Research paper

Borderlands: A Critical Examination of an International School in The Netherlands

by **Duncan Crawford** (dac1964@hotmail.com)

Contextualisation

International schools constitute particular sites for the exploration of a wide range of issues. In the paper below the school as a context in which 'cultural border crossing' (Giroux), may occur is explored, drawing on issues of nationality and identity. The borders in question may be spatial, social or relational; they may have cultural dimensions arising from the systems, structures and curriculum used by the school as well as broader cultural influences rooted in local and national cultural activity.

Abstract: *This paper aims to borrow the notion of critical pedagogy, and particularly Henri Giroux's notion of border pedagogy, and view it critically in the context of one of the international schools. The context of this school near The Hague in the Netherlands is first outlined. Giroux's notion that schools are 'pedagogical cultural borderlands' and that both teachers and students are border crossers is examined. Also notions of identity are explored. It is noted that border pedagogy tends to be too theoretical and not related sufficiently to practice. In conclusion indication is made as to how practical considerations might be constructed with particular reference to the teaching of English.*

Introduction: The Context of a British International School

Every weekday morning I cycle the seven kilometres from my home in the centre of Leiden, in South Holland, across eight canals, over or under three railway lines and past at least two windmills, to one of the many international schools which are located in or near the Hague. This particular school is located physically on an island, for the grounds are surrounded by canals and access is provided solely by bridge or causeway. My bicycle clatters over one of these bridges, over the canal and on into, the British School in the Netherlands (BSN).

Islands are of course a feature of the geography of the Netherlands and the abundance of water that helps create these islands is very noticeable to the newcomer. Gulliver was amazed when he first caught sight of the flying island of Laputa, with its many galleries, filled with onlookers, and people fishing with long rods.

> 'The reader can hardly conceive my astonishment to behold an island in the air, inhabited by men, who were able (as it should seem) to raise or sink, or put it into a progressive motion, as they pleased.' (Swift, 1726/1985 p 199)

An island though is more than a physical, geographical reality; it is a way of thinking, an aspect of identity: thus my being an islander is part of my Englishness. It is also a description of difference: the island's distinctiveness is highlighted by its water surround.

So the British School in The Netherlands is also metaphorically an island: it is an Anglophone island in a Dutch speaking land; it provides English education in a 'foreign' context; it caters for privilege in a Province that also encompasses poverty; it is a school of uniforms in a country where indigenous students wear none.

Like the flying island of Laputa in Swift's famous satire, the British School in The Netherlands is able to move, to change its location. For sometimes it is a very English island, joining in celebrations to mark the British Queen's Golden Jubilee; sometimes it is a Dutch island, revelling in Sinterklaas and his Moorish assistant Zwarte Piet; and at other times it is moved 'as it should seem' to be moored in an 'international' air, celebrating the diversity of its varied representative cultures through art, literature, music, histories and sometimes food.

The British School in the Netherlands was originally the much smaller English School founded in The Hague in 1935. However, in the past fifteen years the school has grown more than threefold so that it now occupies four sites with a population fast approaching 2,000. Its clientele is drawn mainly from the influential international and European financial, legal and business sectors based in the region. The school is unique amongst the international schools in The Netherlands in providing access to the English National Curriculum and associated examination boards; the school in its marketing strategy connects English education with international mobility.

It should be observed in passing that there is confusion at the school between 'British' and 'English'; students may be registered as British, because they hold British passports, but the curriculum is specifically English. This confusion illustrates one of the, as yet, unresolved identity issues that the fast growth of the school has created.

The Principal makes frequent reference to the school as both British and international. Its recent mission statement affirms that;

> 'The BSN is a leading British international school. Our mission is to provide a world-class education to individual students of all nationalities – developing their potential whilst encouraging self-discipline and mutual respect'. (British School in the Netherlands, 2001)

It goes on to explain that the curriculum;

> '[prepares] students for a happy and successful life in a fast-changing world, as citizens, at work and as individuals…'

The terms 'international' and 'world-class' appear to be marketing shorthand for 'successful' in terms that can be decoded by the targeted clientele. 'British' indicates the branded educational currency in which that clientele are investing, 'banking'.

There is then a problem of identity. The school is international by nature because its students come from countries all over the globe. Many of its academic and support staff have experience of teaching in other international schools located around the world. The curriculum however is English and the use of the associated examination boards locks the school into that curriculum. I suggest that, despite intentions to contrary, there is a master-narrative conditioned by England and Englishness. This constitutes a form of cultural imperialism.

The school's mission statement specifies nationality as a marker of identity and the marketing department therefore produces a document indicating the school's population by nationality (as represented in the chart in Appendix 1). It shows that at the Senior School, in which I work, 378 (54.2%) of the pupils are British, and in the school as a whole, this figure is 868 (48.9%). The next largest group represented in the Senior School are the South Africans at 31 (4.4%) and then the Dutch at 24 (3.5%). In the whole school, the second largest group is the South Africans at 61 (3.4%), and then the Dutch at 60 (3.4%). It is important to note that approximately half of all students are not British; it is also important to realise that these

'other' students represent a wide spectrum of nationalities, some seventy different nationalities.

This information is reproduced in Table 1 below.

Nationality	Senior School	%	Whole BSN	%
British	378	54.2	868	48.9
South African	31	4.4	61	3.4
Dutch	24	3.5	60	3.4
Nationals who are not British	320	45.8	909	51.1
Total	698	100	1777	100

Table 1. Students at the British School in the Netherlands by nationality. (Source: BSN Marketing Department: December 2001)

There is a recognition that the schools' Dutch locus is important despite the relatively small number of students registered as Dutch. For, according to its handbook, the school also provides a:

> '…framework of the highest quality, modified to meet the needs of our international students and to reflect our location in the Netherlands'.

This modification refers to the fact that the school is situated physically beyond the borders of the United Kingdom and therefore outside its legal framework. The school can pick and choose its curriculum, except that this is partially constrained by the use of English and Welsh examination boards. It should be noted that acknowledgement of the Dutch context is regarded by some of the Dutch teachers in the school as only tokenism, a kind of nod towards multiculturalism.

But what does this information about nationality really mean? It reveals nothing more than which passport students hold; it is only a formal or legal description.

Nationality as a descriptor of identity is too flexible, too amorphous a term, and thus easily misinterpreted. This is best demonstrated by examining one particular student. This boy holds both an Italian and Brazilian passport; however, his mother is Japanese and his father Italian; both parents grew up in Brazil and therefore the family speaks Portuguese as a first language; the student however speaks English fluently as a second language, although he is also learning French and German to GCSE; he has regarded the Netherlands as his home for more than ten years and speaks Dutch proficiently. Where the student fits into the school's statistics would be interesting to find out, but given his background, the fact that he may be classified as Italian or Brazilian tells one very little about his identity.

Every weekday morning, having arrived at the British School in The Netherlands, I cross a border and cycle onto an island. During the day when I enter my classroom, I again cross a border and enter an island, a different island each time. And lesson by lesson, in our classroom, my students and I become islanders together. In any given teaching day I must land on four or five different islands, at least, and the students, on many more. Each day we

all assume any number of different identities as islanders. Gulliver would have been very much at home in the school.

The Critical Literature on Borderlands and Identity

(a) Borderlands and Critical Pedagogy

Giroux (1992, pp 32-33) maintains that schools are 'pedagogical cultural borderlands' in that there are subordinate cultures, which hassle and infiltrate the dominant, supposedly homogeneous, culture. Giroux (1992, pp 26-27) in discussing the politics of location borrows from post-colonial discourse the notion of privilege. Indeed the identification of master narratives, the identification and 'unlearning' of ones own privileged voice, becomes essential in this infiltration process.

Critical pedagogy has been influenced by post-colonialism, by post-modernism and the work of positionalists such as feminist critics. Writers like Giroux and Apple (Carlson and Apple, 1998, p 26) developed the notion of the teacher as a 'transformative intellectual' who sides with the oppressed and takes part in the educative process in order to help society.

Critical pedagogy is thus hallmarked by four notions (Carlson and Apple, 1998, pp 27-28). Firstly, is the notion that crossing borders between differences is a disruptive process. Secondly, critical pedagogy tries to recover 'histories, voices and visions'. Thirdly, popular culture is seen to be as important as are, lastly, post-modern notions of hybridity.

Also Giroux (1992, p 27) suggests that post-colonial discourse affects our understanding of voice, of alterity. Furthermore, Giroux (1996, p 26) takes seriously the post-modern discourses that stress the partial and situated nature of knowledge and the layered, sometimes contradictory nature of identity.

Another post-colonial critic, Homi Bhabha, looks at borders in the context of the nation state. In his introduction, Bhabha (1990, p 4) suggests that the boundaries between nations are the locations where cultural and political authority are negotiated. The borders become 'in-between spaces' where the conflict, or differences, that arise between, for example 'cultures and nations, theories and texts, the political, the poetic and the painterly' become 'narrative positions'. Bhabha (1990, p 320) goes on to suggest that individuals may translate the kinds of formative differences already mentioned into a 'kind of solidarity' by 'living on the borderline of history and language, on the limits of race and gender'. It is not clear however what he means by solidarity.

Giroux links Border Pedagogy with radical democratic politics in which both teacher and student become agents of transformative change. He sets this (within a number of theoretical considerations (1992, pp 28-29). Firstly, borders that have been created using master narratives must be able to be challenged. Secondly, students themselves must become 'border crossers' as a means of comprehending alterity. Thirdly, there is a need for radical pedagogical conditions to exist to;

> '…allow students to write, speak, and listen in a language in…'

which;

> '…meaning becomes multiaccentual and dispersed and resists permanent closure. This is a language in which one speaks with rather than exclusively for others'. (Giroux, pp 28-29)

Giroux suggests that by combining both a modernist approach of reasoned analysis of public life with a post-modernist concern for difference, border pedagogy becomes both 'transformative and emancipatory'.

Giroux (1992, p 29) proposes the use of partiality as a basis for recognizing the limitations inherent in all discourses and particularly those 'that deny gaps, limits, specificity, and counter-narratives'. In this context students need to learn different 'cultural codes, experiences and languages'. A central pedagogical task becomes, therefore, 'demystification'. Students need to be challenged through text about the complexities of their own histories according to their 'level of schooling' (Giroux, 1992, p 30).

Partiality for Giroux (1992, p 120) is a postmodernist rejection of master-narratives and grand totalising discourses. Rather he proposes the specific, the particular, the local, the quotidian, which helps articulate the 'Other' and paint the changing limits of the border.

Giroux (1992, p 31) further argues that a border pedagogy would not be a 'totalising' one but would allow for the reading of different texts, dominant and subordinate, from the points of view of different audiences. This pedagogy would take up 'issues of production, audience, address, and reception'. In this context the use of texts that originate in popular culture would not only provide easier access to text for students, but would also assist students to define and identify the codes and limits of the dominant culture (Giroux, 1992, p 32). This approach is postmodern in nature; border pedagogy will take popular culture seriously and thereby affirm the importance of minority culture (Giroux, 1992, p 120).

Carlson and Apple (1998, p 20) note that postmodern theories follow a Gramscian tradition which emphasizes that all texts are influenced by their production, that they are 'influenced by hegemonic ideologies'. Texts therefore must be considered in their cultural context, the context of their cultural production. Carlson and Apple also note the increasing influence of popular commercialised texts and question the use of children as a captive market audience.

These concerns are mollified by the awareness that 'texts are not texts until they are read' and that 'this is an active process that cannot be predetermined'. Again it is the teacher who must encourage balance in the reading of text and who may help readers 'to resist becoming hegemonised, consumerised subjects'. Carlson and Apple (1998, p 23) make reference to feminist approaches to this problem; feminists relate the reading of text to the subject's positionality, to various markers of identity. (They use, for example, Judith Butler's feminist analysis of the television coverage of the Gulf War in 1991) For feminists however, there is no "correct" reading of the text; there is no attempt at consensus. Instead the object in the educative process is to create a 'dialogue across difference' where all 'voices' are understood to be partial (Carlson and Apple, 1998, p 27). Each dialogue thus creates a new text, a new voice; it is a transformative activity.

Giroux later (1992, pp 34-35) suggests that teachers, like students, should become border-crossers, not only to assist in the articulation of 'Otherness' for students, but also as a means of their own reconstruction. Teachers cannot however, fully represent the 'Other', and will need to listen to voices of the 'Other' within the learning environment. Teachers' own narratives therefore 'must be situated and examined as discourses that are open, partial and subject to ongoing debate and revision.'

It is relevant, finally, to employ an historical notion of border from a Dutch context. Van der Meer (1999) uses the records of indecency trials in the Netherlands, before during and after the French occupation, to investigate one definition of boundary. Van der Meer (1999, pp 237-241) maintains that the trial in 1826 of Adam Cornelissen in Amsterdam marks a moment in which notions of place in Holland became defined. Cornelissen's conviction for

indecency was overturned by a higher court; what consenting individuals did in private was their own concern.

However, Van der Meer concludes that this case did much more because it helped to define the difference between private and public; it helped define public; for no unwilling witnesses were present, except those who had gone to extraordinary lengths to do so.

> 'The boundary between "public" and "private" was set by the presence of witnesses and even more by their intentions'. (Van der Meer, 1999, p 240)

In this context the boundary between public and private, inside and outside, is a place of human interaction; it is active not passive; it is, ironically, at the centre of activity, not on the edges of it. Van der Meer is suggesting that a boundary is also a centre.

Furthermore, Van der Meer (1999, p 241) concludes that in the Netherlands of the nineteenth century, this 'emerging legal boundary … also defined the democratic right to determine one's own life'. A boundary, in other words, is a location in which everyone has a place to define themselves politically.

(b) Identity

Carlson and Apple (1998, pp 15-19) write about the way student identity has been influenced by changes in education since the late 1970's. These reforms have reduced teachers to mere technicians; this effect, particularly in England, and its concomitant form of control I have discussed elsewhere (Crawford, 2001).

They also identify the drawing of young people into movements of collective identity that make for a sense of superiority and intimidation of the 'Other'. They advocate rather;

> 'collective identities that involve a struggle to affirm equality in the face of oppression and discrimination' (1998, p 17)

Carlson and Apple's solution is to 'think about schools as "public spaces"' which are characterized by dialogue.

Nancy Fraser (1997, pp 1-33) demonstrates that claims by minority voices for 'recognition' actually create problems of equity. Conversely, the desire for justice, for redistribution in society, silences by definition these distinctive, recognised minority voices. Fraser has therefore articulated a dilemma at the heart of identity, at the heart of discourses around difference.

Fraser (1997, p 2) also writes about groups within a particular culture or 'communities of value' which try 'to defend their identities, end cultural domination and win recognition'. She terms this the redistribution-recognition dilemma (1997, p 16). She further comments that;

> 'The upshot is that the politics of recognition and the politics of redistribution often appear to have mutually contradictory aims.' (1997, p 16)

In short, a group that makes special claims about its identity cannot expect and do not want to be treated as just a part of the whole. Just as fairness to the whole, makes it difficult to ascribe specificity to the particular group.

Fraser (1997, pp 18-19) takes the example of the positional marker of sexuality to demonstrate how her redistribution-recognition dilemma works at the extremes. Thus gay and lesbian people suffer primarily from a dilemma of recognition since members of this

group are drawn from across the socio-economic spectrum. “Overcoming homophobia and heterosexism requires changing cultural valuations … to revalue a despised sexuality, to accord positive recognition to gay and lesbian sexual specificity’.

However, Fraser (1997, pp 19-23) also shows that the dilemma is compounded where both political economic differentiation and cultural-valuational differentiation are involved together. Issues of gender and race best describe this;

> ‘How can feminists fight simultaneously to abolish gender differentiation and to valorise gender specificity?’ (1997, p 21)

She further complicates the dilemma by describing remedial action as either ‘affirmative’ or ‘transformative’ (1997, pp 23-31). Affirmative action in this context is about ‘end-state outcomes’; it tends to produce a specific result but without transforming the whole; hence multi-cultural approaches to identity tend to produce valued outcomes but do not address fundamental and ingrained patterns of injustice. Transformative action on the other hand requires a completely new approach to those ingrained injustices.

> ‘Affirmative remedies work additively and are often at cross-purposes with one another … the intersection of class, “race”, gender and sexuality intensifies the need for transformative solutions.’ (1997, p 32)

Transformation is relevant then as a form of understanding constructs of identity in educational contexts. This concept is also adopted by Giroux (1992), Fraser (1997) and Unterhalter (2002) Transformation as a form of mediation is about reshaping the power relationships across borders; it suggests hybridity.

In his analysis of a possible European cultural identity, Wintle (1996, p 20) is sensitive to post-colonial discourses, which insinuate a euro-centrist bias. He admits that Europeans have in the past used alterity as a means to define their own identity, but claims (1996, p 21) that bottom-up initiatives may be a key to future European cultural identity, one not based on European Union institutions. In this Wintle is using ideas of ‘Other’ to promote cross-border identities. Furthermore (1996, pp 22-23), he adheres to a notion of a multi-layered, and contradictory, an integrational identity;

> ‘…within a single (though multiple) identity, allegiances can form with entirely contradictory institutions or concepts; one only has to think of torn loyalties in wartime’. (1996, p 23)

European cultural identity for Wintle is thus problematic, but based on a partially shared historical heritage and experience.

Identity is not a defined, permanent description, but is active, changing and oppositional. Epstein and Johnson (1998) examine the ways student sexual identity is currently formed and explored, but often also oppressed and denied in educational establishments. Employing Raymond Williams’ terms of ‘dominant’, ‘residual’ and ‘emergent’ notions of identity, Epstein and Johnson identify sexuality as an emergent discourse of identity;

> ‘Sexual categories are not understood passively, as diversities that co-exist, but dynamically, as differences that interact and produce each other within structures of power.’ (1998, p 191)

They go on (1998, p 200) to suggest that, although there are inherent “dangers”, the ‘borderland between lesbian and gay and straight identities are ‘particularly generative of emergent forms and novel solidarities’.

Epstein and Johnson (1998, pp 108-150) conducted ethnographic research in several English schools. Their research identified the asexual nature of both student and teacher identities. For teachers this particularly revealed itself in the choice of work attire, teachers' clothing being essentially desexualised. Epstein and Johnson (1998, p 115) suggest that 'conventionally gendered dress is … an aspect of the "neutrality" of teacher dress codes'. But clothing can also denote function; thus the white lab coat denotes the science teacher, the track suit the PE teacher, the suit a teacher with responsibility, a shirt and tie a teacher rather than a concierge.

Writers like Said (1978/1995, pp 314-315) demonstrate the importance of language as a signifier of cultural value. Sensitivity to the use of language in a mixed cultural borderland is going to be essential. Another postcolonial critic, Johnson (1998, pp 11-12), understands language to signify the oppositional force of alterity in education. He is concerned to decipher the signs, the signals in the conflict of master narratives with hidden voices.

(c) Criticism of Borderlands, Critical Pedagogy and Identity

Ellsworth (1989) suggests that Critical Pedagogy employs a mythical norm in its engagement with notions of 'empowerment', 'student voice', 'dialogue' and 'critical reflection'. She describes (1989, p 310) the current mythical norm as a 'young, white, Christian, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied, thin, rational man' One organic reaction to this 'politics of appearance' is the arising of what Ellsworth calls (1989, p 317) 'affinity groups'.

As part of her critique, Ellsworth (1989, p 312) points out that silence before a teacher in a classroom does not necessarily equate with 'voicelessness' or lack of identity. Silence can be an indictment of, for example, the perceived safety of the environment, the perceived power relations between individuals or groups, even the particular health and emotions of individuals on a particular day. She concludes (1989, p 321) therefore, that knowledge, identity and social relations may be partial, contradictory and irreducible (they cannot be made to 'make sense') and that all individuals move in and out of the privileged role of oppressor under the current mythical norm.

Ellsworth further suggests (1989, p 323) that the unlearning of this privilege may open up 'discursive and material spaces'. She advocates (1989, p 322) an identity politics 'in which identity is seen as … a starting point – not an ending point.'

Ellsworth is advocating a notion of difference:

> 'If you can talk to me in ways that show you understand that your knowledge of me, the world, and the 'Right thing to do' will always be partial, interested,, and potentially oppressive to others, and if I can do the same, then we can work together on shaping and reshaping alliances for constructing circumstances in which students of difference can thrive.' (Ellsworth, 1989, p 324)

Carlson and Apple (1998, p 28) make a number of important criticisms of critical pedagogy, like Giroux's border pedagogy. Whilst they acknowledge the advances made in reconceptualising what occurs in schools, they criticise this type of pedagogy for being as yet too theoretical and thus not rooted in the reality of the educational context. Furthermore, border pedagogy is a discourse constructed, by definition, at the margins, on the edges, at the boundaries. What therefore of the middle, of the 'mainstream'? Giroux claims in defence that he is trying to speak a new language, to reconstruct the school, to transform the whole, not just the borders.

Praxis

The critical notions of identity and border pedagogy examined here could inform practice in a school such as the British School in the Netherlands. Appropriating ideas of identity, of the voice of alterity, of the classroom as a borderland would have implications for pedagogy.

Firstly then, the British School in The Netherlands constitutes a borderland and the specifically social and educational activity within that context is the border. The island nature of The British School in The Netherlands is transferred into the classroom, especially since the constraints of the island curriculum, the English National Curriculum, affect pedagogy so directly. Thus students' work must fulfil prescribed criteria to access the required qualifications.

It is relevant that the English National Curriculum has been a focus of dissent in the school from the longer-serving members of staff against the new management; this dissent mirrors the identity issues which have arisen with the school's rapid growth. The English National Curriculum is enforced as the framework for the school's own curriculum but insufficient notice is taken of the liberating notion of 'framework'. The classroom could be regarded as a kind of ***Radio Caroline*** (a pirate radio-station lacking official permission to broadcast) moored outside territorial waters, or like one of the islands geographically within the British Isles but politically outside the United Kingdom.

It is interesting, at this point and in contrast, to think back to my experience at St Martin-in-the Fields High School near Brixton. It was noted earlier that the 'international' context at the British School, its multi-national characteristics, were less important than constructs of identity that ignored nationality. The specific notions appropriated above seem as relevant to an inner city comprehensive in London, which has as diverse a population as the British School, as any other. St Martin-in-the Fields High School was an island partly because it perceived itself as one: the evangelical Christian nature of the school created an island or fortress mentality, however outward looking it may have been. Furthermore the regular influx of students from the Caribbean helped make the school feel like Jamaica in London and the celebration and affirmation of Caribbean culture assisted in this.

Further, the social and educational activity that takes place in school and particularly in the classroom needs to be 'transformative' by nature. An example of this working might be taken from the teaching of Jane Austen in a Year 10 GCSE English class, such as the group I am currently responsible for. The constraints are that the students should demonstrate knowledge of a text, its social, historical and cultural context, the literary tradition that forms the text and the linguistic changes the text exhibits; the students will need to produce a coursework essay after approximately five weeks. The programme of study I currently employ for this group includes the reading of Pride and Prejudice and the use of a BBC produced video. Historical material demonstrating the nature of late Georgian society in early industrial England is used.

Contrary to received wisdom, the class and I watched the video first. Reading of the text then became focussed around questions that arose in discussion in class before and after watching the video. This group are particularly able and frequently lapse into red herrings. Interestingly, it is in the discussion of the red herrings, that much of the work of understanding Austen, her work and her age, takes place. This became so important that we instituted a red-herring cup, a real, suitably engraved cup, which the group agreed to award regularly for the best red herring. I grew to understand in a new way the merits of Pride and Prejudice as a result of working with the group. This then indicates the third appropriation: that border crossing is an activity for teachers *and not just* students.

However, it is important to include constructs of identity, which are as much a part of the epistemological work of borderlands as is pedagogy. Certain master narratives seem to dominate a class like the Austen GCSE group. It is not a master narrative of Englishness, although Englishness, is what is being examined; the students who are not English by nationality, including the Brazilian-Italian student mentioned earlier, participate as fully as those who are originally from England. The master narrative has more to do with the socio-economic background of the students. Their confidence, their willingness to work with me in examining Austen, their inquisitiveness exhibited in the red herrings, all appear to come from their perceived internationalness. However, after Ellsworth (1989), there are at least a quarter of the students who regularly opt in and out of silence

Lastly, although the school may be regarded as a 'public space', because it is a place of 'unwilling' activity, this may provide an opportunity for teachers to affect the democratic balance in response to the recent conservative reforms of English education. Thus, instead of teaching to the examinations and teaching to the curriculum, lessons would need to be liberated. Control in classrooms would pass from the teacher to the group, of which the teacher would only be an individual member. Classrooms as borderlands would have implications for the degree and type of planning that would be needed to prepare lessons. Certainly more time would be given over to the selection and production of resource materials. This again would imply control of a course would be less precise for the teacher; a teaching programme would need to be flexible and adaptable to suit the group's educational heading.

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Appendix 1

This table was drawn up by the marketing department of the British School in the Netherlands (December 2001)

Nationality	**Nursery**	**Reception**	**Junior School**	**Senior School**	**Total**
American	9	14	43	18	**84**
Argentinian	1				**1**
Australian	2	6	20	21	**49**
Austrian	1		9	4	**14**
Bangladeshi		1	2	1	**4**
Belgian	1	1	17	7	**26**
Brazilian			2	1	**3**
British	39	73	378	378	**868**
Bruneian		1	3	3	**7**
Canadian	2	5	17	6	**30**
Chilean			4	4	**8**
Chinese		2	5	7	**14**
Colombian			1		**1**
Croatian			2	2	**4**
Czech			2		**2**
Danish		1	5	1	**7**
Dutch	2		34	24	**60**
Ecuadorian			1	1	**2**
Egyptian	1		3		**4**
Ethiopian			1	1	**2**
Finnish			1		**1**
French	2	7	31	15	**55**
German	1		5	8	**14**
Greek	1	1	7		**9**
Hungarian			4	1	**5**
Indian			10	16	**26**
Indonesian			1	1	**2**
Iranian	1		2	2	**5**
Irish	2	3	8	11	**24**
Israeli		2	15	5	**22**
Italian	4	5	32	8	**49**
Japanese	2		6	4	**12**
Kazakh			1	3	**4**
Kenyan			3	1	**4**
Korean	2	1	7	4	**14**
Latvian			2	1	**3**

Nationality	**Nursery**	**Reception**	**Junior School**	**Senior School**	**Total**
Malaysian		2	17	14	**33**
Maltese		1	2		**3**
Mexican	1			2	**3**
Mongolian			1		**1**
Moroccan				1	**1**
Nepalese		1	3		**4**
New Zealander	1	3	8	5	**17**
Nigerian	2	1	31	20	**54**
Norwegian		2		1	**3**
Omani		2	4	6	**12**
Pakistani		1	6	6	**13**
Philippino			1		**1**
Polish			3	5	**8**
Portuguese	1	1	4	1	**7**
Romanian			1	2	**3**
Russian		2	1	5	**8**
Saudi Arabian				1	**1**
Serbian				2	**2**
Singaporean			4	1	**5**
South African	2	3	25	31	**61**
Spanish	5	2	22	14	**43**
Sri Lankan		1	7	4	**12**
Swedish	1	2	7	5	**15**
Swiss	1	1	1	2	**5**
Taiwanese			1	4	**5**
Thai	1	1	1		**3**
Turkish			3	3	**6**
Yugoslavian			1	2	**3**
Zambia				1	**1**
Zimbabwean			4	1	**5**
Total	**88**	**149**	**842**	**698**	**1,777**