that it could not be recognized to belong to a certain culture anymore. Therefore, whether they acknowledged the stereotypes or not, they all agreed that stereotypes are not important and are not problematic for children. Although teachers thus acknowledge the importance of stereotypes and how they can harm children, they do not act upon this believe. Instead, they try to ignore the significance of stereotypes in Lijn 3, as well as downplaying the ability of children to recognize or learn the stereotypes, and thereby convincing themselves that stereotypes are not problematic.

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[140] Interviewee 3, Interview by author through Skype, Maassluis, October 4, 2020.

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7.4 How Teachers Use Their Evaluation of Stereotyping in the Classroom

7.4.1 How Teachers Deal with Stereotypes

Although teachers thought stereotypes would negatively affect students in their relationships with others, they fail to address stereotypes in books, choosing instead to avoid them. They avoid talking about stereotypes because they think if students do not mention stereotypes, they do not see them. Some teachers thought grade 1 students are too young to understand an explanation of what stereotypes are, and how they are not necessarily true. Therefore, they opted to ignore stereotypes in the books, and let the children learn them as the truth. Alternatively, they would try "to emphasize the good, or other side of a culture"[141], thus implicating that there is a bad side. Another teacher thought it was possible to explain stereotypes to children, but that teachers prefer to spend time on reading and writing. She realized during the interview that one can make time if they think it is problematic enough, and thereby introduce critical reading to children. A different teacher also acknowledged the problematic aspect of stereotypes and was more drastic in the way she wanted to debunk stereotypes. She said that if she would be teaching about China, she would try to show the real China and not the China you always see, such as to skype with Chinese children in their Chinese schools, or to show real Chinese songs instead of Dutch-Chinese songs with made up words. After the interview, she even developed a thematic project on China without stereotypes and prejudice.

7.4.2 Teachers Think That Stereotypes Are Funny

The above mentioned teacher, who developed her own project on China, was alarmed that other teachers think that "stereotypes are somewhat cosy [gezellig], and fun, or hilarious."[142] The other teachers confirmed her statement in various ways. One teacher argued that the "hoelang" joke is a joke "that children don't understand, but that is hilarious for adults."[143] Other teachers agreed that the things in the search-plate were funny and hilarious, and that especially the funny and hilarious things would be discussed with the students because they enjoy that. This shows that teachers often think that stereotypes are funny, and because they think they are funny, they teach them to their students.

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[141] Interviewee 2, Interview.
[142] Interviewee 1, Interview.
[143] Interviewee 5, Interview by author through Zoom, Maassluis, October 14, 2020.

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7.4.3 The Effects of Teaching Children Stereotypes

One teacher experienced something before the interview that served as a real-life example of the problematic consequences of exposing children to stereotypes about China without debunking these stereotypes. This teacher walked outside, and encountered two boys of nine years old, who saw an Asian man and boy walking. The boys bowed, put their hands together, and said "ni hao" to them. The teachers' immediate reaction was that it was a racist act and that they were ridiculing that man on being Asian. Nevertheless, he noticed that the boys were sincerely proud of themselves because they made contact with people from another culture. The fact that their intention was good does not make it okay to generalize Asian people with being Chinese or act stereotypical. Somehow, they must have learned that everyone who looks Asian is Chinese, and that you should say "ni hao," and bow to them. This demonstrates the need for children to stop learning stereotypical information about other cultures to avoid situations like these, or to discuss the problem of stereotyping with children who cannot think critically themselves yet.

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8. Conclusion

My findings are limited to describing what is actually taught at school, not how this affects the life of children, or how this affects China and the Dutch-Chinese community. Nevertheless, my thesis is a starting point to become aware of stereotypes that are taught to young children, and how they can develop prejudices through their textbooks and teachers. I suggest that further research could explore how stereotypes in textbooks and teachers actually affect children's lives, and if books with less stereotypes affect lives differently. It would also be interesting to study whether Dutch people see a difference between the Dutch-Chinese minority, Mainland Chinese citizens, people from Hong Kong, or other Chinese groups, or if when they speak about "Chinese people" they distinguish between these groups.

The research question of this thesis was: what discourse about China is taught to students of grade 1 in the Netherlands through their textbooks by their teachers? Based on the textbooks, I conclude that they contain simplistic information about China that is often highly stereotypical and may cause prejudice. Furthermore, the stereotypes of the textbooks are ignored by most teachers, or considered funny. This creates the possibility for students to believe the stereotypes and develop a prejudicial discourse.

Furthermore, the interviews showed that there were some discrepancies between what teachers thought children know and see, and how they should deal with that. First of all, they all recognized how harmful stereotypes can be for children, especially because they know children believe everything they see at such a young age. However, they also argued that children would not be able to see stereotypes, thereby escaping the issue of addressing them. Furthermore, they unanimously argued that it was not a priority for children to learn about China, or other countries, and that is why they would not quickly explain something about stereotypes. Therefore, most teachers do not create a critical environment, and instead perpetuate the prejudiced discourse on China in their classrooms.

To relate this research to Kuipers and van der Ent's research on ethnic jokes, the textbooks are contain numerous jokes about China. Jokes have been made on how tall Chinese people are and the weird Chinese language with the joke "hoelang", as well as a constant funny representation of Chinese characters with small eyes, or stripes and dots as eyes. Another joke on the hardworking ethic of Chinese people was made with Dong, who was unable to shoot anywhere else than the rose he was supposed to hit. The teachers agreed with their conclusions

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that the jokes were not intended to create a negative image of China, but instead were a way to include Chinese students in the class environment.[144]

To recap, as has been argued by Ndura, children are affected by prejudice through invisibility, stereotypes, and incorrect information about other cultures.[145] The analysis of the textbooks has proved that two of the three aspects of prejudice could be found in the textbooks, namely stereotypes and unrealism. Invisibility was one aspect that was not applicable, since, compared to other cultures, China was represented regularly in the books. Nevertheless, there was a large amount of stereotypical texts and images about China. Unrealism was also present, often together with stereotypes, or enforcing these stereotypes. The great diversity of China is often overlooked and this, in combination with unrealism, reinforces the existing discourse that is filled with prejudice and stereotypes. It presents an image of China defined by how people in the Netherlands see China, disregarding the diverse realities of China and Chinese culture. This discourse of stereotypes and unrealism creates a gap between Dutch and Chinese students, causing a power hierarchy in which Caucasian Dutch students rank higher than those with a Chinese background.[146] Nevertheless, unrealism can be expected in this genre of children's textbooks due to the simplification and humour in them. However, there are some stereotypes in the textbooks which are currently questioned by a wave of anti-racism of Asian-Dutch people in the Netherlands, as well as in this research.[147] Furthermore, Crandell and Warner argued that whether something becomes topic of academic research indicates a shift in acceptability of prejudice.[148] Therefore, this research, and the public debate about it, both indicate that there is prejudice within the textbooks, and that prejudice on China in the Netherlands is becoming unacceptable.

To summarize, the discourse about China in the textbooks was dominated by stereotypes. The stereotypes in the textbooks were often negative, such as the stereotypical appearances, weird cuisine, weird behaviour, and being questioned in capability. The emphasis on the stereotypical weirdness of China creates a prejudice which can be characterized by incomprehension, ridicule, and disgust, and creates an image of China that is highly different and far-removed from reality. Luckily there was also a less negative image of China in the books, of characters being hardworking, and not all possible negative stereotypes, such as eating

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[144] Kuipers and van der Ent, "Etnische Humor en Etnische Relaties in Nederland," 196.
[145] Ndura, "ESL and Cultural Bias," 146-148, 152.
[146] Ibid., 152.
[147] "Manifest," Asian Raisins, accessed October 28, 2020, https://asianraisins.nl/manifest/.
[148] Crandall and Warner, "How a Prejudice is Recognized," 139.

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dogs, were employed. It would be interesting to study how children are affected by the positive and negative discourses, and how both affect their idea of China.

To conclude, a lot of information about China is learned subconsciously, through images and text where no conscious attention is paid. Especially the subconscious knowledge that is taught in books is stereotypical and may cause prejudice, but teachers are reluctant to teach the children to think critically. Because of that, children come into contact with various stereotypes about China throughout their textbooks, and because they are easily influenced, they may be susceptible to believe these stereotypes. It would be necessary either for the teachers to intervene when they see stereotypes, and explain that these are not accurately representing China, or, more effectively, for the textbook illustrators and authors to stop putting stereotypes or racist jokes in them. Until publishers such as Malmberg, their authors, and illustrators fully adapt all their material to become non-stereotypical and un-prejudiced, teachers might be in a better position to tackle this problem. This can be achieved by raising awareness of stereotypes in books, and debunking them, as well as by educating teachers about other cultures. To recognize stereotypes and explain that they do not represent the reality of China, teachers need to be educated about stereotypes and the prejudicial discourse on China.

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9. Appendices

9.1 Appendix 1 List of Coding Categories

- Food
    - Dishes
    - Cutlery
    - Places to eat
- Language
    - Names
- Norms and values
    - Collectivism
    - Gender division
    - Harmony
    - Family bonds
    - Justice and correctness
    - Politeness
    - Honesty
    - Loyalty
- Clothing and outlook
    - Black hair
    - Yellow skin
    - Small eyes
    - Hairstyles
    - Head accessories
- Living creatures: animals and humans
    - People
        - Movement and action
        - Specific groups of people
            - Farmers
    - Animals
        - Panda
        - Dragon
- Geography
    - Map
    - Mountains
- Architecture
    - Temples
- History
- Symbols
    - Gestures
    - Religious symbols
    - Objects
        - Lanterns
    - Colours
        - Red
        - Gold
    - Typography
        - Characters

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9.2 Appendix 2 List of Interview Questions

Background

- Do you give permission to participate in this interview and to record it with a voice recorder?

- What is your full name and age?

- How long have you been a teacher?

Knowledge

- First, I would like to know what children in grade 1 learn about other cultures in general. How much do children in grade 1 learn about other cultures?

- If so, what do they learn? What aspects do they learn?

- About which cultures do they learn?

- How is this offered in terms of educational materials?

- Is information about other cultures clustered or sporadically offered?

- How do you pay attention to other cultures in the classroom?

China

- What do you think children know about China specifically? What aspects of China do they know? And is this about Mainland China or Dutch-Chinese culture for example?

- Did you ever teach about China or Chinese people? Or did they serve as an example during your classes? Can you tell me more about that?

- If a student would ask you what China is, what would you mention about China? What aspects do you think are important to mention?

- Did it ever happen that children asked this question?

Lijn 3

- Now I would like to look into the Lijn 3 books. I will send you some photos and I would like to discuss those.

- (Dong plays with arrows) You are looking at a story in Lijn 3, theme 2, page 32-33. One of the characters' name is Dong, who is the boy left of the tree. Where do you think he comes from, and why? When you see a character like this, will you mention where you think he comes from or what his background is? Will you say other things about this character? Do you think students notice that he is different or similar in comparison to other characters? What do you think they would notice about him?

- (Restaurant hoelang) You are now looking at a search plate in Lijn 3, theme 3, page 4-5. Can you show how you would teach with this search plate? What would you say

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about what is visible or not? What would you let children say about it? How would
you correct them? To what culture do you link this plate? To what culture do you
think children would link this plate? Would you say explicitly to the children to what
culture you think it belongs?

- (Chinese New Year) Lastly, I will show you a library book of theme 12 in Lijn 3.
What do you think this is about? Could you pretend to teach with this again? Why do
you think it is about what you think it is about? What would you explain about the text
and images to the students?

- How do you think China is represented throughout the Lijn 3 books, compared to
other cultures? Is China represented more or less than other cultures? What do you
think about how China is represented in terms of appearances and actions?

- How do you think China is represented throughout Lijn 3 compared to other books or
material you have ever used?

Education

- During your education to become teacher, how did you learn to think about other
countries and cultures? How did you learn about prejudice and stereotypes?

- Can you give me your own definition of being prejudiced as a person and how books
can give a prejudiced image? Can you give an example?

Behaviour in the classroom

- How do you think that prejudice and stereotypes about another country or culture
influence teaching?

- How do you think children do or do not see stereotypes and prejudice?

- How do you think teachers can best deal with stereotypes and prejudice in books and
the classroom?

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10.2 Interviews

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