

MSc Governance of Migration and Diversity – Public Administration
Erasmus University Rotterdam
First reader: Prof. dr. P.W.A. Peter Scholten
Second reader: Fiona Seiger
Marcela Renderos 580911
Word count: 19,253



The implementation of racial discrimination
policies at public primary schools

Executive Summary

Rotterdam is considered one of the largest and most diverse cities in the Netherlands. With over one million people living in the city, the municipality of Rotterdam faces several challenges in its daily work. The challenges include living together free from any discrimination and being a city free from prejudice and social distance. After the events that occurred in the demonstrations of Black Life Matters, the Municipality of Rotterdam once again undertook work on the issue of race discrimination.

Although racial discrimination is a topic that is not openly discussed because it has been condemned and is assumed not to be practised, it is a form of discrimination that still exists today. For this reason, this thesis addresses the issue of racial discrimination in an important subsystem of society, namely public schools.

This research is based on the analysis of the implementation of one of the action lines of the reinforcement plan of the initiative "Relax. This is Rotterdam". After the launch of this programme, the "Rotterdam Against Racism Plan - RARP" was launched one year later. This new plan strengthened areas of the coexistence and integration programme in the city of Rotterdam. The RARP as referred to throughout this study has three levels of operationalisation. However, this study focuses on the meso-level, where education is addressed, and educational institutions are found.

It is important for the municipality to address the root of the problem through knowledge. To do this, the municipality must address the problem of racial discrimination by strengthening and promoting understanding of the historical past, especially the history of the city and its fellow inhabitants.

In this sense, the present research refers to the implementation of this line of action in the public primary schools of a neighbourhood in the city of Rotterdam. In this neighbourhood, racial discrimination is particularly strong, but at the same time the diversity of the inhabitants is very high. The Feijenoord area is the scenario in which the present research is developed and the public primary schools in its jurisdiction.

The implementation phase in the public policy cycle is a key phase that can lead to the decision to develop changes or adjustments to the decisions made by policymakers. When an elaborated policy moves into scope, it may be seen as a result of various factors or variables that affect the

performance of the policy positively or negatively. The dimensions within which the implementation phase of the policy cycle moves must also be considered. In this sense, the analysis of the level of consensus among the actors involved in the implementation and the expected level of change in the institutions involved plays a role in the performance of public policy. These variables and dimensions are analysed to answer the research question that motivates this work. Recommendations such as establishing effective communication between stakeholders and others related to the implementation phase of public policies are provided at the end of the investigation.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations	5
List of Figures and Tables	5
Introduction.....	6
Societal Relevance	7
Academic Relevance.....	7
Thesis Outline	8
Chapter II: Theoretical Framework.....	9
2.1 Policy Implementation at primary schools– Rotterdam Against Racism.....	9
2.1.1 Policy Implementation	9
2.1.2 Policy Implementation Approaches and Dimension.....	10
2.2 Let’s talk about discrimination	17
2.2.1 Individual-level Discrimination – (Racial discrimination)	17
2.2.2 Institutional Discrimination	18
2.3 Theoretical Expectations.....	18
2.4 Operationalization Table	19
Chapter III: Research Design	21
3.1 Case Design.....	21
3.2 Data Collection & Analysis.....	23
3.3 Sampling approach.....	24
3.4 Limitations	25
3.5 Ethical considerations	26
Chapter IV: Contextual Background.....	26
4.1 Important Characteristics of the Dutch Education System.....	26
4.1.1 Freedom of Education by Law	28
4.1.2 General Administration – Organisation	28
4.1.3 The role of the Municipalities	29
4.1.4 Compulsory Education	29
4.2 The superdiverse city of Rotterdam	29
4.3 First Step: Relax. this is Rotterdam - RTIR	30
4.2.1 Education Field.....	31
4.3 Next: Rotterdam Against Racism Plan - RARP	31
4.3.1 Education Field.....	33
4.4 Challenges towards an education against racial discrimination in a superdiverse city.....	34
Chapter V: Discussion of the Findings & Analysis: SQ1 & SQ2.....	35
5.1 Identification of the activities related to action line six of the RARP by the Municipality ...	35
5.1.1 Activities regarding racial discrimination.....	35
5.1.2 Activities of the Municipality under the analysis of the policy implementation process	36
5.2 Identification of the activities related to action line six of the RARP by the public primary schools in Feijenoord	37
5.2.1 Activities carried out by the public primary schools in Feijenoord	38

5.3 Chapter Conclusion	39
Chapter VI: Discussion of the findings & Analysis SQ – Three	40
6.1 Opportunities to implement the RARP regarding the variables of the policy implementation process.....	40
6.2 Opportunities to implement de RARP regarding the Degree of consensus and change implied	41
6.3 Chapter Conclusion	42
Chapter VII: Discussion of the Findings & Analysis SQ - Four	42
7.1 Challenges to implementing the RARP regarding the variables of the policy implementation process.....	43
7.2 Challenges to implementing de RARP regarding the Degree of consensus and change implied	46
7.3 Chapter Conclusion	47
Chapter VIII: Final Remarks, Discussion & Recommendations	47
8.1 Conclusions and RQ answer	47
8.2 Discussion of the expectations.....	49
8.2.1 Expectation One	49
8.2.2 Expectation Two	49
8.2.3 Expectation Three	50
8.3 Policy Recommendations	50
References.....	51
Appendix.....	54
Appendix 1: Interviewees List.....	54
Appendix 2: The Role of the Municipalities – Long explanation	55
Appendix 3: Levels of the RARP - explained	55
Appendix 4: Consent Form.....	58

List of Abbreviations

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Meaning of abbreviation</i>
<i>RTIR</i>	Relax This is Rotterdam
<i>RARP</i>	Rotterdam Against Racism Plan
<i>MPCSHRPP – 2022</i>	Municipal Programme 2022 Colonial and Slave History of Rotterdam Project Plan

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Adaptation of the dimensions of the policy affecting implementation

Figure 2: Adaptation of the ‘model of policy implementation process’

Figure 3: Visualisation of the variables that affect the policy implementation

Figure 4: Visualisation of the Dutch education system

Figure 5: Visualisation of the standard schematic overview of the RARP

Table 1: Operationalisation table

Table 2: Chosen schools in Feijenoord

Table 3: Chosen public institutions: Municipality & Radar

Table 4: Adaptation of the description of the Dutch education levels

Introduction

The basic education system in the Netherlands is considered one of the best among OECD member countries (OECD, 2016). Under national law, education is free and compulsory for all children without exception from 5 to 18 years of age (see Chapter 4). Although Dutch law provides equal treatment regardless of origin, Weiner (2016) notes that some research studies have pointed to discriminatory practices in Dutch educational institutions. Nevertheless, the decentralised Dutch education system encourages innovative educational practices and enables a central government approach supported by a widespread commitment to evidence-based policy-making (OECD, 2016). The issue of discrimination and inclusion is coming into focus, not only in institutional practice but also in how to address these issues in superdiverse cities where increasing multiculturalism opens up the possibility for subtle practices of racial discrimination.

But local governments, especially in big cities, often do much more than just implement national policy from the top down. They often play a key role in formulating their own policies, which in turn influence the formulation of national policies (Scholten, 2014:150). In this sense, local governments tried to take the initiative and shape integration processes in their own way, referred to as the 'local turn' in integration policy (Geuijen, Oliver & Dekker, 2020). The local turn refers to the ability of cities and regions to set their own agenda and respond differently to similar challenges (Zapata-Barrero, Caponio & Scholten, 2017). For this study, the city of Rotterdam is considered a large city and is classified as one of the first superdiverse cities in the Netherlands (Belabas & Eshuis, 2019), which has played a role in formulating policies for migrant integration based on inclusion. After the 'Black Life Matter' demonstrations in Rotterdam, the municipality heard the call of society and channelled the information received into an action programme 'Relax, this is Rotterdam' (RTIR), which focuses on integration and equality in different action areas. One of these areas is the one this study addresses, the public primary school sector in one neighbourhood. Feijenoord is a neighbourhood characterised by its diverse society with different backgrounds. In contrast, there is evidence of high rates of racial discrimination in the neighbourhood (Rotterdam Inclusivity Project).

But despite efforts to integrate the newcomers into the host society, there are still other challenges to overcome in terms of equality and inclusion (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2020). And since racism is morally condemned and prohibited by law, it is expected that discrimination does not occur, and racism is thus incidental (Fibbi, Midtbøen & Simon, 2021:5). According to studies, some neighbourhoods in the city of Rotterdam tend to have higher rates of discrimination than other neighbourhoods. In this study, this type of discrimination is investigated by analysing the application of the public plan 'Rotterdam Against Racism (RARP)' in one of the neighbourhoods with the highest discrimination rates. For example, the application of action six of the plan is examined in relation to primary schools in Feijenoord.

Although the municipality of Rotterdam has no authority over the school curriculum, the municipality agrees that discrimination occurs at different levels of society, including in schools (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2020). Nevertheless, the municipality recognises that education is a crucial insight and is committed to equal opportunities in this field (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2020). The municipality plays a key role in the current implementation of the policy against racism and discrimination through the RARP. This is an intensification plan of the 'RTIR'. This intensification plan promotes equal and inclusive spaces where discrimination and racism have no place.

Societal Relevance

This study contributes to the understanding of the phenomena of racial discrimination in a super-diverse society. The municipality recognises that racial discrimination is still a problem in Rotterdam and addresses it with an action plan that targets different levels of work with and within society. By looking at how the plan is implemented on a daily basis, it can benefit and develop different areas that were considered in the RARP goals. For example, in education, as described above.

Furthermore, this study will contribute to self-reflection in the implementation phase of RARP by creating a new understanding of how the system succeeds or fails in translating general policy objectives into concrete and meaningful public services (van Meer & van Horn, 1975). In this way, policies can be adapted or changed to achieve the goals set. However, in order to respond to or solve societal problems, theory and practise must work hand in hand. In this sense, this research contributes in both directions. The study concludes that for effective policy implementation, it is necessary to consider the context in which the policy is to be implemented, the linkages between actors and their participation in policy implementation. Similarly, it is necessary to pay attention to other elements that will be explored further in the course of this study.

Academic Relevance

In addition to its societal relevance, this study will also contribute to ongoing research on discriminatory practices in public spaces, such as primary schools in Rotterdam. Given the increasing number of migrants and a rapidly changing political climate, a multi-level governance approach is needed. But especially in a specific setting, such as primary schools, which are part of the state functioning but located in a different subsystem of a public actor.

In this context, this study explores the link between local policies and what happens in reality in the primary schools of a specific neighbourhood in the superdiverse city of Rotterdam. Approaches that have sought to understand discrimination and promote the integration of migrants. Due to the same decentralised dynamics in the Netherlands and other European countries that have considerable autonomy in education and the resulting diversification of policies and

practises (Macià Bordalba & Torrelles Montanuy, 2021). Furthermore, Allemann-Ghionda (2008) highlights a significant gap in this area. The researcher argues that "there is a gap between official educational policy on the one hand and practice on the other". Moreover, in a rapidly changing world where teachers teach children from different backgrounds and with different characteristics, the question arises as to how these practices can be bridged to create an inclusive classroom environment against prejudice and discrimination.

Given these gaps and assuming that discrimination remains a contested concept, this study will analyse the implementation of the plan and actual practices in Feijenoord primary schools. Why does this study focus on the implementation phase of the policy cycle? Evidence on policy implementation suggests that significant changes in policy decision-making may occur at this stage of the policy cycle (Hill & Hupe, 2002). At this stage, the policy can be influenced positively or negatively by a variety of factors. The confrontation with unforeseen situations or the involvement of the different stakeholders that play a role in implementation contributes to the success or failure of public policy. So researching the implementation of public policies is not new.

The idea of doing something to solve a social problem has been present over the years. However, it has changed in terms of process, feasibility and desirability (Hill & Hupe, 2002). Another important reason why it is necessary to continue empirical research on the implementation phase of the policy cycle is its complexity in achieving or not achieving policy objectives (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1957: 448). It contributes significantly to understanding what Van Meter & Van Horn (1957) say about the success or failure in translating general policy goals into concrete and meaningful public services. It also enriches accountability and policy learning (Goggin, M., Bowman, A., Lester, J., & O'Toole, Jt., L., 1990).

Thesis Outline

This research is divided into eight following chapters, in which the reader is first guided through the theoretical framework used in this study. Then, the relevant literature on policy implementation will be explained, followed by the concepts such as discrimination and the ground of racial discrimination. Next, it outlines how this study was designed and what its limitations are. This is followed by a description of the context in which this study is situated. In particular, the Dutch education system is explained. After that, the results of the field research are presented separately, with a discussion and analysis for each sub-question. Later, the research question (RQ) that motivated this study is answered, and finally, conclusions and recommendations are given.

Chapter II: Theoretical Framework

This chapter will discuss the main theories and concepts used in this study. More specifically, this section concerns the in-depth policy implementation analysis to help me answer my RQ, and a particular focus on the variables and dimensions that this research lays on is given. Secondly, concepts such as discrimination and institutional discrimination in a superdiverse society help the reader better appreciate the topic addressed in this study. Finally, disclosure of the theoretical expectations is presented.

2.1 Policy Implementation at primary schools– Rotterdam Against Racism

Policies are a structured set of means and resources used to influence specific social development to implement a guideline as a problem solver (Bekker, Fenger & Scholten, 2017). As well, Bekker et al. (2017) state that policies result from multiple decisions taken by 'sets of actors.' In this case, we will study the decision made by the municipality of Rotterdam through the 'Rotterdam Against Racism' plan (RARP) to tackle discrimination in the education domain. However, the policy generates a process to follow called a 'policy cycle' that consists of a number of phases that, in principle, build upon each other and deal with each other but sequential sub-process (Bekker et al., 2017). In that order of ideas, this research focuses on one of the policy process stages, the implementation stage. As other scholars have discussed, the idea was that once the policy had been adopted, implementation would follow naturally (Bekker et al., 2017: 166); thus, the policy intentions and expectations may differ in contrast with reality.

2.1.1 Policy Implementation

For this study, it would be understood that this implementation will basically be the phase in which the instruments and measurements set out to deal with the problem that is applied by a governmental institution (Bekker et al., 2017). And encompasses those actions by public and private individuals (groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions (van Meter & van Horn, 1975: 447). Likewise, Mthethwa (2012: 38) states that implementation can be considered as the process of carrying out and accomplishing a policy. Bekkers et al. (2017) confirm that implementation occurs in a specific context, where the interaction between multiple actors occurs, and the government has a pivotal role in addressing particular societal challenges. As Bekkers et al. (2017) argue, in many cases, this phase is one of the most important in the policy cycle because it can determine the success or failure of the policy. And because success also depends on the role of stakeholders, such as the institutions that would implement the RARP, especially the public primary schools in Feijenoord. Policy problems are

multifaceted; they are socially constructed problems (Bekkers et al., 2017:39). For this reason, it is necessary to understand the assumptions behind the policy, the concept that drives the decisions, and the approach that describes and explains the problems (Bekkers et al., 2017).

2.1.2 Policy Implementation Approaches and Dimension

To better understand the implementation phase, it is necessary to delve into some key concepts that explain each approach and dimension within this dynamic phase of the public policy cycle, which help to analyse whether the factors considered may be opportunities or barriers to effective implementation. As Mthethwa (2012) describes, when it comes to the implementation phase, different factors could influence, such as the content of the policy, the nature of the policy process, the actors involved in the process and the context in which the policy is designed and implemented.

2.1.2.1 Rational or Political Approach / top-down or bottom-up

The idea of how to implement a policy has changed over the years. In this context, in order to describe, elucidate and analyse the implementation of the RARP, Bekker et al. (2017) mention that identifies two main perspectives related to the policy cycle, the rational and the political approach. The first approach stresses the significance of implementing a policy '*is a mechanistic process*' that is not part of the policy process itself and is centrally controlled under a hierarchical organisation (Bekker et al., 2017). In the same line, Mthethwa (2012) coincides with what is exposed by Bekker et al. However, he referred to it as the '*top-down approach or system model*.' He said the top-down model '*emphasises the faithfulness with which implementation adheres to the policymakers' intentions*.' On the other hand, Bekker et al. (2017) show that the political perspective emphasises the importance of change that may occur to adapt the policy to the circumstances and if the supposed policy is aligned with everyday reality. Likewise, Mthethwa (2012:39) refers to a bottom-up approach as a critique of the top-down model and argues for local implementers to adapt policy strategies to meet the local needs and concerns.

Bekkers et al. (2017: 167) suggest that the implementation phase could be more political than rational. It can be seen as a 'game in which parties seek to strengthen their positions through persuasion, negotiation, and manipulation'. Nevertheless, the policymakers may use components from all or some of the above approaches, whichever suits their purposes for the policy at hand (Mthethwa, 2012: 39). Additionally, it is important to highlight that in the implementation phase, it is needed that organisations, for instance, primary schools, could adapt to the circumstances, this means that aspects inherent to the internal organisation of the institution must be taken into consideration. In other words, the existing bureaucracy that includes the standardisation of processes and an organisational hierarchy has centralisation of decisions, as Bekkers et al. (2017:

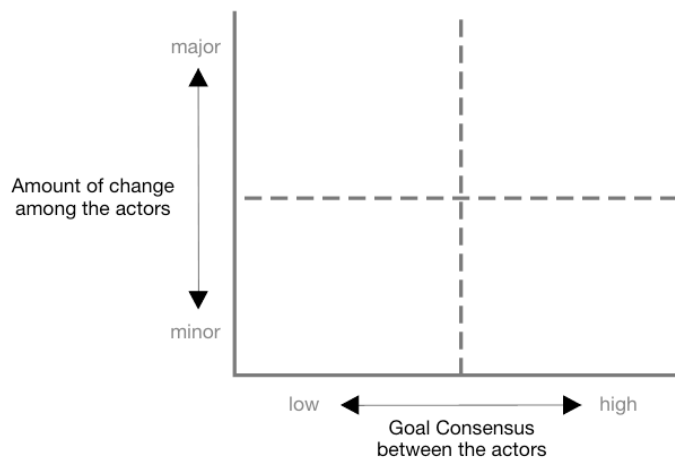
179) regard as 'characteristics inherent to the implementation of the policy by bureaucracies in a democratic rule of law'. However, at the same time depends on the logical regime that exists in the organisations.

2.1.2.2 System Building Applied to RARP

Donald Van Meter and Carl Van Horn (1975) address the difficulties that policymakers will have when it comes to the implementation phase (Hill & Hupe, 2002). They see the implantation as a process linked to the policy and the performance (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). At the same time, they bring to light a '*typology of public policy*' and, according to them, this typology determines the success or failure of the policy implementation. In other words, when it comes to the implementation phase in the policy cycle, it would depend on the degree of the amount of change involved and the goal consensus among the participants in the implementation process (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975: 458).

Based on the policy typology presented, the RARP is analysed to check the effectiveness of the implementation. According to Van Meter & Van Horn (1975), the implementation will be '*most successful where only marginal change is required, and goal consensus is high. Conversely, where major change is mandated, and goal consensus is low, the prospects for effective implementation will be most doubtful*' (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975: 461). However, the researchers mention that it is possible that exist slightly changes in the previous premise. On the other hand, they propose that the effectiveness of the implementation would depend on the degree of change in the organisation structure and the level of consensus that may exist with the actors involved. Hence, '*major change/high consensus*' means more effective implementation than '*minor change/low consensus*' (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975) (See figure 1). In the referred case, the study of the effectiveness of the policy implementation will be analysed through the identification of the opportunities and challenges presented by the implementation of the RARP in the primary schools of Feijenoord.

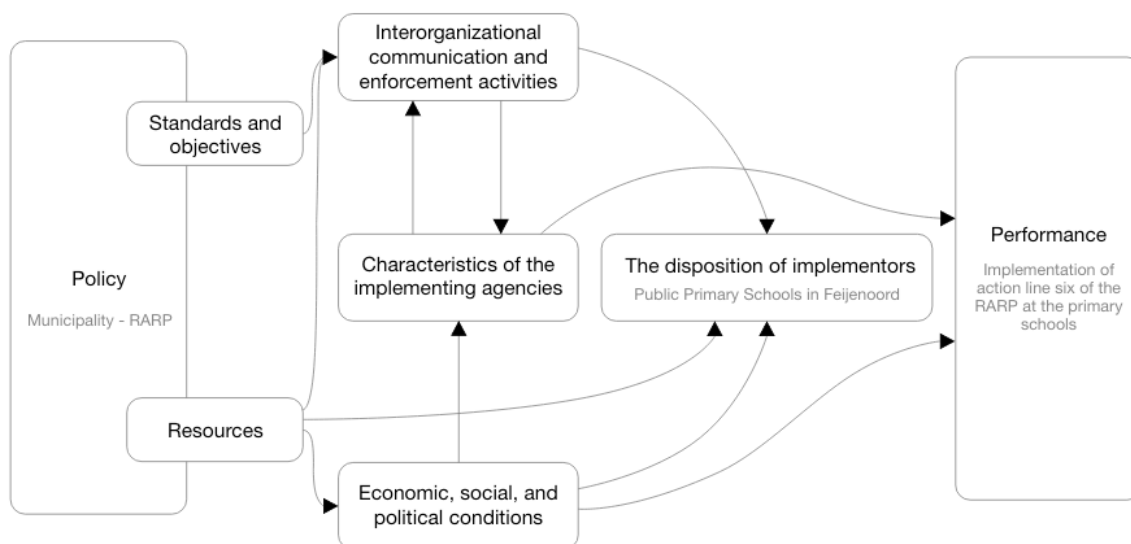
Figure 1. Adaptation of the “Dimension of the Policy Affecting Implementation” (Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975)



2.1.2.3 Variables or Factors of the Policy Implementation

Following the model of Van Meter and Van Horn (1975: 462), six variables determine the linkage between policy and performance. The independent and dependent variables are interrelated, and by addressing the implementation in this model, a more coherent reflection can be achieved by understanding the relationships between the variables (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). (See figure 2).

Figure 2. Adaptation of the “Model of Policy Implementation Process” (Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975)



The dependent and independent variables introduced by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) that have a positive or negative impact on the process of policy implementation:

First, establish ‘*policy standards and objectives.*’ Following what the scholars mention, identifying the standards and objectives of the policy will lead to uncovering the overall goal of the policy (Van Meter & Van Horn 1975). Thus, the services that should be implemented by this policy phase are stipulated. In other words, the policy performance is going to be the actions that are directed to the achievement of the policy goals or objectives. Van Meter and Van Horn (1975: 464) also notice that it is possible to have difficulties trying to measure the performance of the policy because of its own ‘*complex and far-reaching nature.*’ As the scholars state in the words of Pressman y Wildavsky (1984: xiv), “*implementation cannot succeed or fail without a goal against to judge it*”. In that order of ideas, the identification of the standards and objectives of the policy provide concrete and more specific standards for assessing performance (Hill & Hupe, 2002: 46).

Then, the ‘*policy resources*’ is another variable that should be considered when it comes to the policy analysis implementation is the available budget that will support the policy implementation. Van Meter and Van Horn (1975: 465) mention that those resources ‘*may include funds or other incentives in the program that might encourage to facilitate effective implementation.*’

Next, the ‘*inter-organisational communication and enforcement activities*’ play a role. As the scholars state, the stakeholders need to know clearly what activities they have to develop and

what is their responsibility. They mention that *'effective implementation is required that the program's standards and objectives be understood by those individuals responsible for their achievement'* (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975: 465-466). However, they state that it is also important to not just only be understood but have *'clarity'*. The stakeholders must receive accurate communication where they can rely on and know what is expected from them (Van Mater & Van Horn, 1975). The scholars also reflect that communication most of the time could be difficult within and between organisations and interpretations.

In addition to these characteristics, the peculiarities of each organisation and the mechanism applied in the internal context of interorganisational relations to pursue the expected activities cannot be ignored. Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), for example, introduce two types of enforcement. The first refers to the *'availability of technical guidance and support'* from policymakers or local authorities to understand and execute the policy initiative (including the regulation, programme or plan), e.g. the RARP (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). In the second case, scholars refer to a wide range of sanctions and distinguish between *'normative, compensatory and coercive power'*. They note that local government usually seeks to implement policy by working with stakeholders through a hierarchical position as a *'superior power'* or through alliances, cooperation or persuasion of the workforce for deliberate implementation. In terms of coercive power that could be exercised by policymakers, this coercion could be moderate or straightforward. For example, local authorities could require an annual plan for resource provision, which could include site visits, administrative and management reviews, feedback mechanisms and others (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975: 469-470).

After that, Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) address the *'characteristics of the implementing agencies.'* When it talks about the characteristic of implementor institutions, it refers to the internal existing procedures or the *'bureaucratic structure'*, for instance, the attributes, the internal guidelines and the organizational relations that may exist in the implementors institution (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). They also include a list of the possible attributes that may infringe the scope of the implementation, such as the *'component and the size of the organisation, the degree of the hierarchical control, the agency's political resources, the vitality of the organisation, the degree of open communication, and the linkages with policy-making and policy-enforcement body'* (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975: 471; Hill & Hupe, 2002: 46)

Afterwards, the scholars bring to the light the context, such as the *'economic, social, and political conditions.'* Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) suggest that the policymaker should consider the influence of those external elements in the implementation performance of the stakeholders. Such as the economic resources, the economic and social conditions, the engagement of the elites, the interest group opinions and others (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975: 472).

Finally, the *'dispositions of the implementors'* is another variable suggested (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). The scholars suggest three elements that should be considered when it comes to

the analysis of policy implementation, and it regards the reaction of the implementor's readiness and eagerness to apply the policy. Overall, they disclose first the implementor's understanding of the policy, the positionality of the implementor, such as '*acceptance, neutrality, or rejection*', and the magnitude of the feedback (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975: 472).

Because the dimension described above may not encompass all factors that affect the process of policy implementation, and because the implementation phase is described with different arguments, the contribution of Mthethwa (2012) is presented below, which classifies the factors that might affect implementation as a "dimension". These factors are interpreted as variables and help to facilitate the analysis of this phase and whether the identified elements have a positive or negative impact on the objectives and scope set at the time of formulation. Following Mthethwa (2012), a brief overview of the description of each component is provided.

The first dimension that Mthethwa (2012) addresses is the policy formulation and dissemination, which refers to a policy content that should clearly frame the underlying problem area, the policy's goals and objectives and the members of society to benefit, along with the broad actions and strategies to address the problem (Nakamura & Smallwood 1980:45). The public policy should have a mindful stakeholder engagement (Mthethwa, 2012). The second dimension that is presented is the context in which it takes place. Regarding the context, the scholar refers to the social, political and economic context in which the policy will be implemented. Scholars acknowledge that these components of the contexts influence the policies developed and how those policies are put into practice (Hill & Hupe, 2002; Mthethwa, 2012; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). Contextual and environmental factors can provide both opportunities and constraints for effective policy implementation (Calista 1994:119, Hill & Hupe, 2002; Mthethwa, 2012: 41 and Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). As these factors may change, the involvement of the actors could be affected as well; this leads to the following dimension, which refers to the leadership for policy implementation. Mthethwa (2012) brings up that in policy implementation, the degree of the leadership of the actors is indispensable. Some other scholars indicate that the level of consensus among leaders and other policy stakeholders on the policy content and its need for implementation will affect the degree and timing of its implementation (Thomas & Grindle 1990:1164).

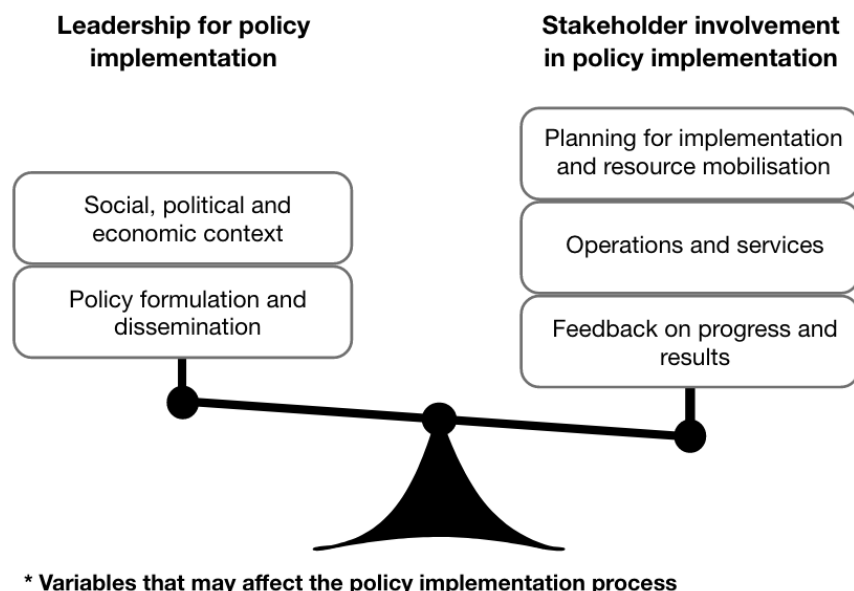
So far, the above has presented some elements that could influence policy implementation. However, Mthethwa (2012) denotes more than four dimensions. The following dimension that he refers to is bounded by the last one, pointing out the stakeholders' involvement in policy implementation '*where policymakers and the public continually engage in dialogue, examine the consequences for fundamental values, as well as sharing burdens and benefits*' (Mthethwa, 2012: 42). As the scholars mention, the stakeholders also could be influenced by different factors such as the context, the policy content and stakeholders' needs and resources, level of knowledge of the policy, and their relative power and influence (Altman & Petkus 1994; Mthethwa, 2012 and Meter & Van Horn, 1975). In the words of Gogging et al. (1990), he refers to '*ecological capacity*' and the

contextual environment in which the policy operates. The involvement of the stakeholders could be challenging as well, depending on the degree of relations that exist before the implementation or the connections between them. For instance, the relationship between the municipality and the public primary schools in Feijenoord is analysed, and the degree of involvement in the policy.

Following with planning for implementation and resource mobilisation, which allude to strong strategic action plans, work plans, budgets, and operational directives are often the missing links between policy formulation and actual implementation (Mthethwa, 2012: 42). Unforeseen operational barriers arising from implementing a policy may also pose challenges that have to be overcome before the policy can produce the intended improvements in access and quality of service delivery (Mthethwa, 2012; OECD, 2013) that is why operation and services are another element that should be considered when analysing policy implementation. Mthethwa (2012) concludes with feedback on the progress and results, which is out of the scope of this research.

The seven variables that can influence the implementation of a public policy are presented below, these dimensions will be identified in the implementation of action six of the RARP in Feijenoord elementary schools (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Visualisation of the variables that affect the policy implementation process (Mathethwa, 2012)



As the scholars alluded to, each of the components of the model discussed above must be filtered through the perception of the implementor within the jurisdiction where the policy is implemented. However, when talking about *'wicked problems'*, which are *'particularly difficult to deal with because of their complex, novel or interdependent nature, and because they require not a single decision but a series of determinations to implement government policy'* (Howlett et al., 2009: 165), policymakers are faced with the difficult task of designing policies that solve social problems, especially those that are usually larger than a government programme or plan, such as racial discrimination. Since the aim of RARP is to raise awareness and prevent discriminatory practices, it is necessary to look at the concept of discrimination and find out to what extent racial discrimination is addressed in this research.

2.2 Let's talk about discrimination

Discrimination is not a new topic to face in this country. However, it has not been in the spotlight until recent years, with the increasing number of people migrating has heightened the visibility of ethno-racial diversity (Fibbi, et al., 2021). As the scholars stated, the persistence of ethno-racial disadvantages among citizens who do not differ from others except for their ethnic background, their skin colour, or their religious beliefs is a testament to the fact that equality for all is an ambition not yet achieved (Fibbi et al., 2021:2). But discrimination entails specificities in terms of social processes, power relations, and legal frameworks that have opened new perspectives to understanding ethnic and racial inequalities (Fibbi et Al., 2021:4). Other scholars advocate that *'discrimination often results from prejudices'* (Kardeş & Kozikoğlu, 2021). Prejudice as a social construction based on perceptible differences between individuals in a society. However, discrimination does not have to be intentional and is often not even a conscious part of human action and interaction. As mentioned earlier, discrimination is not new, but the concept remains multifaceted. (Fibbi et al., 2021:13). In this study, discrimination is defined as the unequal treatment of otherwise similar due to their ascribed membership of a disadvantaged category or group (Fibbi et al. 2021: 19). Yet discrimination continues to shape access to power and resources for members of disadvantaged groups, as well as their everyday experiences and identity constructions (Fibbi et al. 2021: 19). While it is clear that discrimination exists, the indirect form of differential treatment is difficult to make visible. For this study, discrimination can occur in different ways and nowadays, it is more subtle and can even be without the intention to do so.

2.2.1 Individual-level Discrimination – (Racial discrimination)

Defined as a behaviour or a decision based on ascriptive characteristics such as race or ethnic background, discrimination differs from stereotypes and prejudices (Fibbi et al. 2021: 21).

Stereotypes represent the cognitive component of such mental representations or attitudes, while prejudices describe the affective component at the roots of biased behaviour disadvantaging individuals based on their group membership or minority position (Fibbi et al. 2021: 21). *'With the rise of the civil rights movement and the ensuing promotion of non-discrimination (Civil Rights Act of 1964 in the US and the Race Relation Act of 1965 in the UK), overt expressions of prejudice declined'* (Fibbi et al. 2021: 22). However as the scholars state, *'it was supplanted by subtle forms of discrimination'* (Fibbi et al. 2021: 22). As Fibbi (et al., 2021: 22) address, in a superdiverse society, *'such subtle discrimination is by ambivalence: majority group members may publicly profess equality while still holding negative attitudes toward minority members in the private sphere, and biases against out-groups might even be implicit or unconscious.'* Additionally, the scholars state that in a society, *'the majority group expresses themselves in non-verbal behaviour, less friendly attitudes in interaction with minority groups, and aversion toward them'* (Fibbi et al. 2021: 22).

2.2.2 Institutional Discrimination

Pincus (1996) states that discrimination comes in many forms. he says that individual and institutional discrimination refers to the actions and policies intended to impact a specific group significantly. And on the other, he makes a differentiation with structural discrimination. He describes this type as neutral (without gender or race) but negatively affects specific groups (Pincus, 1996). With institutional discrimination, discriminatory behaviour is embedded in important social institutions (Pincus, 1996), but this type of discrimination is hard to prove nowadays. Additionally, many Dutch scholars and policymakers deploy to reject the applicability of 'race' or the existence of racism in Dutch society (Weiner, 2016). If the institution does not self-recognize the presence of a practice of discrimination because of its whiteness, it could not be addressed compellingly. Furthermore, this discrimination is acerbated by a tendency for 'white' parents to avoid going to school (Ingleby, Kramer, & Merry, 2013). But as Pincus (1996: 189) highlights, the critical issue is the intent to treat unequally or cause harm because of a group membership. In this case, it is essential to review the extent policymakers are underpinning discrimination in the new anti-discrimination policy. With the new policy, the municipality agrees that discrimination prevails but might not address the institutional bias in the practices and should, especially in the education sector.

2.3 Theoretical Expectations

Grounded in the theories of policy implementation and racial discrimination, the following expectations are disclosed. This section explains how, in a superdiverse city such as Rotterdam, the implementation of racial discrimination awareness and inclusion policies in Feijenoord public

primary schools is influenced by the level of organisational change expected in this setting. In the same line, the expectations are based on the degree of consensus among the actors involved in the policy implementation.

A first expectation concerns the degree of change expected from policymakers in the organisational setting, such as primary schools in Feijenoord. It is expected that the greater the degree of the change introduced, in Feijenoord primary schools, are more likely to turn down a positive response because it would change the behaviour that the organisation has maintained in the recent past due to its organisational structure. This expectation is related to the degree of control of the decision-makers and the implementers. Since implementation processes are influenced by the extent of organisational change, in this case, the implementation of the RARP is influenced by the extent of the expected change in Feijenoord Public Primary Schools.

A second expectation relates to the reverse. The acceptance of Feijenoord public primary schools will be greater if there are no major changes compared to the previous measures because they are more correlated with the activities they have developed so far, which requires less effort to change, and their organisational structure is not affected by the upcoming changes that will be introduced by the new measure when it is time to implement it. In the case of Feijenoord Public Primary Schools, the introduction of activities related to action line six of the RARP will be easier if they are in line with the current functions they are performing following the previous actions.

A third expectation is based on the degree of consensus among actors in the implementation of the policy. A higher degree of consensus on policy goals/objectives is expected to have a positive effect on implementation, in other words, to represent an opportunity, than a lower degree of consensus among actors. The consensus among actors could be influenced by the variables described above, such as inter-organisational communication and enforcement activities or the characteristics of the implementers and the disposition of the resources involved. A lower degree of consensus on the objectives of the RARP, especially action line six, between Feijenoord's public primary schools and the municipality will have an impact on implementation and become a challenge for the implementation of the RARP in this particular setting. Although action line six of the RARP was not explicitly designed to be only for public primary schools, but for the whole education sector and society.

2.4 Operationalization Table

This study analyses the implementation of the RARP through its dimensions and the variables that can influence the performance of the plan. The degree of change and consensus among the actors in these dimensions allows us to determine the success or failure of the policy implementation. On the other hand, the variables that influence the process, such as standards and objectives, resources, inter-organisational communication and enforcement activities, characteristics of the

implementing agencies, the context and the disposition of the implementers, will shape the performance. In addition, the concept of racial discrimination enters the analysis as a dependent variable.

Table 1. Operationalisation table with the main theoretical concepts and attributes

Key Concepts	Definition	Dimension	Attributes	Indicators
Policy Implementation	The phase in which the instruments and measurements are set out to deal with the problem that is applied by a governmental institution (Bekker et al., 2017).	Change	Leadership for policy implementation Policy formulation and dissemination Social, political and economic context Stakeholder involvement in policy implementation	Policy documents show awareness and consider the elements that could influence policy implementation.
		Consensus	Planning for implementation and resource mobilisation Operations and services Feedback on progress and results	
Discrimination	Defined as the unequal treatment of otherwise similar due to their ascribed membership in a disadvantaged category or group (Fibbi et al. 2021: 19).	Ground of discrimination	Race discrimination	Holding negative attitudes toward minority members in the private sphere, and biases against out-groups might even be implicit or unconscious.

This chapter aims to familiarise the reader with the main theories and concepts used to understand and analyse the implementation phase in the policy cycle. It has highlighted the main dimensions of the policy implementation process and the variables that can influence this process. As this study also focuses on specific settings and actors where the RARP is applied, such as the public primary schools in Feijenoord. A clear conceptual framework helps to understand the possible adaptations that the process has undergone to accommodate the complexity and dynamics of schools. However, it may be that schools have adopted practices that are not in line with the intention of the policy and deviate from the priorities of the RARP, which may have a negative impact on implementation. In addition, concepts such as racial discrimination contribute to a better understanding of this research.

Chapter III: Research Design

In this section, firstly, the methodological approach, the chosen method and the data collection are explained. Secondly, the sampling technique and analysis strategies are broken down, and thirdly, the limitations and ethical considerations are outlined.

The aim of this research is to understand how schools apply action line six of the RARP and what practices are used to support the measures implemented under this plan. Furthermore, it also explores how these practices might influence the fight against racial discrimination in primary schools. This results in the following research question (RQ): "How do primary schools in Feijenoord tackle racial discrimination by implementing 'Action line six - education about the history of colonialism, slavery and migration' of the Rotterdam Against Racism plan?". To support and answer the main research question, the following sub-questions are formulated:

1. What kind of activities does the municipality implement with public primary schools to help them address activities related to the history of colonialism, slavery and migration?
2. What kind of activities are carried out in primary schools in relation to the history of colonialism, slavery and migration?
3. Which opportunities do public primary schools use most in implementing the policy? And why?
4. Which challenges do public primary schools face in implementing the policy? And why?

3.1 Case Design

This research follows a post-positive paradigm. I have used a qualitative methodological approach to obtain my data. This paradigm allowed me to consider the explanatory purpose of the research, which includes the context and subjectivity of the phenomena (Krauss, 2005). Qualitative methodology will enable me to appreciate subjectivities and multiple perspectives and realities

(Babbie, 2016). Qualitative research aims to understand events by uncovering the meanings people attribute to their and the external world (della Porta & Keating, 2008: 26).

By using a deductive approach, specific expectations were derived from the basis of general principles. In this deductive logic, I have considered my variables as a logical set of attributes (Babbie, 2016: 15). I identified how they relate to each other and how they impact on the understanding of human nature. Della Porta and Keating (2008: 26) state that 'understanding the motivations behind human behaviour cannot be reduced to a predefined element but must be viewed from the perspective of culture, where culture denotes a web of shared meanings and values.' In this sense, I will define expectations based on the literature on public administration and racial discrimination in public institutions (Haverland & Yanow, 2012). Thus, the city of Rotterdam will be my study case, and I will use the primary schools in the neighbourhood of Feijenoord as the unit of analysis. The case study design is essentially a situation analysis in which a particular event, process or setting is studied from the perspective of all key stakeholders (Billups, 2021). Billups (2021) reminds us that through this situational analysis, the views of all stakeholders are integrated; the findings provide a complex, collective perception that contributes to the understanding of the phenomenon under study. In this way, an in-depth investigation that gathers and aligns multiple sources of data leads to a comprehensive understanding of how an event, process or setting emerged, unfolded, succeeded, failed or impacted a group (Billups, 2021). In the spirit of Billups (2021), studying cases from multiple perspectives provides a rich and multidimensional picture of how people function in historical events.

I chose primary schools in Feijenoord, Rotterdam, as the unit of study because an in-depth analysis of a particular case can provide explanatory insights (Babbie, 2016: 303). In this research, fieldwork is particularly appropriate to investigate attitudes and behaviours in order to better understand their natural setting (Babbie, 2016: 313). The activities that schools undertake to implement action line six of the RARP' fit with my fieldwork as an element of social life (Babbie, 2016). Also, confirm that fieldwork in these social settings can reveal phenomena that would not otherwise come to light. As this research follows a neopositivist approach, I considered the particular and local factors and how factors may combine in different circumstances (della Porta & Keating, 2008: 30). In this research, I have chosen schools as the unit of analysis that differed in attributes such, type, denomination and educational concept (della Porta & Keating, 2008, p. 29), in order to capture the context of the phenomena of five schools that share similar conditions, the same neighbourhood in which they are located and thus the degree of discrimination. These schools were selected, and the variations in the structure and policy documents of the schools, as well as the approach of the municipality of Rotterdam on targeting the implementation of the plan in the institutions, were used to answer the research question.

3.2 Data Collection & Analysis

In order to collect my data to answer my RQ and sub-questions. It was use a qualitative methods to gather more information. The focus of this study is to find out whether the school's practices combat racial discrimination and are in line with the RARP and whether these practices combat discrimination or raise awareness. I combined semi-structured interviews with policy document analysis and with another qualitative research source such as content analysis to gain a deeper understanding of the practices. By doing so, triangulation of the data will be ensured.

First, as a primary data collection strategy, semi-structured interviews were systematically conducted with the schools, the principal and teachers at each school; in addition to the schools, policymakers from the education department of the municipality of Rotterdam and the person in charge of the training department for primary and elementary schools of RADAR. The semi-structured interviews were conducted in 1-to-1 formats in person or virtually and were guided by the moderator. Semi-structured interviews are purposeful conversations in which the researcher asks a specific person prepared question, and this conversation has the characteristics of detail, depth and nuance (Billups, 2021). Open-ended questions allow respondents to contribute with their own words, context, description and meaning in relation to their experiences (Billups, 2021). This method also allowed me to capture the perspectives, experiences, feelings and stories of the school staff. At the same time, if the actions are implemented in the schools, it enables me to interpret the practices. This method is a strategy where I conducted the interview to change the order or details of how the themes were presented and followed up on new clues as they emerged (Billups, 2021).

The interviews were transformed into data analysis by transcribing the recorded interview using an automatic audio transcription software Otter.ai. Otter.ai is an application that uses artificial intelligence and machine learning to capture live speakers and produce written transcriptions (otter.ai, 2022). Subsequently, and because the interview data, in particular, requires a careful approach to extract the meanings, themes and interpretations that are essential to answer the research questions (Billups, 2021), I applied content analysis in the interviews with the support of the software ATLAS.ti. I coded the collected data in order to condense the information into a pattern of findings, which is my phase of data reduction (Billups, 2021). For this purpose, a coding book was created to revise the content and consolidate the categories of the codes. After that, the codes were clustered into preliminary thematics (Billups, 2021). In this way, I planned to unfold the information from the interviews and gain a deeper understanding that led to grasping the phenomena.

Secondly, I used the method of 'policy document analysis' to understand the issue framing, which is helpful for in-depth analysis of the problem and how to address it. This method offers the background and insights to understand the object of study (Cardno, 2018). Subsequently, by using content analysis to review the municipality's policies, normative documents, guidelines and

educational plans of the selected schools as official documents to capture themes or patterns through interpreting the content of the data; this should be considered as evidence-based information (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2018). I used my variables and converted them into codes to assess patterns within the framework (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2018). To do this, I created a pre-designed list of codes and used the software 'ATLAS. ti' to systematically examine the collected documents and uncover further information that allowed me to better understand the object of study. Therefore, these methods to collect my data and cross the collected data from both methods. By reviewing the codes in an organised manner, I was able to draw conclusions and provide recommendations based on the relationships with the concepts identified.

3.3 Sampling approach

A non-probabilistic sampling technique suggested by probabilistic theory was used to select the sample for this study (Babbie, 2016). Thus, the primary schools were selected through purposive (judgmental) sampling, which allows the researcher to select the units to be observed based on personal judgement (Babbie, 2016). The primary schools in Rotterdam were selected because these schools are the most representative for the purpose of the study. In that order, schools were selected based on their location that met the following specifications: Racial diversity, socioeconomic level and the municipality's involvement in the neighbourhood (Weiner, 2016). Feijenoord is a neighbourhood characterised by a high level of diverse background, as 14% of the residents are not from the West, and there is a high rate of discrimination. For instance, Feijenoord - Bloemhof 27% / Feijenoord - Hillesluis 26% (Inclusivity Project, 2022).

As this research examines policy practices, policy documents were selected through a deductive purposive sampling method (Coyne, 1997). The policy documents of the municipality related to education and the policy documents of the chosen schools were selected according to the following criteria: (1) policy of the city of Rotterdam; (2) official policies, regulations and norms of the chosen schools; (3) additional official measures implemented to prevent discrimination in schools, especially against migrants. In addition to the strategy described above for selecting the schools to be used as research units of study; thus, the interviewees were chosen deliberately (Billups, 2021). Principals of the public primary schools in Feijenoord, policymakers of the education department of the municipality and education trainees managers in RADAR as a stakeholder institution. (See tables 2 and 3).

Table 2: Chosen schools in Feijenoord

Openbaar	Catholic	Protestant-Christian
Bloemhof School	Agnessch V Kath BSO	Bogermanschool
Pantarijn School		
Blijvliet School		

There is no participation of the general – special school (Algemeen Bijzonder). Besides that, in Feijenoord do not exist collaborative schools (samenwerking) and confessional schools (confessional overig).

Table 3: Chosen public institutions: Municipality and RADAR

Municipality	RADAR
Stadt Marinener	Project Manager -primary schools
Policy Advisor – Education department	Project Manager – secondary schools
Policy Advisor – Education department	

3.4 Limitations

This research would be limited due to the paradigmatic boundaries that recognise differences between reality and people's perception of reality (Krauss, 2005). In the same line, the case study allowed me to pay attention to a particular phenomenon, for instance, only public primary schools in Feijenoord (Babbie, 2016). There are also issues of bias implicit in the interview exchange that requires particular sensitivity on the part of the interviewer. In addition, cooperation and engagement are required for the interaction to yield valuable data. (Billup, 2021)

As it was an open interview, the participants had more control over the content of the information provided, and reliability could be compromised in qualitative research. As a result, the researcher cannot objectively compare the results with the scenarios provided by the respondents; at the same time, interpretations are limited. It should be remembered that observations and conclusions are influenced by personal experience and knowledge. Another disadvantage of qualitative research is that it takes time to collect data and analyse the information gathered. Qualitative research relies on planning to ensure that the researcher gets accurate results from opinions and judgements.

3.5 Ethical considerations

In this study, I ensured that the participants were well informed about the purpose of the study and that the process of the study was explained. Participation of respondents in data collection was on a voluntary basis. All participants were informed of the risks and benefits associated with the purpose of the study before the interviews began. Participants were informed that their participation was anonymous and confidential. The information will not be shared and has no other purpose than that of the study. As Diener and Crandall (1978) state, before data collection begins, it should be ensured that first informed consent is obtained, then privacy is maintained, next, there is no deception, and finally, no harm comes to the participants.

Chapter IV: Contextual Background

This chapter describes the relevant context of this research, from the general to the specific, such as the education system in the Netherlands. It is described its institutional structure and the legal basis that gives life to the system. The extent of interference of state institutions in the Dutch education system is also described in detail. Attention is then drawn to the outreach programme from which the study emerged. Its objectives and framework for action are explained, as are the actions developed in the two streams of the RTIR programme. Subsequently, it is outlined the state of affairs under which the RARP was conceived and looked at the different levels and areas of action, with a focus on education.

4.1 Important Characteristics of the Dutch Education System

Before we look at the 'RARP', it is necessary to contextualise the legal framework in which the creation of this policy falls within its national context. This allows for a better understanding of the functioning of the Dutch education system and its specificities, especially in the primary school sector. This tour of the education system at the national level will form the basis for this study.

In the Netherlands, education is divided into three different levels: Primary, secondary, and tertiary (Scheerens, Luyten & van Ravens, 2011)¹. Each level follows the scheme described below (See table 4).

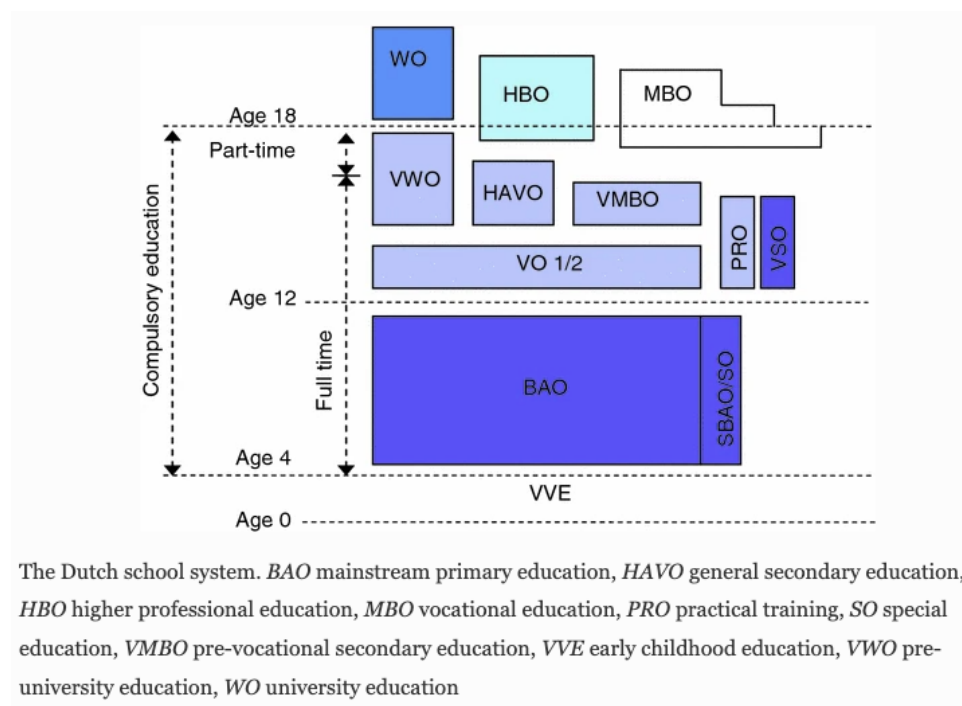
¹ Given the scope of this research, no further information will be given on secondary and tertiary education.

Table 4. Adaptation of the Description of the Dutch Education Levels (Scheerens, Luyten & van Ravens, 2011)

<i>Primary Education</i>	<i>Secondary Education</i>	<i>Tertiary Education</i>
<i>For pupils from 4 to 12 years old</i>	For pupils from 12 to 18 years old	After 18 years old
<i>Special primary education for children aged 3 to 12 years (which requires special educational treatment)</i>	Divided into: Pre-vocational education (VMBO) and individualized pre-vocational education (IVBO), from 12 to 16 years old Senior general secondary education (HAVO), 12-17 years old Pre-university education (VWO), 12-18 years old	Divided into: Higher professional education (HBO); University education (WO); Open higher distance education (Open University).
<i>8 years level (usually)</i>		

For better visualisation of the Dutch education system, the following figure is broken down below:

Figure 4. Visualisation of the Dutch Education System (Scheerens, Luyten & van Ravens, 2011)



The Dutch school system. *BAO* mainstream primary education, *HAVO* general secondary education, *HBO* higher professional education, *MBO* vocational education, *PRO* practical training, *SO* special education, *VMBO* pre-vocational secondary education, *VVE* early childhood education, *VWO* pre-university education, *WO* university education

4.1.1 Freedom of Education by Law

One of the characteristics of the Dutch education system relies on Article 23 of the Constitution, which stipulates freedom of education (Scheerens et al., 2011). Thus, freedom refers to both the institutional part and the users of the education system. In this sense, one is free to open new schools, choose the type and form of education and exercise other freedoms. The same freedom also applies to citizens, who can choose the school that represents their beliefs and takes into account their cultural criteria. This constitutional right means that schools in the Netherlands differ in terms of their denomination or ideological orientation (Scheerens et al., 2011).

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, on the other hand, sets statutory standards for educational quality and thus determines the subjects to be taught, the performance targets and the content of national examinations (Scheerens et al., 2011). The researchers also mention that there are regulations governing the number of teaching hours per year, the training and qualification of teachers, the right of parents and students to participate in school matters, and the planning and reporting obligations of schools. In general, schools have a lot of leeways in terms of textbooks and materials and how they run their operations. The Education Inspectorate is mandated by the Minister of Education to monitor how schools perform their duties (Scheerens et al., 2011).

As Scheerens et al. (2011) note, the importance of Article 23 in the Dutch political context lies primarily in the protection of educational freedom in the contexts described above. In this way, political interference in the curriculum and in the content, processes and outcomes of education is protected.

4.1.2 General Administration – Organisation

In the Dutch education system, there are at least four significant administration levels, each with its own responsibilities and duties. The highest level is represented by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. There are currently two state secretaries (junior ministers), each responsible for specific areas within the general policy guidelines of the minister. The Executive Board, composed of senior civil servants, is responsible for general policy. The Ministry is mainly composed of several administrative departments as well as the Central Funding of Institutions Agency and the Education Inspectorate, which are loosely affiliated to the Ministry (Scheerens et al., 2011).

Inside the Ministry are three different departments field - field departments, cross-sectoral departments and support departments - (Scheerens et al., 2011). As the scholars mention, each of these departments is responsible for a specific field of education and is in contact with the institutions. The field department develops and evaluates specific education and science policies. The cross-sectoral department is responsible for formulating policy in a specific subject area that

affects almost all subject departments. The support department is responsible for developing policies for the board and/or providing special services to all departments of the ministry.

4.1.3 The role of the Municipalities

At the middle level you find the municipalities, for example, the municipality of Rotterdam. The cooperation of the provincial authorities is essentially carried out within the framework of statutory supervisory and legal obligations (Scheerens et al., 2011). The provincial councils guarantee the accessibility of a sufficient number of primary and secondary independent schools and act as an appeal body for the decisions of the municipal authorities. In terms of school management and curriculum, the role of municipalities in the provinces is limited, as they usually cannot be the responsible specialist for an educational institution (Scheerens et al., 2011). As they mention, the powers and duties of municipalities are related to the agreement between the education system and the employers of the schools. As far as primary schools are concerned, the municipality approves municipal plans to open new public and private schools. As part of their obligation to ensure satisfactory arrangements for open schools, they support municipal decisions regarding the closure or maintenance of small public schools. Finally, they mediate a debate between the local government and the private school papers on non-personnel-related matters (Scheerens et al., 2011) (For more information about the role of the municipalities, see Appendix 2).

4.1.4 Compulsory Education

In the Netherlands, children must attend full-time school from the age of five (Leerplichtwet, 1969). In practice, however, almost all children start school at four. Full-time compulsory education lasts until the end of the school year when the pupil turns sixteen. After that, young people are obliged to attend an educational institution part-time until they turn eighteen (Scheerens et al., 2011). The Compulsory Education Act is implemented by the municipal authorities (Leerplichtwet 1969). Scheerens et al. (2011) note that officials check whether children under compulsory school age who are registered as residents in the area are enrolled as pupils in an educational institution. Local authorities ensure compliance with the law in public and private schools through the school inspector appointed for this purpose (Scheerens et al., 2011).

4.2 The superdiverse city of Rotterdam

Rotterdam as a superdiverse city indicates a reduction in the native population compared to the different ethnicities that live in the city (Belabas & Eshuis, 2019). Nowadays, newer groups with different ethnic backgrounds are settling in the city (Foner, Duyvendak, & Kasinitz, 2019). In that sense, superdiversity describes a demographic reality (of an increasingly diverse population) and

provides an analytical lens (Grzymala-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018). In the Netherlands, 70% of the largest non-Western migrant groups (originating from Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, and the Netherlands Antilles) live in the four major cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht) (Huijnk, Dagevos, & Miltenburg, 2017).

The term superdiversity was introduced by Steve Vertovec (2007) to describe the increased diversity in ethnic groups now living in large Western European cities (Crul, 2016). Other scholars refer to a situation where diversity has become so 'diverse' that one can no longer speak of clear majorities or minorities (Scholten, Crul, & Van de Laar, 2019). In addition, superdiversity stresses other critical dimensions like gender, education, social status, generation, or religion to explain processes of mobility or exclusion (Scholten et al., 2019). Vertovec (2007:1025) states that superdiversity describes the "*transformative diversification of diversity*".

Through this lens, researchers can understand "*how older and novel demographic complexities shape societies*" (Grzymala-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018, p. 180). Yet, some cities have been more prone to a massive influx of migrants than others, have experienced centuries of immigration, and consider migration a core element of their identity (Scholten et al., 2019).

4.3 First Step: Relax. this is Rotterdam - RTIR

Regarding RTIR policy, it was meant as an extension programme to include diversity in the city, and this action programme was intended to affect everyone living in Rotterdam. Without excluding anyone because of their ethnicity, faith, sexual orientation or other grounds that might exclude people. The municipality of Rotterdam faces the challenge of integrating a society in which no one is the majority. This is not only about integration but also the relationship between the different groups living in the city.

It is essential to emphasise that the expansion of the programme focuses on the inclusion of the most vulnerable groups so that they learn to live together in harmony and accept diversity (Rotterdam Municipality, 2019). The municipality states that by developing the action programme, the institution strengthens the conscious conversation between the social and society (Rotterdam Municipality, 2019).

The action programme is divided into two different streams and eight objectives that have measurable goals to be a win-win. Regarding the stream 'Relaxed Living Together', it has an intended social impact on every person living in Rotterdam, and it is assumed that a great diversity could create discomfort among the people living in the city (Rotterdam Municipality, 2019). In the same stream, the municipality aims to be more accepting of diversity in 2022, based on the following goals, supported by the pillars of equality, connection and enforcement (Rotterdam Municipality, 2019). The second stream refers to the 'New Rotterdammers'. This stream aims to reach the new people who make Rotterdam their new place of residence (Rotterdam Municipality,

2019). The engagement of the newcomers and their positive inclusion in Rotterdam society is what this stream should measure. Thus, two main objectives were expected (Rotterdam Municipality, 2019).

In order to achieve the above measures, the targets and objectives have been summarised in the outstanding working agenda of the Municipality of Rotterdam. As stated in the strategic plan, this is an integrated agenda that includes measures for relaxed coexistence, diversity and inclusion (Rotterdam Municipality, 2019).

4.2.1 Education Field

Under the connectivity pillar of the 'Relaxed Coexistence' stream, the RTIR includes supporting schools with training on how to deal with (sexual and gender) diversity, inclusion and exclusion (Rotterdam Municipality, 2019). The municipality planned to organise and conduct training for schools to sensitise the new generations to prejudice and accept diversity in the city (Rotterdam Municipality, 2019). When implementing the planned activity, the municipality took into account the current curriculum of the schools and the current needs (Rotterdam Municipality, 2019). Besides this action, the following planned activity was to promote the expertise of professionals and volunteers in the city about inclusion and diversity (Rotterdam Municipality, 2019). This activity includes training, courses, expert meetings and information sessions for professionals working in different primary sectors, e.g. in schools.

However, the education regular agenda in the municipality aims to improve knowledge and skills on issues related to diversity, inclusion, discrimination and prejudice, sexual and gender diversity and emancipation and, on the other hand, to promote acceptance of diversity in schools among students, parents and teachers (Rotterdam Municipality, 2019).

4.3 Next: Rotterdam Against Racism Plan - RARP

The RARP 2020 - 2022 is supported by the Action Programme for Integration and Society, the RTIR 2019 - 2022. Basically, it is an extension plan of the Programme of Action in the context of the equality pillar. This plan came about in the context of the Black Lives Matters demonstration after the events of 03 June 2020 in Rotterdam, where thousands of people took to the streets to tell the government that something had to change (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020). As the municipality stated, more work must be done in a superdiverse city like Rotterdam in order to allow people can be themselves, enjoy equal opportunities, and differences can better flourish (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020).

In this context, the Municipality of Rotterdam decided to talk to a diverse group of people involved with the city and have an in-depth conversation; the result of these conversations is the

RARP (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020). The municipality notes that during the conversations held and the neighbourhoods profiling, insightful information was gathered, especially about conscious and unconscious prejudices in the patterns and systems of local society, and that this should stop (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020: 6). Likewise, questions were asked about the causes of racism in the city and how the municipality could work on the situation. In the words of the municipality (2020:6), the RTIR steers through the daily confrontations with micro-aggressions, everyday racism and exclusion in the city.

Consequently, all these inputs were brought together, and the intensification plan was created to complement the existing policy of the Integration and Society Action Programme. This programme took into account three essential findings: Recognition, Ownership and Education. Discrimination takes place at different levels of society. Thus, the first level takes place between people or at the interpersonal level, the second level is in the structures that make up a society or at the meso level, and the top level is the extensive system with all the connections of the structural problems (See figure 5) (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020).

Figure 5: Visualisation of the Standard schematic overview of Rotterdam Against Racism (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020)



According to the municipality, these three findings are embedded in the structure of the plan. First, recognition is a fundamental step, especially regarding structural discrimination at the institutional level (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020). As stated by the municipality, concrete and short-term measures are expected to be implemented. The municipality believes that the success of the plan depends on stakeholders adopting and believing in the plan to make it work (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020). By creating spaces where both society and government can contribute their ideas for the common future without leaving the boundaries that an institution can have. The municipality has shown that there are some areas and institutions where it has no enforcement power, e.g. influence on the curriculum in education or on private markets. Finally, education is the third finding to focus on (Rotterdam Municipality, 2022). The Municipality of Rotterdam (2020: 9) has recognised that it is necessary to better understand the past in order to have a better future. For this reason, education about the colonial past and the history of slavery and migration is an issue, as is the municipality's attitude towards discrimination and racism. (See Appendix 3).

4.3.1 Education Field

The plan includes three main actions related to the municipality's work on education. The first activity focuses on history. Knowledge about the colonial past, the slavery history and migration flows were fundamental in talking to society (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020). As part of this idea, the municipality coordinated that the Royal Institute for Language, Land and Ethnology (KITLV) conduct research on Rotterdam's colonial and slavery past. As a result of the research, three books were published in October 2020, and the municipality is looking for ways to make this knowledge accessible to citizens (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020). In addition to this project, action six foresees a collaboration with the Street Names Advisory Committee, more information and dialogue about the street names in order to create historical awareness and find a standard solution (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020).

The next goal to be achieved is a dashboard that reflects the state of discrimination in the city and contributes to a better understanding, steering and monitoring of inclusive policies (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020:15). In parallel, the municipality mentioned that it is working with Erasmus University Rotterdam on a neighbourhood profile through scientific explanations and causalities to enable a multi-year process of circular and scientific policy development and management by the city council (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020).

The last measure related to education takes place at the macro level. The municipality intends to expand equal opportunities in education and wants to contribute to greater inclusion in education, with a focus on primary, secondary and vocational education (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020:18). The action includes activities such as the working conference with administrators, directors and teachers, where the focus is on inclusion.

Another activity that the Municipality of Rotterdam (2020) has set up in the RARP is the submission of results related to education to the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, as this has been a recurring theme in discussions with Rotterdam society and as the municipality has no authority over the school curriculum, the municipality supports schools through other extracurricular materials (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020). The municipality is also active in promoting the expertise of teachers to identify and raise awareness of racism and discriminatory bullying protocols (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020). Other activities related to the education sector included in this action are more attention to discrimination in the internship market, focus on higher education and the municipality's recognition that the Zwarte Piet is no longer part of a modern, inclusive Sinterklaas celebration (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020:18).

4.4 Challenges towards an education against racial discrimination in a superdiverse city

In order to identify the challenges that the RARP faces, it has been divided into two groups: on the one hand, the dimensions of policy implementation and, on the other hand, the variables or factors that may positively or negatively influence the implementation of the public anti-discrimination policy by the actors, e.g. the public primary schools in Feijenoord. Within the first group, the actual purpose of action line six of the RARP is identified in terms of the degree of change it brings about among the implementing organisations and the degree of consensus among the actors, in this case between the municipality and the Feijenoord public primary schools.

The second group of challenges includes those related to the dependent and independent variables that are interrelated and can positively or negatively influence the implementation process. Identified goals can indirectly affect inter-organisational relationships in the Dutch education system, and the form of communication and enforcement activities are closely related to the general characteristics of public primary schools. These characteristics of the institution pose challenges for the effective implementation of RARP action line six, starting with the existing national regulation 'freedom of education' and the low level of interference in the curriculum by the municipality.

On the other hand, we find the variable related to the willingness of implementers, the public primary schools in Feijenoord. To what extent are the schools willing to implement this measure? However, readiness can be directly influenced by the resources allocated to the implementation of the RARP. These resources also influence the inter-organisational level, as explained in chapter 2.1.2.3. In addition, resources directly affect the level of willingness and capacity of implementers and stakeholders or citizens to implement the RARP.

Chapter V: Discussion of the Findings & Analysis: SQ1 & SQ2

This chapter breaks down the general findings and cross-checks the theoretical framework of this research. In this regard, and considering that this study aims to understand how the process develops or the application of the action line six of the RARP takes place in a specific space, such as the public primary schools in Feijenoord. Likewise, the causes that facilitate or hinder the implementation of this line of action are described and presented, and an attempt is made to answer why these reasons are considered opportunities or challenges. Therefore, this chapter first connects to the individual sub-questions in order to answer the main research question.

5.1 Identification of the activities related to action line six of the RARP by the Municipality

This section describes and analyses the findings in order to answer the SQ - one, which asks the following question: What kind of activities does the municipality implement with public primary schools to help them address activities related to the history of colonialism, slavery and migration? First, in section 5.1.1, the results are described and analysed from the perspective of racial discrimination. Section 5.1.2 describes and analyses the results from the point of view of variables that may influence the policy implementation process.

5.1.1 Activities regarding racial discrimination

Through the interviews as a primary source, the active participation of the municipality was identified. Especially in the activities developed to achieve the objective of action line six of the RARP. From the perspective of racial discrimination, which is understood as behaviour based on ascriptive characteristics such as race or ethnicity, and is differentiated from stereotypes and prejudices (Fibbi et al., 2021: 21), the Black Lives Matter demonstrations were perceived by the municipality as a sign of social discontent related to racism and inclusion, whereupon the RTIR was intensified (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020).

The validation of the primary source of information confirmed that the RARP is divided into three main parts. Each part addresses discrimination and racism at different levels of society (See figure No. 5). The first level, the micro level, covers fundamental social relations between families and people. The second level, the meso level, covers the middle system relationships in society, such as in neighbourhoods, in schools, in local organisations, communities and a group of people in general. The third level, the macro level, includes the structural issues in the larger and more complex system, for example, laws and regulations, the policy, the health system, the political subsystem and the international ACCS (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020).

5.1.2 Activities of the Municipality under the analysis of the policy implementation process

The Municipality of Rotterdam has a pivotal role in the implementation of action six of the RARP. The municipality has a clear overview of the standards and objectives of action six of the RARP. One of the insights of the RARP concerns the focus on education and combating discrimination through education, and promoting diversity in an integrated society (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020). The work of the municipality has thus clearly shown that there is a specific project that needs to be followed up by the education department, and indeed 'the performance of the policy will be in the actions directed towards the achievement of the policy goals or objectives' (Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975). According to the policymakers, the municipality is working to achieve the policy objectives (I1): "*With the programme on colonial history and slavery history, we have to make it a very attractive material for teaching because we can't force the teachers to use it. But if we make the material very attractive, they will use it on their own. Otherwise, we have to say you have to use it. So that is the trick [...]*"

In addition, the municipality's work is to provide materials or extracurricular activities for the current curriculum. For example, they mention, (I2) "*We are in the circle around teaching, and the things we do is we see to with that there are special projects for children with special needs or we will give extra facilities for schools that are in neighbourhoods*". According to the institution that implements the RARP, they are not involved in the study curriculum and internal decisions of Feijenoord public primary schools. It is therefore related to the characteristics of the implementing agencies due to the nature of the institutions and their '*bureaucratic structure*' (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). This structure enables the primary schools a certain degree of '*agency*', and the degree of '*hierarchical control*' emanating from the municipality is limited (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). Chapter 2 showed how the characteristics of the implementing agencies and the inter-organisational communication and enforcement activities have an '*interactive effect*' (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:477). However, this was contrasted during the fieldwork. It was stated by another of the counterparts that work hand in hand with the municipality on how to collaborate on racial discrimination and inclusion in primary schools. The respondent said that they, as an institution, do not have a specific project considered for action six of the RARP (I4).

Despite the municipality having a limitation in the institutional-organisational sphere and being disabled to specifically implement action six of the RARP, in the educational sector, due to not being able to influence the study curriculum in the Dutch system (see chapter 4), the municipality has been working on specific actions to implement the RARP. In this sense, the municipality's involvement is based on the political perspective of the RARP implementation cycle. Based on the understanding that this perspective emphasises the importance of changes that may occur to adapt policies to circumstances and when the supposed policy is in line with everyday reality (Bekker et al., 2017). However, unlike stakeholders, this represents a dichotomy; not all

activities that take place in the institution are linked to action line six of the RARP, as mentioned in chapter 2.1. This is because the success of the policy also depends on the role of stakeholders. One stakeholder in the municipality that is closely linked to combating discrimination is RADAR. However, as part of the findings, it is argued that this stakeholder is not involved in the implementation of action line six. However, this is one of the factors mentioned by scholars that could influence the process of policy implementation, such as the organisational structure of the institution and the lack of control over the execution of the priority lines of the RARP (Van Mater and Van Horn, 1975; Mthethwa, 2012).

Although RARP has a budget for the implementation of measure number six, it should be noted that, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the role of resources in the policy implementation process has a direct impact on enforcement activities, with the willingness of implementers and the social, political and economic context. The inter-organisational variable reflects that despite the availability of resources, there is no clear line identified on how *'technical guidance and support'* (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975) is provided to primary schools and whether this is through *'superior power'* due to their superior hierarchical position. Neither is noticed through the use of *'normative, remunerative or coercive'* enforcement activities as detailed by the scholars. For example, the perceptions of public primary schools in Feijenoord show a tendency to know little or almost nothing about the municipality's activities on discrimination, racial awareness and diversity. As is stated in the interview (I3, I6): "*We don't know about the activities that the Municipality provide or the material that they offer, and if it is for free. We don't know*", "*I haven't directly heard about the policy on itself. But the excerpts of it, we haven't directly read the flyer for it*".

On the other hand, it was found that there is a pattern in the responses of interviewees from the public primary schools in Feijenoord that are responsible for implementing action six of the RARP. They identify the involvement of the municipality from an economic point of view. The municipality actively participates through subsidies, but not as an institution with active involvement in the development of activities that directly benefit the primary schools. Some respondents raised this, for instance, E1, E2, and E3.

5.2 Identification of the activities related to action line six of the RARP by the public primary schools in Feijenoord

In this section, the results are described and analysed to answer SQ - two, which asks the following question: What kind of activities are carried out in primary schools in relation to the history of colonialism, slavery and migration? In doing so, the results and the analysis of the findings were conducted together from the perspective of racial discrimination and the variables and/or factors that influence the policy implementation process.

5.2.1 Activities carried out by the public primary schools in Feijenoord

Although most of the responses were obtained from Feijenoord primary schools in the data collection phase, they agreed that they knew little or nothing about the RARP, especially about action line six. It can be generalised that among the activities found in Feijenoord public primary schools, regardless of denomination, are within the school curriculum. As part of the 'burgerschap' (citizenship) lessons, which are compulsory in primary schools. As the interviewers (I1, I3, I5, I6 and I11) point out, it teaches civics, values and respect regardless of pupils' backgrounds and addresses issues such as race, racial discrimination and the colonial past. In addition, most schools consistently indicated that the activities they implement are based on teachers approaching students through articulate communication: (I5) "*talking, talking and I have a discussion with the group. When there is something in the news, talk about it with the students [...] do activities together, it could be all types of activities and Dutch is our main language. So, we all can understand each other*".

In addition, respondents indicated that discrimination and equality are usually talked about in class as an overarching theme. The majority of primary schools emphasised that many of their activities are based on talking to the different class groups about what is in the news and addressing the issue, e.g. the situation in Ukraine and the possibility of having Ukrainian students in the school. This affirmation is in contrast to the factors or variables that may influence the implementation of the policy. According to Calista (1994: 119), '*contextual and environmental factors can provide both opportunities and obstacles to effective policy implementation*'. In the same vein, Mthethwa (2012) also emphasises the influence of '*context*' on policy development and implementation in practice. At the same time, Van Meter and Van Horn (1975: 476) address '*environmental conditions can have a significant effect on the willingness and capacity of a jurisdiction*'.

During the fieldwork, respondents agreed that they carried out various extra-curricular activities in the study curriculum to promote the existing racial diversity in the school. Some explained that this was part of the school's working culture: (I5) "*It's in your veins. It's, it's not a lesson. It's, it's a way of living and how we talk to each other and interact with each other [...] And a programme can help, yes! But if it is not flowing in your veins, then a programme is just a programme*". Others stated that they carried out activities that promoted knowledge of other cultures while respecting the traditions practised: (I3) "*We celebrate all kinds of festivities from different countries and cultures [...] we let the students know that all backgrounds are accepted, and we have to respect each other, everything is based on mutual respect*". However, this shows that in most cases, the public primary schools in Feijenoord adapt their skills to the contextual situation they are confronted with.

The resources provided by the municipality could help to facilitate 'effective implementation' (see chapter 2.1.2.3). Mthethwa (2012) supports the above and illustrates that '*strategic action plans*' are used in '*planning for implementing and mobilising resources mobilisation*'. However, it is

triggered when *'stakeholder involvement'* (Mthethwa, 2012) is lacking in the implementation phase of the policy process. From the findings, most public primary schools in Feijenoord agreed that they do not identify activities that have been promoted by the municipality or worked on with the support of the municipality. In addition, primary schools in Feijenoord carry out activities to reduce racial discrimination, such as (I8) "*conversations in the classroom, watching films or information from TV, lessons to write about it, answering questions, sometimes role-playing [...] even when there is the news and then again group discussions, in the classroom, we have an eye for the different faiths, manifest every belief has it's ow [...]*", (I6) "*We talk about different backgrounds were in debt that is also in our history lessons in the early classes. My family looks like this, and your family looks like this. My grandparents are from Morocco, and my eldest is from Mexico. All these types of lessons are integrated into our system to talk about diversity [...]*".

This deviation from policy *'standards and objectives'* leads to complex implementation. Clear *'inter-organisational communication'* (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975) is key for implementers to have a guide for what is expected of them, as noted by scholars. However, 100% of primary schools consulted were considering activities to raise awareness of racial discrimination and promote diversity, although not necessarily related to RARP action line six.

5.3 Chapter Conclusion

Given these ambivalent results, it can be assumed that the activities that the municipality is developing are made invisible due to a possible lack of communication and adequate outreach to make known what they are working on in relation to anti-racial discrimination in the city. This does not mean that the policy has failed, as the aim of this research is not to evaluate the policy but rather its implementation. For their part, the public primary schools in Feijenoord state that they implement all kinds of activities aimed at promoting diversity and acceptance of differences in terms of race. Although the public primary schools noted that they do not have a specific course in which pupils are taught topics related to colonialism, slavery past and migration, activities are carried out to promote awareness of racial discrimination, especially during *'burgerschap'* (citizenship) lessons.

This dissociation between the objectives to be achieved leads to the implementation of the policy being negatively affected. As mentioned earlier, the existing discrepancies between the political intentions on the one hand and the public institutions that provide the services on the other confirm what the scholars have uncovered. Without clear standards and targets that define the role of primary schools in relation to action line six of the RARP, there is no way to measure their performance. The independent variable of resources is not affected by this, but it is also not related to the execution of the scope of the objectives. Thus, provision by public primary schools will always be influenced by the degree of clear and precise communication by the municipality.

Chapter VI: Discussion of the findings & Analysis SQ – Three

In this section, the main findings found in the fieldwork are presented and analysed in order to answer SQ - three, which asks: Which opportunities do public primary schools use most in implementing the policy? And why? The findings are presented according to the variables of the implementation process and along the case. This results in the following outline: first, the results are analysed through the lens of the policy implementation process, and then the dimensions of implementation are discussed. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

6.1 Opportunities to implement the RARP regarding the variables of the policy implementation process

Although the results reflect more challenges than opportunities for RARP implementation, there is a "duality" in how these benefits are perceived. While 20% of the stakeholders (administrators and teachers) feel that there is a stronger connection with the municipality, there is another 80% that does not see the municipality as an involved and present actor (based on the schools consulted). Despite the fact that there is no hierarchical organisational line, the municipality as a local authority is linked to the primary schools to make annual plans for significant changes (Scheerens et al., 2011). However, Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), using the process model for policy implementation, emphasise that *'inter-organisational communication and enforcement activities'* are dynamically linked to performance through the *'disposition of implementers'*. But as they suggest, in policy implementation, local authorities should take into account the specificities of organisations in order to realise the policy initiative. In this sense, the existing internal procedures of the Dutch education system play a contested role because their *'bureaucratic structure'*, reflected in Feijenoord's public primary schools, provokes a distancing from the hierarchical position of the municipality.

Due to the *'leadership of the actors'* (Mthethwa, 2012) and *'agency'* (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975), it was found that the public primary schools themselves do not play a significant role in policy-making beyond what is legally required and does not lie directly with the primary schools, but with the schools' boards. This means that there is a layer between the municipality and the implementors. One of the interviewees stated (I2): *"By law, it says that municipality and the school boards have to come together on the subject of education policy in the city"*. However, it is not possible to exert a *'straightforward coercive power'* (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975) from the municipality on the public primary schools in Feijenoord, and this situation leads policymakers to look for another type of enforcement action. This contributes to the engagement of the implementors.

During the field research, the theme of *'policy resources'* (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975; Mthethwa, 2012; Hill & Hupe, 2002) to promote activities under action line six of the RARP

emerged in most of the interviews conducted. As the scholars mentioned, there is a direct relationship between resources and how this independent variable relates to the other dependent variables that can influence the policy application process. Efficient performance can only be achieved if there are enough available resources. Moreover, resources have a direct influence on the *'disposition of implementers'*. From the findings, most public primary schools in Feijenoord use the municipality as a provider of subsidies. For example, one respondent said: (I5) " *Yes, very close, because there are a lot of subsidies for school programmes [...] We also get a budget for the schools. And it is a close relationship with the municipality*". Although the municipality is perceived as a financial provider rather than a project stakeholder, the majority of Feijenoord schools agreed that they are willing to learn more about activities related to action line six of the RARP. For example, one of the respondents mentioned: (I7) " *I think the municipality of Rotterdam can provide the publication to the schools, and maybe they should develop workshops for the schools for the teachers or for the children. And yes, about other things*".

The political perspective of the implementation phase emphasised the adaptation of policy to circumstances (Bekkers et al., 2017). In this sense, it is noted that the municipality maintains this approach and manifests itself through the project. To make the outcome of action line six of the RARP more attractive after the official publication of the research on the *'History of Colonialism, Slavery and Migration'* in the city of Rotterdam and to adapt it to educational centres. Not only in primary schools but also in secondary schools. Following Bekkers et al. (2017), since it is not possible to foresee the difficulties that may arise when implementing a policy, it is essential that the institution that implements it has a range of mobility in terms of the level of discretion to adapt to the circumstances that arise.

6.2 Opportunities to implement de RARP regarding the Degree of consensus and change implied

Having analysed how the variables can provide opportunities for effective implementation, it is crucial to examine the dimensions in which the process of implementing a public policy moves. In this sense, after conducting interviews with the implementing institutions and stakeholders with whom the municipality can support better implementation, it has become apparent that the degree of change required is not based on the structural level of the institution but on the degree of acceptance by schools of the use of the material that the municipality produces as the first outcome of action line six of the RARP. This adaptation of the material is also seen as an opportunity, based on Bekkers et al. (2017) on the political perspective of implementation and the ease of adaptation to the circumstances of the context.

As mentioned in the findings, the degree of consensus among the actors cannot be determined as there is no direct relationship between policymakers and implementers. In the words

of one of the interviewees (I2), "*I do not think we have much contact with individual schools, most of our contexts are with school boards*", which makes it clear that there is a layer between the two institutions that make it difficult to agree on consensus.

6.3 Chapter Conclusion

The opportunities for a successful implementation of the RARP are analysed from the perspective of the policy implementation dimension and from the perspective of the dependent and independent variables or factors that may influence the implementation process. In this sense, it is assumed that the implementation of action line six of the RARP in Feijenoord Public Schools represents an opportunity from the perspective of both institutions. For example, it is claimed by the implementing institution (I2) that they are working on making the material more attractive so that primary schools are interested in using it. On the other hand, 60% of Feijenoord primary schools stated that they would be interested in the material that the municipality can provide to help them with activities on discrimination and racism and that they would be receptive to some kind of training provided by the municipality on this topic. Similar comments are made by one of the municipality stakeholders, who claims that he is willing to work on the new project if the municipality indicates so (E4). Therefore, this could be seen as an advantage for the implementation of the RARP.

However, the parties are willing to implement action line six of the RARP. The degree of involvement of the parties affects the performance and thus the expected objective. The degree of change expected in public primary schools is not clearly defined in the objective of action line six of the RARP. Therefore, the degree of acceptance that exists cannot be determined. However, it was found that the level of clarity and familiarity with the objectives of the RARP is low, so the degree of consensus is relatively low.

Chapter VII: Discussion of the Findings & Analysis SQ - Four

In this section, the main findings of the research are presented and analysed in order to answer the question SQ - four, which is: Which challenges do public primary schools face in implementing the policy? And why? The findings are presented according to the dimensions of the implementation process and the variables that may affect along the case. This results in the following outline: first, the findings are analysed through the lens of the policy implementation process, and then the dimensions of implementation are discussed. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

7.1 Challenges to implementing the RARP regarding the variables of the policy implementation process

The major challenge identified in this research is the lack of connectors between the government administration and the schools. It was found that there is a lack of information in primary schools about the projects developed by the municipality. Despite the close relationships that are maintained about aspects such as funding for certain utilities and services. The lack of accurate communication hinders the means for easy implementation and policy performance (without having to do with school programmes, lessons or content) instead of workshops, conversations or activities to shorten the distance between stakeholders. Following the model presented by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), one of the independent variables that indirectly affect the dependent variables is the identification of *'standards and objectives'*. As mentioned in chapter 2.1.2.3, this variable allows the overall objective of the policy to be revealed (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). However, this identification was not explicitly defined in the case of the public primary schools in Feijenoord. According to the results, most schools said they were unaware of the plan or had barely heard of it: (I5) "This programme is not being implemented that programme", (I6) "*I have probably heard about it, but there's so much coming up in our way since Corona, so we have probably heard about it, but I can recall the exact names*". Public service delivery is influenced by how the standards and objectives are communicated to implementors and the extent to which the standards and objectives facilitate oversight and enforcement.

Similarly, it was mentioned during the fieldwork that it is vital for the municipality to clearly communicate what they are working on and how they stand on discrimination, as outlined below: (I9) "*Let us know what they (the municipality) are working on. So they can come up with ideas. But the ideas stay out there somewhere. And they do not reach us because they should tell us what they are working on. And then we can decide whether or not we want to disseminate and use them further or not*". It was interesting, however, that implementors not only pointed out the lack of communication from the municipality but also stressed that the municipality, as the promoter of RARP, should know what the schools are working on and what methodological programmes they are using to address the issue of racism: (I8) "*So the municipality should know better what is happening in the schools and in the classes and during certain lessons. Then they do not have to create additional programmes because we have already integrated them into the lessons, and they can use their experience and knowledge to create other programmes that we can use in addition to what we are already doing*". This confirms what the researchers have outlined regarding the relationship between variables and their interaction with the policy implementation process. Effective implementation requires clear communication so that implementers can provide a positive response. It is essential to bear in mind that public primary schools in Feijenoord will respond to the

RARP on the basis of *'perceptions and interpretations of the objectives'* (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975).

In line with Mthethwa (2012), *'stakeholder involvement in policy implementation'* also opens up the possibility of sharing the burdens and benefits of the implementation phase so that all stakeholders feel part of the process and the link for effective implementation is created. However, in the interviews with the institution that could help implement action line six of the RARP, this is perceived as a barrier that the stakeholder did not envisage for implementing the project's performance. It is stated that it is not included in the training they promote, and the municipality has not requested it: (I4) *"no, I do not do a specific programme. So far, no. We have not been asked to do it. It's not my job because it might not be. But it is an issue in the classrooms [...]."* It was also said that at the moment, they do not have any additional material on action line six of the RARP provided by the municipality: (I4) *"no, I have my own tools, my own materials. Yes, okay. But nothing from the municipality and not on this topic [...]."*

Another challenge identified is based on the different layers that exist at the time of implementation. Decisions for the public primary schools are made in the different boards that exist depending on the domination of the school, i.e. whether it is a public 'openbaar', catholic, protestant christian or general -special 'algemeen bijzonder' school that exists in Feijenoord. Each authority is in contact with the municipality, but the municipality is not directly in touch with the individual schools, although there is a liaison officer who is hardly ever present in the schools: (I9) *"The problem is that none of them really comes to the schools. There is only one who comes once a year, once every six months. And after talking to us, he never looks into the classrooms. He never talks to the teachers. So I think that could be improved a lot. That connection between the municipality and the schools. Yes, yes. Because it's all distant"*. According to some interviewees, the municipality could report more on the policies it is developing or be more aware of the reality of the schools and the current needs (E9, E8, E3). This is in line with what Bekkers et al. (2017:173) consider for successful implementation across multilayers. It is, therefore, necessary that implementers at the different levels have the same idea of the benefits and necessity of a particular measure.

Although there is a relationship between the municipality and the public primary schools in Feijenoord, the implementing entity has no direct interference. As explained in chapter 4.1.4, the municipality plays a role. However, it has no direct link, mainly with the study curriculum of the schools (E2), and the primary schools that determine the implementation of action six are rather voluntary. As in the Netherlands, education is *'free education'* according to the constitution; the same freedom accounts for the discretion of individual administrative policy discretion (Bekkers et al., 2017), and it is left to Feijenoord's public primary schools to decide whether or not to use the material produced by the municipality to combat racial discrimination by teaching the history of colonialism, slavery and migration. From the perspective of the institution that implements the RARP, further insights were put in the light of this research. The institution itself identified the

possible obstacles to working with public primary schools: (I2) *"It is quite a difficult task to get teachers' attention to this issue. What makes it even more difficult is that we have a huge shortage of teachers in primary schools. And so the school boards are not very fond of all kinds of activities that will give extra burden on their teachers because they already feel that their teachers are almost overworked [...]."* This interaction between the scarcity of 'enforcement activities' on the part of the municipality and the 'bureaucratic structure' of the Dutch education system has a direct impact on the performance and delivery of the public service (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975).

From the challenges presented, it can be deduced that the obstacles stem from the organisational nature of the institution itself that is supposed to carry out the implementation. The results show that almost all schools interviewed are not aware of the plan or are not sufficiently informed about it (E1, E3, E5, E6), e.g. the question of whether primary schools are aware of action six of the RARP. In the case of the RARP, the degree of hierarchical control is based on the implementors being convinced of the 'willingness and readiness' of the public primary schools in Feijenoord to target implementation, as it is not possible to oblige the schools. As a result, this is strictly dependent on the extent to which they understand what is expected of them (understanding of the objectives) and what their position is in this regard (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975).

From the side of the municipality stakeholders, another side of the difficulties they face was pointed out, namely that the school administration does not see racial discrimination as a problem to be addressed in this institution: (I4) *"The municipality of Rotterdam offers this 'burgerschap' education to the schools. And I wish the schools would understand that because then, they could use it better. So we approach the schools and tell them: 'Hey, we can take over a class and educate about discrimination and racism [...] the only bad thing that happened in between was that COVID schools were closed. When the schools reopened, they said - No, keep your classes. We are too busy -."* As we know, the nature of an organisation can also influence implementation through administrative discretion because, as Howlett et al. (2009: 166) mention, *"the larger and more diverse a group is, the more difficult it will be to influence behaviour in the desired way"*. In the primary schools in Feijenoord, for example, some of them are unwilling to use the materials provided by the municipality, despite the relevant description, because they already have a method to teach the issues related to racism, racial discrimination, slavery and colonialism (E3, E6, E10).

The discretionary power that primary schools have may lead them to conclude that learning materials are not needed in these areas of learning, thus influencing the implementation of the policy in that particular school. On the other hand, the analysis of the (economic, social and political) conditions must not be left out when it comes to the implementation phase. The discretionary power is also influenced by the context in which RARP is implemented. For example, 40% of primary schools in Feijenoord did not consider it necessary to include new material or buy a new programme (didactic methodology). However, there is a high degree of racial diversity in the schools. According to the municipality, the formulation of the 'Municipal Programme 2022 Colonial and Slave History

of Rotterdam Project Plan – (MPCSHRPP – 2022)' was to attract the schools and use the research material (product of action line six of the RARP) based on the principle of free education.

7.2 Challenges to implementing de RARP regarding the Degree of consensus and change implied

We proceed to analyse the implementation process of the RARP in terms of the dimensions adopted by Van Meter & Van Horn (1975), explained in chapter 2.1.2.2, which show that depending on the '*typology of public policy*' it is possible to determine in advance whether the implementation of the policy will be successful or not. The degree of change involved and consensus among actors should be taken into account (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). Following this idea, scholars also affirmed that a successful implementation is one where the degree of change is low, and the degree of consensus is high. Based on this premise, a comparison with the results shows that analysis in the case of RARP is not directly a hierarchical process. This is mainly because RARP operates in a multi-level governance system. Although there is a hierarchical degree in governance, there is also autonomy between actors, in this case, the public primary schools in Feijenoord.

In this sense, determining the '*degree of change in the organisational structure*' (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975) in the application of RARP is an element that militates against it because of the organisational nature of the education system in the Netherlands. (See Chapter 4), which practically means that coercive enforcement is not directly possible due to the multilayer that exists. However, other enforcement measures can be used to '*persuade*' the implementers to accept the proposed changes and to use the materials available according to the MPCSHRPP – 2022.

In addition, the other line of analysis must also be considered. For instance, the degree of consensus among actors who are unclear about their role and their degree of involvement. As explained in the findings, there are additional problems external to each actor's context. For example, one of the interviewees stated that: (I4) "*One of the biggest problems right now is all kinds of measures we are taking to address the teacher shortage.*" Suggesting that implementation today is affected by other problems that are of greater concern to implementers. This is in line with what Mthethwa (2012) says about the variable of stakeholder commitment or what Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) also say in relation to the independent variable of identifying '*goals and standards.*' These factors have a direct impact on the positioning of implementers and lead to either '*acceptance, neutrality or rejection.*' In the case of the RARP, the level of disposition of the implementers is not related to the level of disposition of the municipality. The results of the fieldwork, therefore, suggest that the degree of consensus is affected among the actors, for instance, influenced.

7.3 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the successful implementation of the RARP for Feijenoord's public primary schools faces several challenges. As identified by policymakers, stakeholders and implementers themselves, the lack of knowledge about the policy objectives in general and specifically about the activities to be implemented in relation to action line six of the RARP makes it difficult for implementors (especially those identified as implementers) to take ownership. This delineation suggests that resources are available, but implementors are not engaged. The material produced by the municipality to be used by the primary schools is still at their discretion.

On the other hand, it was interesting to note that the involvement of other actors such as RADAR is not foreseen for the concrete implementation of this action line. This institution, for its part, includes awareness-raising on discrimination in its work with public primary schools. There is a part of Dutch history covered where the topic of colonialism and slavery is explored in depth, but they are not part of the focus of the courses or training that they offer.

In line with the findings and what the scholars have said, the implementation could be influenced positively or negatively at the different levels of government, as each of the actors has its own goals, ambitions, traditions and other interests. In this sense, the boldness of policymakers will be required to counter these positions through the different enforcement measures that will emerge depending on the type of actor they are negotiating with. This will also have an impact on the degree of willingness and readiness of the implementors.

Chapter VIII: Final Remarks, Discussion & Recommendations

This chapter answers the main research question and presents the concluding remarks on the present study. It also discloses the discussion of expectations and draws conclusions in this regard. Finally, recommendations are made for public policy, especially for the sub-area of public policy implementation.

8.1 Conclusions and RQ answer

Implementing a policy is a challenging process, even when there are written guidelines and objectives. It is even more complicated when there are no written guidelines or no clear action plan, as mentioned by the scholars, for instance, Mthethwa (2012). In the case of the RARP, the lack of indicators, for example, makes it even more difficult to assess the extent to which action line six has been implemented. Therefore, it is not possible at this stage to determine whether the implementation of action line six of the RARP has helped Feijenoord schools to combat racial discrimination, as there is no evidence that primary schools are implementing the RARP. The implementation problem in the case of the RARP is not attributed to the formulation of the policy

or that the goals or objectives were irrelevant. However, it was related to the autonomy granted to educational institutions and the different layers of the Dutch education system. Although the municipality formulated the policy and is responsible for its implementation, it cannot force Feijenoords' public primary schools to use the material mentioned in the MPCSHRPP – 2022 derived from action line six of the RARP.

The level of involvement of Feijenoords' public primary schools as an implementing actors of the RARP cannot be demonstrated either. The sparse link between actors means that stakeholder involvement is minimal; however, it is characterised by the same way in which the Dutch education system is organised. For example, the bottom-up approach does not apply to Feijenoord schools. All schools in the Netherlands are subject to the Constitution, which, as explained in chapter 4.1, establishes the free education system. This prerogative empowers the schools, which have enough leeway to decide what should be taught in class. However, the education system is structured in such a way that there is no evidence that schools could determine the content of the policies, therefore, their implementation.

However, the implementation of the RARP depends on the civil servants and administrators who implement the policies to achieve the policy objectives. It was noted that primary schools, as non-state actors but beneficiaries of the public budget and part of the policy subsystem, are not directly involved in implementation activities. As mentioned earlier, this reflects the nature of the organisational structure at the heart of the Dutch education system. This means that the municipality exerts an inordinate amount of influence on schools when it comes to policy implementation. The decision should primarily be passed on to the primary school boards, depending on the denomination, to be taken into account in the curricula or in extracurricular teaching activities, e.g. social and emotional learning methods. This is related to the policy formulation stage, which identifies stakeholders and target groups that should or must play a role in implementation.

Serious problems are more difficult to address because of the multi-layered and complex nature of their origins. Tackling racial discrimination through the education of the new generations is more difficult because it is linked to the behaviour of society. Policies to eradicate sexism, racism, or religious intolerance are harder to implement because these attitudes are deeply rooted in societies' cultural belief systems (Howlett et al. 2009: 166). Although Rotterdam is characterised as a super-diverse society where no majority group goes unrecognised, there is evidence that racial discrimination exists in educational institutions, as explained in Chapter 2. 2.

However, this study aims to contribute to empirical research in the field of implementation in the policy process cycle. It also aims to support the anticipated and un-anticipated consequences of implementation variability in relation to the conventional boundaries of the field. In doing so, I would like to point out the importance of continuing to empirically explore the implementation phase of the policy cycle because of its own nature and the way it is practised

beyond the constraints embodied by the implementation phase as a dynamic process. Furthermore, this study aims to link the theoretical framework of the sub-field and the empirical approach that deals directly with implementation practices.

8.2 Discussion of the expectations

This section is about the expectations elaborated in the present study and whether they are accepted or rejected. For this reason, the dimensions in this study were expected to influence the implementation process in the public policy cycle. Whether the degree of change and goal consensus among actors would have a positive or negative impact on the implementation of action line six of the RARP. In addition, the degree of consensus among actors was expected to be influenced by the independent and dependent variables of the policy implementation process.

8.2.1 Expectation One

The first expectation is related to the organisational structure of the implementers, albeit not directly to the forecasters within RARP, but as an institution promoting education in the Dutch education system. In this respect, the degree of change the implementors expected was "that the greater the degree of change introduced, the public primary schools in Feijenoord are more likely to turn down with positive response". For this expectation, the findings have shown that primary schools are generally located in a different subsystem that is not strictly connected in the hierarchical order. And any enforcement activity could affect decisions in the education subsystem, but the municipality does not have a hierarchical power over the schools.

However, the municipality has more negotiation and persuasion work with the school boards when it comes to using the material as one of the outcomes of action line six of the RARP. However, it depends on the school's final decision to accept the municipality's proposal. In several cases, schools already have a methodology and programmes that work during the school year. Expectation one is therefore confirmed.

8.2.2 Expectation Two

The second expectation is related in the opposite way to the first expectation. The expectation is: "The acceptance of public primary schools in Feijenoord will be greater if there are no major changes compared to the previous policy." The above expectation was confirmed by the results and proved that the public primary schools in Feijenoord maintain an organisational structure. Structural changes within the organisation meet with little acceptance from the schools. As the proposal for action line six of the RARP, does not explicitly talk about changing the organisational structure but

refers to the use of materials and introducing a new methodology for their service. The results show that some of the schools responded that they did not need help with the issue of discrimination.

This shows that the level of acceptance of the new material is low. On the other hand, they indicated that they were already working according to the guidelines of previous programmes. They also stated that they had a programme of work that addressed the racial discrimination issue. In this sense, the second expectation is confirmed.

8.2.3 Expectation Three

The third expectation is divided into two levels. On the one hand, the success of policy implementation is related to the degree of consensus between actors. On the other hand, it identifies the variables that may influence this degree of consensus in the policy implementation process. As the first part of the expectation states that "higher consensus on policy goal/objectives means positive implementation", the results have shown that the degree of consensus among actors is relatively low. Actors do not identify with action line six of RARP or its objectives and do not link activities to RARP objectives.

This is also supported by the second part of the expectation, which states that "the degree of consensus is influenced by the variables that affect the policy implementation process". As the implementers in the case of study pointed out, it is difficult to "clarify" what is expected of them due to insufficient knowledge about the objectives of RARP. At the same time, factors such as the social, economic and political context also affect the level of consensus and the degree of disposition of the implementors. For example, problems such as the prioritisation of issues in public primary schools after the COVID -19 pandemic or the shortage of teachers in the education system. In addition, the characteristics of institutions and their organisational structure become a challenge for policymakers. In this sense, expectation three is also confirmed at the two levels studied.

8.3 Policy Recommendations

The following recommendations were derived from the research conducted. In order to achieve the desired objectives, the involvement of stakeholders and target groups should not be neglected. For example, the RARP intended to raise awareness about racial discrimination by promoting knowledge about the slavery past, colonialism and migration history in Rotterdam. However, the actors (public primary schools in Feijenoord) are not closely linked to the decisions of the municipality. It suggested creating or stimulating coordinated communication with schools and encouraging participation to achieve a common goal.

Since policy implementation is a mix of political intentions and administrative action, it is recommended to focus on the role of lower-level officials and institutions that would implement

the policy. For example, Feijenoord's public primary schools are in frequent contact with society given the identified problem. Therefore, ensuring the commitment and interest of stakeholders is essential for successful implementation.

Clear goals and directions are a must for implementation, mainly when the implementors are located in a different subsystem, as in the case of public primary schools, which play a key role in the process of educating society and deconstructing patterns of behaviour transmitted across generations, especially in sectors with greater racial diversity and higher rates of discrimination, as mentioned in Chapter 3.

Moreover, at the policy-making stage, policymakers should take into account the difficulties encountered in implementing the policy. Especially when actors are involved who are not at the same system level. Policymakers should pay more attention to the unforeseen challenges that may arise in the implementation phase. In this way, they increase the level of adaptation and the chance of successful implementation.

The multi-level action plan involved in policy implementation opens the possibility to analyse implementation from the perspective of multi-level governance, as some scholars refer to the relationships (vertical or horizontal) of the different institutions embedded in the process (Guy Peters & Jan Pierre, 2001).

References

- Allemann-Ghionda, C. (2008). Intercultural education in schools: A comparative study. European Parliament. Retrieved from https://www.hf.uni-koeln.de/data/eso21/File/Schwerpunkte_Forschung/Intercultural.Education.in.Schools.pdf
- Altman, J. A., & Petkus, E. J. (1994). Toward a stakeholder-based policy process: an application of the social marketing perspective to environmental policy development. *Policy Sciences*, 27(1), 37–37.
- Babbie, E. R. (2016). *The practice of social research (Fourteenth)*. Cengage Learning.
- Bekkers, V. J. J. M., Fenger, M., & Scholten, P. (2017). *Public policy in action : perspectives on the policy process*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Belabas, W. & Eshuis, J. (2019). Superdiversity and City Branding: Rotterdam in Perspective (Chapter 11). In Scholten, P., Crul, M. & Van der Laar, P. (Eds.), *Coming to terms with superdiversity: the case of Rotterdam (Ser. Imiscoe research series)* (pp. 209-224). Springer Open. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-96041-8>
- Billups, F. (2021). The qualitative data collection cycle. *Qualitative data collection tools: Design, development, and applications* (pp. 1-14). SAGE Publications, Inc., <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781071878699>
- Calista, D. 1994. Policy Implementation. In Nagel, S. S. (1994). *Encyclopedia of policy studies* (2nd ed., rev. and expanded, Ser. Public administration and public policy, 53). Marcel Dekker.

- Cardno, C. (2018). Policy document analysis: a practical educational leadership tool and a qualitative research method. *Educational Administration: Theory & Practice*, 24(4), 623–640.
- Coyne, I. T. (1997). Sampling in qualitative research. Purposeful and theoretical sampling; merging or clear boundaries? *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 26(3), 623–630. <https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2648.1997.t01-25-00999.x>
- Crul, M. (2016) Super-diversity vs. assimilation: how complex diversity in majority–minority cities challenge the assumptions of assimilation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(1), 54–68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1061425>
- van Dam, A., Pisarevskaya, A., Schiller, M. & Scholten, P.(2022). Rotterdam Tegen Racisme – een tussenbeoordeling. Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam.
- Della Porta, D., & Keating, M. (2008). *Approaches and methodologies in the social sciences: a pluralist perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Diener, E., & Crandall, R. (1978). *Ethics in Social and Behavioral Research*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fibbi, R., Midtbøen, A. H., & Simon, P. (2021). *Migration and discrimination: imiscoe short reader* (Ser. Imiscoe research series). Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-67281-2>
- Foner, N., Duyvendak, J., & Kasinitz, P. (2019). Introduction: super-diversity in everyday life. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(1), 1–16. doi: DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1406969
- Geuijen, K., Oliver, C., & Dekker, R. (2020). Local Innovations in the Reception of Asylum Seekers in the Netherlands: Plan Einstein as an example of Multi-level and Multi-sector Collaboration. In B. Glorius & J. Doomernik (Eds.). *Geographies of Asylum in Europe and the Role of European Localities*. (pp. 245–260). Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland AG
- Goggin, M., Bowman, A., Lester, J. & O'Toole, Jr., L. (1990). *Implementation theory and practice : toward a third generation*. Scott, Foresman/Little, Brown Higher Education.
- Grzymala-Kazłowska, A., & Phillimore, J. (2018). Introduction: rethinking integration. New perspectives on adaptation and settlement in the era of super-diversity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(2), 179–196. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341706
- Haverland, M., & Yanow, D. (2012). A hitchhiker's guide to the public administration research universe: surviving conversations on methodologies and methods. *Public Administration Review*, 72(3), 401–408.
- Howlett, M., Ramesh, M., Perl, A. (2009), *Studying public policy: policy cycles & policy subsystems*. 3rd edition, Oxford University Press
- Huijnk, W., Dagevos, J., & Miltenburg, E. (2017). Een staalkaart van statushouders: Over de integratie van statushouders in Nederland. *Mens & Maatschappij*, 92(4), 359–394. doi:DOI: 10.5117/MEM2017.4.HUIJ
- Ingleby, D., Kramer, S. & Merry, M. (2013). Educational challenges raised by refugee and asylum-seeking children and other newcomers: The Dutch Response. Brown, E. L., & Krūsteva
- Krauss, S. E. (2005). Research paradigms and meaning-making: a primer. (report). *The Qualitative Report*, 10(4), 758.

- Leerplichtwet (1969). Retrieved from <https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0002628/2022-08-01>
- Macià Bordalba, M., & Torrelles Montanuy, À. (2021). Intercultural education in schools: from policies to practices in catalonia (spain). *Campos En Ciencias Sociales*, 9(1).
<https://doi.org/10.15332/25006681.6920>
- Mthethwa, R. M. (2012). Critical Dimensions for Policy Implementation. *African Journal of Public Affairs*. 5 (2). Retrieved from <https://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/59612>
- Nakamura, R. T., & Smallwood, F. (1980). *The politics of policy implementation*. Saint Martin's Press.
- Hill, M. J., & Hupe, P. L. (2002). *Implementing public policy: governance in theory and practice* (Ser. Sage politics texts). Sage.
- OECD (2016), *Netherlands 2016: Foundations for the Future, Reviews of National Policies for Education*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264257658-en>
- OECD (2013). *The Nature of Policy Change and Implementation: A Review of Different Theoretical Approaches*. Cerna, Lucie.
<https://www.oecd.org/education/ceri/The%20Nature%20of%20Policy%20Change%20and%20Implementation.pdf>
- Otter (2022). Retrieved from <https://otter.ai/education>
- Peters, B. G., & Pierre, J. (2001). Developments in intergovernmental relations: towards multi-level governance. *Policy & Politics*, 29(2), 131–135.
<https://doi.org/10.1332/0305573012501251>
- Pincus, F. L. (1996). Discrimination comes in many forms. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 40(2).
- Pressman, J. L. & Wildavsky, A. (1984). *Implementation: 3rd edn*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (1st edn, 1973; 2nd edn, 1979).
- Rotterdam Municipality (2019). *Relax. This is Rotterdam: Integration & Living Together Active Programme 2019 – 2022*. Retrieved from <https://rotterdam.notubiz.nl/document/7235898/1>
- Rotterdam Municipality (2020). *Rotterdam against Racism 2020 – 2022. Intensification Plan Relax. This is Rotterdam and Black Lives Matter*. Retrieved from <https://www.rotterdam.nl/wonen-leven/tegen-racisme-en-discriminatie/Rotterdam-tegen-Racisme-2020-2022.pdf>
- Rotterdam Municipality, Erasmus University of Rotterdam & Radar (2022). *Inclusivity Project*. Retrieved from <https://inclusivecity.nl/?language=english>
- Scheerens, J., Luyten, H., & Ravens, J. van. (2011). Perspectives on educational quality : illustrative outcomes on primary and secondary schooling in the netherlands (Ser. Springerbriefs in education). Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0926-3>
- Scholten, P., Crul, M., & Van de Laar, P. (2019). *Coming to terms with superdiversity: The*

case of Rotterdam (p. 241). Springer Nature, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-96041-8_1

Scholten, P., & Hepburn, Eve, School of Social and Political Science, University of Edinburgh, UK. (2014). The politics of immigration in multi-level states: governance and political parties. In The multilevel dynamics of migrant integration policies in unitary states: the Netherlands and the united kingdom (pp. 150–174). essay, London: Palgrave Macmillan UK: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137358530_8

Thomas, J. W., & Grindle, M. S. (1990). After the decision: implementing policy reforms in developing countries. *World Development*, 18(8), 1163–1181. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X\(90\)90096-G](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(90)90096-G)

Van Meter, D. S., & Van Horn, C. E. (1975). The Policy Implementation Process: A Conceptual Framework. *Administration & Society*, 6(4), 445–488. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009539977500600404>

Van Dam, A., Pisarevskaya, A., Schiller, M. & Scholten, P.(2022). Rotterdam Tegen Racisme – een tussenbeoordeling. Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam.

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024–1054. doi:10.1080/01419870701599465

Weiner, M. (2016) Racialized classroom practices in a diverse Amsterdam primary school: the silencing, disparagement, and discipline of students of colour, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 19:6, 1351-1367, DOI: 10.1080/13613324.2016.1195352

Zapata-Barrero, R., Caponio, T. & Scholten, P. (2017). Theorising the 'local turn' in a multi-level governance framework of analysis: a case study in immigrant policies. In *International Review of Administrative Sciences*. 83(2), pp. 241 – 246. Doi: 10.1177/0020852316688426

Zapata-Barrero, R. & Yalaz, E. (2018). *Qualitative research in European migration studies*. Springer open. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76861-8>

Appendix

Appendix 1: Interviewees List

<i>Institution's Name</i>	<i>Respondent's Role</i>
<i>Rotterdam Municipality</i>	Marinier
<i>Rotterdam Municipality</i>	Policy Officer
<i>Rotterdam Municipality</i>	Policy Officer
<i>Radar</i>	Trainee Manager Primary Schools
<i>Radar</i>	Trainee Manager Secondary School
<i>Bloemhof School</i>	Principal - teachers
<i>Pantarijn School</i>	Principal - teachers
<i>Blijvliet School</i>	Principal - teachers
<i>Agnessch V. Kath BSO School</i>	Principal
<i>Bogermans School</i>	Principal

Appendix 2: The Role of the Municipalities – Long explanation

Nevertheless, municipalities have a dual role: they are both the local specialist for all schools within the zone (whether free or private) and, at the same time, the responsible specialist (school board) for the public schools (Scheerens et al., 2011). In relation to public schools, municipalities have the power and duty, as the local authority, to prepare annual plans for major changes in amenities for both private and public schools; to preserve school administrations; to control the distribution of funds from the budget for the waiver of instructional disadvantages and the preparation of a nearby equalisation scheme; to receive annual plans for public and public schools; and to finance amenities, other offices and operating costs (Scheerens et al., 2011).

In addition, municipalities have numerous obligations in relation to educational institutions. They are required by law to coordinate school operations to ensure optimal use of school buildings; they can allocate funds from the budget to address teaching deficits and establish a neighbourhood compensation scheme; and they act almost exclusively as a competent authority in this area (Scheerens et al., 2011).

This is because the law states that education can be offered by anyone, which means freedom of establishment, freedom of belief and freedom of teaching (Scheerens et al., 2011). This freedom means, for example, that one can establish a school based on other principles or beliefs. Therefore, it is the power and responsibility of the competent authority to determine which beliefs schools are based on. Freedom means that the competent authority is free to choose the teaching method and content (Scheerens et al., 2011).

Appendix 3: Levels of the RARP - explained

<i>Level</i>	<i>What is include</i>
<i>Micro Level</i>	In the first four actions of the 'Rotterdam Against Racism' plan, the Municipality paid attention and took a look from the inside, observing how work has been done and to bet on being a more diverse and more inclusive institution, the initial action of the plan falls around this target (Rotterdam Municipality, 2022). The second action is related to the transversal axe of equality as a norm in the city. The Municipality has agreed to stand out

Meso Level

against racism, discriminatory practices, and inclusiveness. The third action is maintaining an open dialogue between the municipality and society, taking as an example the actions of conversation that were held with the population during the summer after the 'Black Lives Matters' demonstrations (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020). The fourth and last action about this part concerns raising awareness in the organization and the implementation of an inclusive policy throughout the Municipality (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020).

The action related to the micro-level is designed to strengthen the relationship between the people, create connections and open new networks by supporting the initiatives in the neighbourhoods and at the city level (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020).

At the meso level, the actions are a commitment to the community to contribute to the strengthening of the community itself. This level fosters the knowledge of the colonial past, the slavery past, and the more recently the migration past, which is indispensable for understanding the past and the future (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020). As stated in the plan, this action had the goal to publish the research on the colonial and slavery past and make it accessible to the population of the city. The following action is related to scientific measurement and learning in the neighbourhoods; the Municipality, in collaboration with Erasmus University Rotterdam, is facing making scientific the Rotterdam approach to combating

discrimination in a multi-year and cyclical process (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020:15).

Macro Level

The macro-level is interested in a broader setting, for instance, the government, the labour and housing market, the sports culture, and the healthcare system in which the exclusion and the deprivation are present at this level (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020: 15). The action eight relates the access to equal opportunities in the labour market by creating a pilot Service Desk Inclusion project which also aims to combat the discrimination. In regard, to action nine the Municipality of Rotterdam (2020), focuses on inclusive care, welfare, and youth help. The action ten works on strengthening the inclusive sport and culture sector (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020). In relation to the education sector, action eleven was introduced. The Municipality has planned to work in expanding equal opportunities in education and the last two actions regard the combat the discrimination in the housing market from the side of the landlord and the last action foresee a national enquire about institutional racism, together with four other cities (G4: The Hague, Utrecht, and Amsterdam). The cities will be part of research about institutional racism to provide an insight into the situation in the Netherlands (Rotterdam Municipality, 2020).

Consent Form – Master thesis ‘The implementation of racial discrimination policies at public primary schools’

I, _____, agree to be interviewed for the Master thesis on the implementation of discrimination and racism policies in the primary schools of one neighbourhoods of the city Rotterdam, by Marcela Renderos, Erasmus University Rotterdam.

Upon signing of this consent form, I confirm that:

- I have been informed about the purpose of the research, data collection and storage as explained in the information sheet;
- I have read the information sheet, or it has been read to me;
- I have been able to ask questions and have received satisfactory answers about my participation.
- I voluntarily agree to participate in this research;
- I understand that I can decide to not answer questions, retract previously given information, or stop participation at any time.
- I understand that I can withdraw my consent before the dataset is submitted for approval.
- I understand that all information collected during the research period will be kept and treated strictly confidential, and anonymity will be guaranteed based on my preference;

I have considered to what extent I wish my participation in the study to remain anonymous. I understand that I can change my preferences regarding the anonymity of my participation in the study during or after the interview. I wish:

- To remain fully anonymous:** any information or views that I share during the interview and that are presented in the research results *will not* be linked in any way to my identity, for example with reference to my name, organizational affiliation or professional role.

To remain partially anonymous: I consent to allowing any information or views that I share during the interview to be presented in the research results with reference to my organizational affiliation, but with no reference to my individual professional role or identity.

To disclose my identity: my contributions to the study will not be confidential or anonymous. I consent to allowing any information or views that I share during the interview to be presented in the research results with reference to my organizational affiliation AND individual role or identity.

Additionally, I give permission to:

	Yes	No
I give permission to audio record the interview		
I give permission to video record the interview		
I give permission to use quotes from my interview		
I give permission to use my name with the quote(s)		

The recordings, transcripts, and notes from the interview will be anonymised and stored in a secured environment (USB), for the duration of the thesis. These data will then be deleted once the thesis has been evaluated and published. I understand that the results of this study may be published in academic journals and other information platforms.

Name of research participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

The undersigned, responsible researcher, declares that the said person has been informed orally and in writing about the study mentioned above.

Name: Marcela Renderos Reyes

Function: Master Student of Governance of Migration and Diversity

Date: 03/05/2022

Signature: 

If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions, or have comments or complaints about your treatment in this study, please contact Peter Scholten at p.scholten@essb.eur.nl.