The implementation of multicultural education at secondary schools in the Netherlands

How do secondary school teachers in urban areas in the Netherlands implement multicultural education?

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Summary

Introduction

This study explores how secondary school teachers at urban areas in the Netherlands implement multicultural education, with a focus on two schools: Kandinsky College in Nijmegen and Het KWC in Culemborg. The research was inspired by the author's own teaching experience, where challenges such as teaching a culturally diverse classroom came forward.

In the Netherlands, students who are not part of the dominant cultural group are underperforming and not reaching their potential. Students with a migration background, for example, are less likely to get into higher education. Even though since the 70s there have been multiple policy efforts aimed at promoting educational equality, equity and equality are still not been realized. Also, in other countries worldwide, such as the U.S. and Turkey, there is an existing performance gap.

Multicultural education is presented as a potential solution, aiming to ensure all students, regardless of race, class, or cultural background, have equal opportunities to succeed. Drawing on Banks' (1995) five dimensions of multicultural education (content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowering school culture), this study investigates both the promise and practical challenges of implementing inclusive teaching practices.

Methodology

This study employs a multiple case study design to examine how multicultural education is implemented at two Dutch secondary schools: Kandinsky College in Nijmegen and Het KWC in Culemborg. The research is qualitative and primarily descriptive, aiming to capture the diverse ways teachers apply multicultural education in their classrooms. The research also has a comparative aspect, where the Kandinsky College and Het KWC will be compared.

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews with seven teachers—three from Kandinsky and four from Het KWC. Teachers were selected using quota, snowball, and purposive sampling methods, focusing on those with awareness of multicultural education. Interviews lasted 45 to 70 minutes and were conducted in quiet settings to ensure clear recordings. An interview guide, developed from existing frameworks and literature, was used consistently across all interviews in order to increase the reliability.

Reliability was enhanced through a pilot interview, standardized questioning. Due to a lack of respondents, respondents were not selected based on characteristics. Therefore, less reliable. External validity is limited due to the small and non-random sample, the diversity of participants, and geographic relevance help strengthen its contextual value. Internal validity was supported by gathering background data from each respondent, although planned demographic quotas were not fully met due to limited availability.

Key findings

It was found that at both schools, all five dimensions of Banks' multicultural education were implemented. (1) Content integration was the most widely implemented dimension. Through textbooks and self made materials this dimension was implemented. (2) All teachers were aware of knowledge construction, but rarely discussed it with students. While awareness varied, some teachers adjusted lessons to reflect diverse perspectives despite lacking formal training. (3) Prejudice reduction was implemented and supported through classroom discussions, awareness of other cultures through integrating multicultural content, symbolic gestures, and addressing inappropriate comments. (4) Equity pedagogy was applied by adapting teaching methods, providing additional language support, and ensuring all students felt valued. Techniques included flexible test dates, non-Western content, and creating safe spaces for students to share their culture. (5) Empowering school culture and social structure was implemented through extracurricular events like cultural evenings and inclusive activities. Teachers also mentioned inequalities in schools, particularly regarding the overrepresentation of students with migration backgrounds at lower education levels. (6) Barriers identified across both schools included rigid curricula, lack of training, time pressure, and resistance from parents or students around sensitive topics. Only minor differences between schools were present.

Future recommendations

Three implications for future research have come to light during this research. First, it is suggested to better look at the characteristics of teachers, so a verdict can be made about the effect of certain characteristics. Second, barriers concerning negative attitudes of students have been found. This is a new insight that might be researched and elaborated on more. Third, only urban areas have been researched. It would help fill the research gap if the rural areas were also researched.

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1.0. Introduction

For over five months, I have been teaching at a secondary school in Nijmegen. This experience has given me valuable insights into the teaching profession and the various challenges teachers face. One of the most significant challenges I faced was how to effectively manage a class with a diverse student body. In specific, students with different cultural backgrounds, but also differences in gender and social class. Challenges such as language barriers, cultural misunderstandings, inclusivity, and different learning styles might arise. According to Parkhouse et al. (2023), I am not the only teacher who has faced this problem.

Knowing how to support all students in a diverse classroom is essential, especially because today's schools are becoming more diverse and multicultural (Ashrafova, 2024). In specific, diversity in Dutch schools has been increasing in recent years. In 2021/2022, 26,9 percent of all secondary school students in the Netherlands had a migration background (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2022).

The reason that it is so hard to deal with is that students differ in numerous ways, such as interests, hobbies, personality traits, socioeconomic background, and cultural heritage. All these factors define a student's norms, values, preferences, customs, and prior knowledge (Moll et al., 1992). Consequently, students feel connected to different subjects and appreciate various teaching methods (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2012). As a teacher, my goal was to satisfy as many students as possible.

However, I quickly noticed that adapting teaching methods and topics to the preferences and interests of the majority often led to the exclusion of students who were not 'mainstream'. When trying to adapt my lessons to include also the students who are not 'mainstream', I found myself stuck. Without proper education about how to deal with this, lack of resources, and a curriculum that needs to be followed, I could not realize this. This is important because the issue of exclusion goes beyond mere dissatisfaction; it has broader implications. The exclusion leads to coloured students not reaching their full potential (Gay, 2018), makes students unaware of multicultural subjects, leading to prejudice, and leading to social fragmentation (Banks, 1995). Besides coloured students, also sexually diverse students face problems such as exclusion and bullying (Kaufman & Baams, 2021).

Problems in education globally

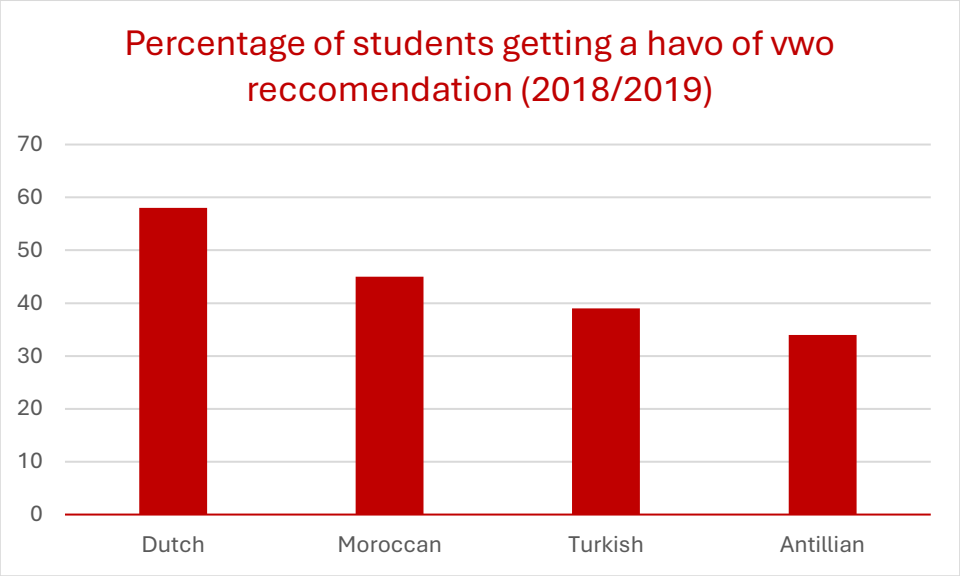
As Gay (2018) mentioned, a significant number of students of colour face challenges that hinder them from reaching their full potential. This creates a performance gap. This

performance gap is evident in the dropout rates among Hispanic students in the U.S., with 41 percent of Hispanic adults lacking a high school diploma compared to 14 percent of whites (Fry, 2010). Test scores further illustrate this gap, with Black, Hispanic, and Native American students attending schools where average performance is at the 35th or 40th percentile, while Asian and white schools are close to the 60th percentile (Logan et al., 2012). Although there is improvement across grades, the performance gap persists. This is alarming, and the problem should be tackled.

Not only in the U.S. the educational systems fail, but also in Turkey problems arise when it comes to teaching multicultural classrooms. Educational systems are not adjusted to teaching multicultural classrooms and fail to do so (Aydin & Ozfidan, 2014). Also, at the teachers' educational programs, almost no attention is paid to teaching multicultural or diverse classrooms. This leads to inexperienced and unqualified teachers when it comes to teaching a multicultural classroom. Aydin (2013) states that in Turkey, teacher education programs are insufficient and fail to address the diverse student body. Also, scepticism exists regarding the implementation of multicultural content into the curriculum (Erbaş, 2019). This might be the reason that in Turkey, students from higher socio-economic classes tend to perform better in education (Alacacı & Erbaş, 2009).

Problems in education in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, there are six levels of secondary education. Students are placed in one of the six levels based on the advice of their primary school teacher and a test taken in primary school. When a student is placed in VMBO, they will complete secondary school in four years; when a student is placed in HAVO, they will complete secondary school in five years; and when a student is placed in VWO, they will complete secondary school in six years. However, as can be seen in the graph below, in the Netherlands, students with a Dutch background are more likely to be placed at a higher educational level than Moroccan, Turkish, or Antillean students (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2020).



This difference implies that equity and equality are still not accomplished in the Netherlands. This is supported by Huijnk & Andriessen (2016), who state that in the first year of primary school, the performance gap between non-Western and native students exists. The performance gap is not fixed during primary school (Roeleveld et al. 2011). An explanation is that, according to Onderwijsinspectie (2024), equality of opportunity varies between students. For example, students who are originally not from the Netherlands have worse education than those from the Netherlands. Variables leading to this education gap are, for instance, having less access to materials and extra training apart from regular lessons.

Because of the performance gap, policies are created. Since the 70s, Dutch policies have been created to decrease the performance gap caused by social, economic, or cultural factors (Roeleveld et al. 2011). The policies include tutoring teachers, decreasing students' performance gap through tutoring, and giving pre-school education to children who have a performance gap, for example, when they lack ability to speak Dutch (Centraal Planbureau, 2025; Ministerie van Onderwijs Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2021). Despite these policies, the performance gap still exists.

Besides the national policies, there are multiple inclusive teaching methods that teachers and schools can implement to tackle this problem. Numerous frameworks, such as the Index for Inclusion (Booth et al., 2006), Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995), Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy (Paris, 2012), Culturally Responsive Teaching (Gay, 2018),

and multicultural education (Banks, 2010), provide guidelines for inclusive teaching. These frameworks aim to include all students and, in the long run, decrease the performance gap.

One of those frameworks is multicultural education, which, according to Banks (2010), is the idea that all students should have equal opportunities to perform well and learn in school. Characteristics, sexual orientation, social class, and racial or ethnic differences should not matter. This could reduce the performance gap between students if it is implemented correctly. Globally, multicultural education differs and is interpreted differently. In some countries, multicultural education incorporates more dimensions or different aspects. However, overall, multicultural education is seen as a method towards social justice through practices that support equity within education (Cha et al., 2017).

According to Banks (2013), multicultural education emerged in the 60s in the U.S. During the civil rights movement in the 60s, African Americans pleaded for equal rights and the elimination of discrimination. This also affected educational fields and started the implementation of multicultural education. More coloured teachers should be hired, and multicultural content should be integrated into the curriculum. Later, other groups such as the feminists and the LGBTQ community, who pleaded for social change, affected the implementation of multicultural education.

After multicultural education had evolved in the U.S., multicultural education spread across other countries around the globe. First reaching Europe and countries in South America. Multicultural education reached Korea and other Asian countries in the early 20th century (Kim et al., 2010). Right now, multicultural education is implemented globally. Nowadays, multicultural education is an important issue in an increasing number of countries across the globe (Cha et al., 2013).

The growing approach consists of five dimensions: content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowering school culture and social structure. These dimensions are important because they are addressed in the six sub questions. Below, the definitions according to Banks (1995) are cited. Further explanation and examples of the dimensions are provided in the framework section.

- ‘’Content integration deals with the extent to which teachers use examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories in their subject area or discipline (Banks, 1995, p. 4).’’
- ‘’The knowledge construction process describes the procedures by which social, behavioural, and natural scientists create knowledge, and the manner in which the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases within a

discipline influence the ways that knowledge is constructed within it (Banks, 1995, p. 4).''

- ''The prejudice reduction dimension of multicultural education describes the characteristics of children's racial attitudes and suggests strategies that can be used to help students develop more democratic attitudes and values (Banks, 1995, p. 4.).''
- ''An equity pedagogy exists when teachers use techniques and methods that facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, ethnic, and, social-class groups (Banks, 1995, p. 4-5).''
- ''The concept of empowering school culture and social structure is used in this chapter to describe the process of restructuring the culture and organization of the school so that students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class groups will experience educational equality and cultural empowerment (Banks, 1995, p. 5).''

1.1. Objective The research

The aim is to research the implementation of multicultural education of teachers at two schools, the Kandinsky College in Nijmegen and Het KWC in Culemborg. The research will be a multiple case study. The schools are located in cities that are close to the average percentage of inhabitants with a migration background in the Netherlands (27,9 percent). In Nijmegen, 29.2 percent of the inhabitants have a migration background. In Culemborg, 25,8 percent of the inhabitants have a migration background (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2024). Because the cities and schools are multicultural, multicultural education is a relevant subject among teachers as they often encounter multicultural classrooms.

1.2. Research questions and conceptual model

To investigate this further, my research will focus on the application of multicultural education by secondary school teachers. The central research question is: *How do secondary school teachers in urban areas in the Netherlands implement multicultural education?* To answer this, I will explore the following sub-questions:

→How is content integration implemented by teachers?

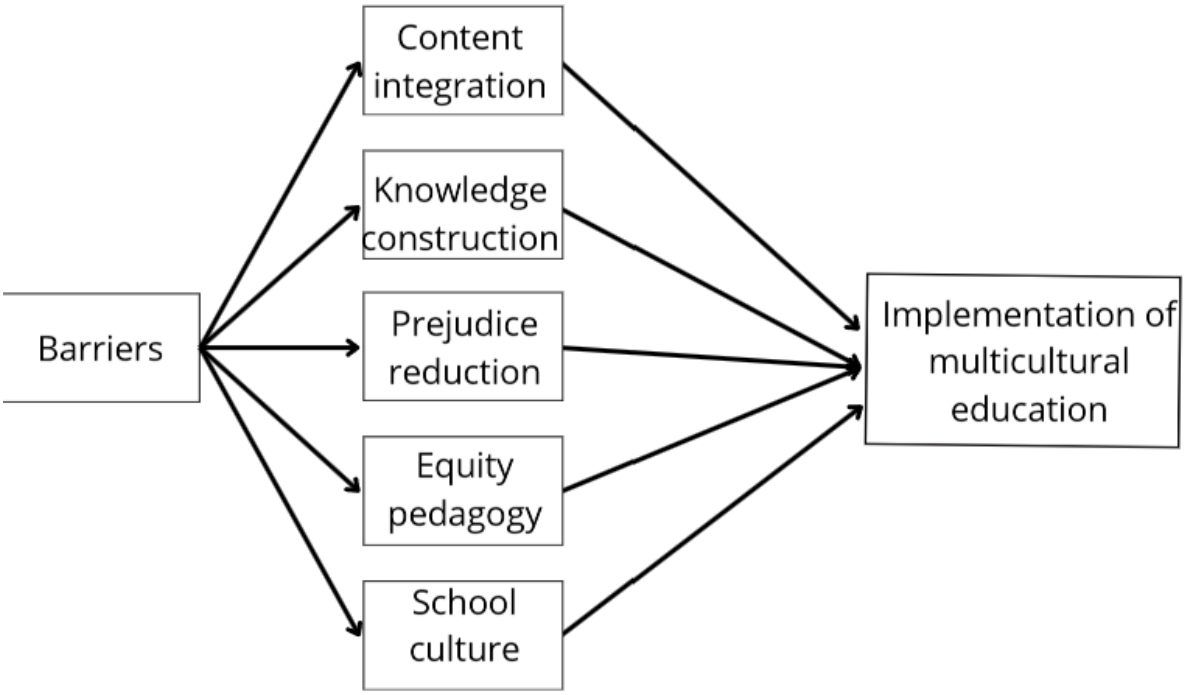
→How is knowledge construction implemented by teachers?

→How is prejudice reduction implemented by teachers?

→How is equity pedagogy implemented by teachers?

→How is empowering school culture and social structure implemented by teachers?

→What barriers do teachers run into when implementing the dimensions of multicultural education?



1.3. Societal relevance

“Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” is the fourth Sustainable Development Goal (SDG4). As emphasized by the United Nations (2024), SDG4 serves as a key enabler for the achievement of most other SDGs. This is because sustainable development depends fundamentally on every child’s access to quality education (UNICEF, 2025). Thus, equitable education is not only crucial for students, teachers, schools, and educational institutions, but also for the broader societal progress it supports. Within the school environment, teachers play the most critical role in creating an inclusive learning environment (UNESCO, 2020). Understanding these challenges and promoting the sharing of experiences among teachers is essential. As UNESCO (2020) asserts, “Sharing experiences is the only way to sustain a transition to inclusion.” It is therefore vital to gain deeper insight into how multicultural education is implemented in the classroom setting. This study focuses specifically on teachers and their practices in fostering multicultural education, so only the school environment and connected organisations are being discussed.

To start, the most important group, students themselves, will benefit from multicultural education. Nowadays, racial groups have to deal with discrimination, exclusion, and other incidents (Toomey & Storlie, 2015). These types of incidents have a great impact on students and can correlate with depression (Umana-Taylor & Updegraff, 2006). But by implementing multicultural education, students can feel more respected and valued (Banks, 2010). An example is that students feel more connected to peers when multicultural education is implemented (Abacioglu et al., 2023). Besides, students of colour are performing better when multicultural education is successfully implemented (Zirkel, 2008). However, not only will the excluded students benefit from inclusion. ‘’Inclusion improves learning for all students (UNESCO, 2020).’’ Multicultural education also improves multicultural competence of all students (Mardhiah et al., 2024). Therefore, inclusive education is of importance for all students. But there is certainly a higher relevance for excluded students.

Besides students, teachers who find themselves unprepared for teaching multicultural classes can benefit. Nowadays, many teachers find themselves unprepared to make the curriculum culturally inclusive (Parkhouse et al., 2023). Teachers are also not aware of the consequences of how their dispositions affect their practice and, therefore, unintentionally marginalize some students (Powell, 1997). This research about how teachers implement multicultural education might improve awareness and encourage mutual communication between teachers. Sharing these experiences between teachers is, according to UNESCO (2020), ‘’the only way to sustain a transition to inclusion.’’ Therefore, the findings of this research will be shared with all participants. This contributes to sharing experience between teachers and leads to inclusion.

Besides students and teachers, the institutions researching and monitoring inclusive teaching will benefit from this research. The European Union, for example, is also incorporating inclusive teaching into its policies. Examples of inclusive teaching policies include those for students with disabilities, varying socioeconomic status, and different cultural backgrounds (Cedefop & ReferNet, 2023; Inclusion and Diversity Service, 2010; Cedefop, 2023). These policies and research are far from complete, and this research helps close the knowledge gap about the implementation of multicultural education.

1.4. Scientific relevance

Many researchers have done research regarding multicultural education (Tabatadze, 2015; Abacioglu et al., 2023; Omar et al., 2015; Athiemoolam & Vermaak, 2021; Matshikiza et al.,

2019). Research regarding the barriers, implementation, understanding, variables that correlate with the implementation of multicultural education and research in multiple geographical areas has been conducted. This research was of vital importance, but there is an existing knowledge gap.

To start, there is a knowledge gap regarding the research done on barriers to the implementation of multicultural education by Hassanpour et al. (2022). Multiple teachers at the universities were questioned. Multiple barriers, such as political, cultural, and technical barriers, were found. However, this study was conducted among university teachers and not secondary school teachers. Barriers in secondary schools could be much different or more present. Therefore, it is also important to address and reveal the problems at secondary schools.

Furthermore, there is a research gap regarding the research conducted by Tabatadze (2015) on the implementation of multicultural education by primary school teachers in Georgia. The researcher mentioned that the study was limited because it only focused on primary school teachers, not secondary or university teachers. Secondary and primary schools vary, and so does the student population. At primary school in the Netherlands, students are not yet divided into levels of education. At secondary school, this segregation is present, shaping the classroom and its student population. Gaining insight into secondary school teachers' implementation, therefore adds relevant data.

Another study, done by Lim & Kester (2023) about the understanding and implementation of multicultural education in Korea, gives insight into the implementation of multicultural education among secondary school teachers. They state three important aspects of implementing multicultural education. However, they mention that more research about the practices of multicultural education needs to be done. This may better assist transformative multicultural educational practice (Lim & Kester, 2023).

Another knowledge gap is that research on multicultural education isn’t general because of the immense diversity of variables; research in each context and place can be different. Therefore, research needs to be done in specific settings and places (Abacioglu et al., 2023). Doing a case study where two schools in urban areas are researched helps create a broad image of multicultural education and its effect. Chungs (2018) supports this statement and mentions that future research should prioritize gaining information about different educational regions, locations, and districts.

The last issue regarding research about multicultural education emerges because, according to Agirdag et al. (2014) and Kuppens et al. (2019), most of the research done on multicultural education is fixed to the American context. Moreover, most of the studies

emphasized pre-service teachers. Hence, the implementation of multicultural education by teachers is mostly neglected. This study will focus on the Dutch context and therefore address the knowledge gap in the Netherlands. Besides, this research focuses on in-service teachers who already finished their educational program. This gives more insight into teaching experiences and school characteristics in multicultural education.

2.0. Theoretical framework

2.1 Concepts and definitions

There are multiple concepts linked to multicultural education, and therefore, it is of importance to further elaborate on this. To start, inclusive teaching is important because multicultural education is a way of inclusive teaching. Inclusive teaching involves deliberately cultivating a learning environment where all students are treated equitably, have equal access to learning, and feel welcome, valued, and supported in their learning (Charania & Patel, 2022). This means respecting diversity, flexible teaching methods, and creating a sense of belonging among all students.

Besides inclusive teaching, equity in education is of importance. It is ensuring that all students, regardless of their cultural background, have access to the same high-quality educational opportunities and resources. This involves addressing systemic inequalities and promoting social justice. This leads to inclusion, which is the process of involving and supporting all students in education, with special attention to those who have been historically marginalized.

Finally, multiculturalism needs to be elaborated. It describes the presence of diverse ethnic and cultural groups within a society. These groups may vary in historical background, population size, social status, influence, and traditions. The development of multicultural societies is often shaped by historical events such as colonial expansion, forced migration, and voluntary immigration. Each society distinctly experiences multiculturalism, influenced by its unique historical and social context (Eldering, 1996). Multiculturalism, therefore, helps understand cultural diversity within a society and, in extension of that, the need of multicultural education. Cultural diversity is the presence of different cultural groups within a particular context, such as a school. Cultural diversity includes variables such as ethnicity, religion, language, and values.

2.2. Multicultural education

Sleeter (2018) argues that little consensus exists regarding the exact date that marks the beginning of the implementation of multicultural education. Banks (1995), however, argues that multicultural education emerged in the 60s during the civil rights movement. In the beginning, multicultural education mainly focused on the black Afro American community. Later on, it started to include all sorts of disadvantaged groups, such as women, the LGBTQ+ community, and disabled persons. Because of scholars such as Banks, multicultural education became a theory and could spread worldwide. Globally, depending

on different contexts, multicultural education has been implemented and interpreted differently (Lim & Kester, 2023). Based on countries' political, social, and cultural characteristics, the implementation and interpretation of multicultural education can differ.

For this research, Banks' (2010) understanding of multicultural education will be used. Multicultural education, as outlined by Banks (2010), focuses on transforming educational institutions to promote equity and social justice. The goal of multicultural education is to ensure that all students, irrespective of their ethnic, social, racial, or cultural background, have the same opportunities within the academic world. It also tries to enhance societal participation for everyone. This approach goes beyond simply diversifying the curriculum; it challenges both educators and students to rethink their understanding of knowledge and learning. It involves five dimensions: content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowering school culture and social structure.

When implemented well, multicultural education, as outlined by Banks, has many positive outcomes. To start, inclusivity is created because multicultural education fosters an inclusive school environment where all students feel respected and valued. Besides, it enhances cultural awareness. Students encounter other cultures and therefore understand them more. This reduces stereotypes. Another benefit is improved achievement due to increased motivation and engagement. Lastly, it prepares students for a society where globalization is ever-present.

However, implementing multicultural education might lead to implementation challenges. Teachers and parents may resist to change. Besides, due to a lack of resources, support, or training, right implementation is hard. Without proper training and in-depth integration, multicultural education can become superficial, or it is hard to balance and represent the different perspectives and experiences of all students. An example of superficiality is ‘’The Danger of the Single Story’’ by Adichie (2009). She mentions the way Western countries see Africa. There is a single story about Africa where it is poor, dangerous, and wild. However, there is much more to Africa, but it is not told in Western society and schools. Therefore, when implementing multicultural education tailored and careful implementation needs to take place.

2.2.1. Content integration

The first dimension is content integration. It involves how teachers incorporate diverse cultural perspectives within the curriculum. According to Banks (2001), this encompasses the way teachers include the histories, texts, values, beliefs, and perspectives of people from different cultural backgrounds. This approach ensures that the curriculum reflects the

diversity of the students and society. For example, in history classes, students might learn about the history of more than just Europe and America. Also in literature classes, they might read books and texts by authors from different cultural backgrounds. This helps students see themselves and others within the curriculum and fosters a more inclusive understanding of knowledge. However, integrating content is not easy, and teachers often need help from institutions to implement proper content integration (Gay, 2018).

2.2.2. Knowledge construction

The second dimension is knowledge construction. This pillar focuses on teaching students how cultural assumptions and biases influence the creation of knowledge. Banks (1995) emphasizes the importance of helping students recognize that knowledge is not neutral but shaped by the cultural context in which it is produced. The writer's bias, for example, can affect the text and meaning of it (Egne, 2016). This pillar involves developing students' critical thinking skills, helping them analyse the sources of their information. Even educational books can be argued. The Dutch Geographical Association, which helps create educational books, has a colonial background, thereby influencing knowledge and its neutrality (KNAG, 2023). Also, understanding the impact of cultural perspectives on knowledge is part of knowledge construction. An example of implementation is that students might explore how historical events are interpreted differently by various cultural groups, which can deepen their understanding of the complexities of history.

2.2.3. Prejudice reduction

The third dimension is prejudice reduction. It aims to foster positive attitudes toward cultural diversity and reduce prejudiced beliefs and behaviours. Banks (1995) suggests using activities, discussions, and curricula that challenge stereotypes and promote empathy and respect among students. This pillar incorporates engaging diverse perspectives and experiences. By doing this, students are helped to understand and appreciate the value of diversity. An example is that teachers might facilitate class discussions about controversial subjects such as migration. Different perspectives should be heard and listened to.

2.2.4. Equity pedagogy

The fourth dimension is equity pedagogy. This pillar involves adapting teaching methods and practices to meet the diverse learning needs of students from various cultural backgrounds. Banks (1995) highlights the importance of creating an inclusive and supportive classroom environment where all students can succeed. This includes recognizing and dealing with the challenges and strengths that different students bring to the classroom. Using these strengths and challenges for the benefit of all students is the ideal situation. Teachers might

use differentiated instruction, group assignments, differentiated practices, and formative assessments to ensure that all students have equitable opportunities to learn and succeed. For example, they might incorporate students' cultural backgrounds into lesson plans or provide multiple ways for students to demonstrate their understanding.

2.2.5. Empowering school culture and social structure

The fifth dimension is empowering school culture and social structure. Empowering school culture and social structure examines and addresses the social and institutional structures within the school that contribute to inequalities. These inequalities are often structured in society. Banks (1995) advocates for policies and practices that support equity and diversity, including equitable access to resources and opportunities for all students. A school environment needs to be created where diversity and inclusivity are actively promoted. This hopefully dismantles systematic barriers that disadvantage certain groups. In order to promote this, schools might implement policies that ensure diverse hiring practices, equitable distribution of resources, and inclusive activities where students encounter other cultures. For example, the school can organise multiple activities where diversity is celebrated. Teachers can also help empower the school culture and social structure, but on a smaller scale.

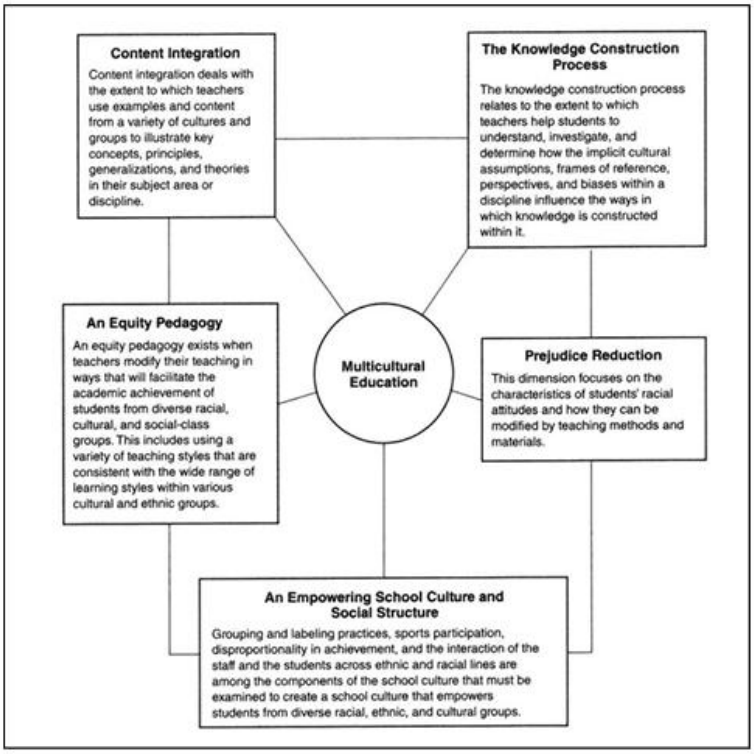


Figure 1. Banks (1995)

The dimensions were also used to structure the interview guides for the interviews conducted with teachers at secondary schools. This made it easier to structure the interview. Making sure not to leave out any dimension during the interview. Besides, these benchmarks were of major importance in structuring the data collected via interviews. It also made the data analysis and the result section more manageable and clear.

2.3.Literature review

2.3.1. Culturally responsive teaching

In this section, frameworks and other research are explored. Multicultural education is certainly not the only framework that helps teachers understand and cope with diversity and equity. Multiple other frameworks with slightly different scopes or viewpoints are developed. A closely related theory to multicultural education is culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2018).

Culturally responsive teaching is a comprehensive approach to teaching that teachers can use to let all students thrive in their classrooms, regardless of their race or socio-economic background. In this approach, it is about acknowledging and understanding diversity, building relationships with all students, setting high expectations for students without prejudices, have an inclusive curriculum which reflects the cultural diversity of the students, empowering students into critical thinking, reducing inequities, and using different teaching methods. Culturally relevant teaching has four main dimensions: caring, communicating, curriculum, and instruction. There are four main dimensions in this model, of which most overlap with Banks' multicultural education. This approach involves acknowledging and understanding diversity, building relationships with all students, setting high expectations without prejudice, having an inclusive curriculum that reflects students' cultural diversity, empowering students to think critically, reducing inequities, and using varied teaching methods. Understanding these issues and sharing experiences among teachers is crucial. According to UNESCO (2020), sharing experiences is the only way to sustain a transition to inclusion.

However, there are multiple arguments that explain why culturally responsive teaching should not be used in this research. Where multicultural education includes all students in the classroom, culturally responsive teaching mainly scopes on race, making the framework less relevant for all students. Also, culturally relevant teaching is found to be hard to implement. This is mainly because the framework is so narrow and specific.

2.3.2. Critical multicultural education

Another theory coping with diversity and equity is the critical multicultural education theory. This theory goes beyond multicultural education. It tries to show how unequal power relations are everlasting today's society through institutional and structural levels. This theory

tries to transform society by empowering students and teachers to overthrow the social norms that improve the wealth and status of some groups, benefiting others (Sleeter & Grant, 1987). Critical multicultural education wants to let all students have equal chances, no matter their racial background (Bozkurt & Topkaya, 2025). Where Banks' theory only partially focuses on reforming society, critical multicultural education's main goal is to change society so it fulfils the needs and wishes of all groups. This is also the reason why critical multicultural education is not used in this research, because it extends far beyond the classroom.

The critical multicultural education theory is confirmed and complemented by the critical race theory. It can also be used to describe the theory. It is an analytical framework through which we can see racial power structures. Critical race theory is often referred to as a theoretical or interpretive framework, as well as a movement (Closson, 2010). It sees racial differences not as a result of natural or biological outcome, but as an outcome of a socially constructed society. This socially constructed society is oppressing and exploiting people of colour (Lawrence & Hylton, 2022). It can also be a lens for understanding how systemic racism and power dynamics influence education. Therefore, it can help understand the importance of multicultural education.

2.3.3. Culturally relevant pedagogy

Also, culturally relevant pedagogy by Ladson-Billings (1995) is used as a framework to take into account the cultural differences in classrooms. It emphasizes the relevance of teaching practices that reflect and respect students' cultural backgrounds. It also emphasizes on lived experiences of disadvantaged groups (Brown-Jeffy & Cooper, 2011). Culturally relevant pedagogy consists of three pillars: academic achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness (Kondo, 2022).

However, there are multiple reasons why culturally relevant pedagogy is not fitted for this research. Culturally relevant pedagogy does not examine broader structures and the impacts on society (Brown-Jeffy & Cooper, 2011). Besides, it is developed with a primary focus on African American students. Seen as this research is conducted in the Netherlands, it is not suited. Last, the theory focuses mainly on students and how they can create academic achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness.

2.3.4. Multicultural education

However, instead of culturally responsive teaching. Critical multicultural education or culturally relevant pedagogy, multicultural education is used in this research. There are multiple reasons why multicultural education is included in this research. To start,

multicultural education is more widely known, making it easier to find respondents who are aware of the theory. Second, multicultural education is a broader framework, making it easier and more likely for teachers to implement it. Hence, respondents who implement multicultural education are easier to find. Last, multicultural education is, as mentioned above, a broad framework that also looks at the school and society. Therefore, the theory contains relevant geographical aspects. This makes it more relevant for my study geography, spatial planning, and environment.

2.3.5. Earlier research on multicultural education

Early research on multicultural education indicates that, despite its promising theoretical framework, teachers tend to implement only the most basic elements of multicultural practices (Egne, 2019). This is partly because no formalized education about multicultural education took place and no textbooks prescribed it (Egne, 2019; Matshikiza & Luggya, 2019). According to Clarke & Drudy (2006), most of the teachers find themselves unprepared to teach culturally diverse classrooms. Gross (2024) found that content integration is the most commonly used and most popular dimension of Banks' five dimensions. However, the implementation of multicultural education is not optimal because, in teacher education, almost no attention is paid to multiculturalism in classrooms.

Besides the implementation of multicultural education, barriers to multicultural education have also been researched. Earlier research on barriers is examined. Gross (2024), and Khaja et al. (2010) found that teachers experienced barriers such as outdated curriculum, lack of time, lack of support from the school, and superseded materials. Other researchers found the same barriers and complemented even more barriers to that list. Hassanpour et al. (2022) found that the policies, lack of expertise and lack of knowledge about multicultural education also formed barriers. Not to mention the political backlash teachers fear forms a barrier (Aronson & Kheirkhah, 2025). Also, the lack of resources forms a barrier. More resources are needed from schools and higher organizations in order to better implement multicultural education more effectively (Gross, 2024).

Another study conducted close to the Netherlands has led to valuable insights. Agridag et al. (2014) researched the implementation and understanding of multicultural education by teachers in Flanders. They found that at schools where a significant part of the student body belongs to an ethnic minority, teachers incorporate more multicultural education. Also, attitudes of teachers towards multicultural education are researched. Karacabey et al. (2019) found that attitudes towards multicultural education were hard to explain. Research has shown contradictory results in attitudes towards multicultural education.

3.0. Methodology

The research is a multiple case study that examines two secondary schools. In this research, the main question ‘’*How do secondary school teachers in urban areas in the Netherlands implement multicultural education?*’’ will be addressed. The six sub-questions will help answer the main question. The research objective is to describe and compare the implementation of multicultural education in both schools. Because of the few respondents, this research is mostly descriptive and not explanatory because causal relationships are low on validity.

3.1. Research design

This study is a multiple case study. There is no definitive agreement on what a case study is, and therefore no agreement on what constitutes a multiple case study. However, researchers do find agreement on the fact that it needs to constitutes out of multiple case studies. Stewart (2011) defines a multiple case study as ‘’investigations of a particular phenomenon (or group of phenomena) at a number of different sites.’’

There are a few reasons why a multiple case study was conducted. To start with, researching multiple cases strengthens the external validity of a research (Knight, 2001; Stewart, 2011). With more cases being researched, external validity increases. Besides, a multiple case study can be more extensive than a single case study. The researcher can take into account more factors such as social, cultural, or economic factors (Pathmarajah, 2019). Also, places with shared geographical aspects can be studied with a multiple case study (Knight, 2001). In this research, two places with about the same amount of inhabitants with a migration background are being researched, therefore a multiple case study is fitted. To end, educational research, according to Stewart (2011), is suited for multiple case studies.

For the multiple case study, primary qualitative data are collected. The reason here fore is that qualitative research has its intentions to approach the world outside of the laboratory and describe, understand, and in rare cases explain social phenomena (Kvale, 2011). It can also be seen as a method to gather in-depth information concerning a problem (Bhandari, 2020). This fits well for explaining how teachers implement multicultural education in their lessons because it is research conducted in the outside world, and a societal problem. The research also aims to understand how teachers implement multicultural education. This is suitable for qualitative research.

The qualitative data are collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews involve questioning within a specific predecided field, in this case implementation of multicultural education. Semi-structured interviews enable researchers to answer their research questions whilst still being flexible and adaptable (Ruslin et al., 2022). Therefore, whenever the participant comes forward with an interesting topic or experience, it could be further explained and discussed, leading to important data. During the semi-structured interview, I will use an interview guide. The interview guide is self-constructed, but I made use of critical standards and interview guides from earlier research on multicultural education (Agirdag et al., 2014; Egne, 2016; Hassanpour et al., 2022; Tabatadze, 2015). The interviews regarded the five dimensions of Banks' multicultural education and barriers to implementing it. After the interviews, participants can contact me at any point reviewing answers or withdraw from the interview

In order to find my participants, different types of sampling techniques were used. At first, quota sampling was used. With the quota sampling, the researcher wanted four teachers at Het KWC and four teachers at the Kandinsky College. However, due to the lack of respondents, four teachers at Het KWC in Culemborg were interviewed, and only three respondents at the Kandinsky College in Nijmegen were interviewed. This differs from the original plan to interview four teachers at both schools. Also, other criteria such as gender, age, and teaching experience were taken into account, but due to a lack of respondents, this was not included. Schools and teachers were contacted through informants at the schools. These informants were personal acquaintances of the researcher whom he knew from the teacher academy. One teacher at Het KWC managed to find four respondents aware of multicultural education. This type of sampling could be seen as the snowball method. At the Candinsky College, multiple teachers were approached by the researcher, of whom only three were aware of multicultural education and wanted to participate in an interview.

Besides quota sampling, purposive sampling was used. Purposive sampling involves selecting interviewees based on criteria that are of importance to the research objective and questions (Nikolopoulou, 2022). Respondents are intentionally selected to learn and better understand the phenomenon (Creswell, 2014). This method is used because multicultural education is a widely used framework, but not every teacher is aware of the framework. In order to research it, respondents need to be aware of multicultural education. Also, teachers were selected based on the different teaching levels they educated. Since vmbo classrooms have a higher percentage of students with migration backgrounds, the interviewed teachers primarily work at the vmbo level, where they frequently encounter multicultural education. Through interviewees, colleagues who are known or specified in the subject of multicultural education were contacted. These sampling methods resulted in seven teachers at the

schools participating in the research. This could be seen as using the snowball method. The interviews had a duration between approximately 45 and 70 minutes.

The interviews that took place were well thought out and prepared correctly. To start, the interviews were held in silent rooms. For instance, an empty classroom or a meeting room. This was to make sure that the interviews were properly recorded without background noise. Next, the respondents were informed about their rights and anonymity. During the interview, the researcher responded to the respondents' answers, as is expected in a semi-structured interview. Responding to answers led to multiple new and surprising methods of implementing multicultural education. At the end, the respondents were asked whether they felt like something was not yet mentioned, leading to surprising and interesting answers.

3.2. Reliability and validity

There are multiple reasons why validity and reliability are of major importance. ‘’Validity and reliability are critical components in assessing the quality of research findings (Andersson et al., 2024).’’ They are also crucial for creating the scientific thoroughness of a study. This affects the acceptance of the study. Therefore, it is of importance. According to Neuman (2006), high reliability is needed, but not enough for high validity.

According to Findley et al. (2021), external validity refers to the degree to which conclusions drawn from a specific study's sample can be generalized to a larger population or to other target populations. Researching more cases increases the representativeness of the research findings and thereby increases the validity of the research. The more interviews are conducted, the higher the representativeness of the research findings. Thereby, the validity of the research increases (Vennix, 2019).

There are a few reasons why the external validity of this research is not so high. First, because my interviewees were found using the snowball method and purposive sampling (Andrade, 2020). The researcher was equitant to the teachers at the two schools. Those teachers managed to find other respondents who wanted to participate in an interview. Besides, because of the immense differences in variables, research is not easily generalizable (Abacioglu et al., 2023). However, as mentioned earlier, a multiple case study increases the external validity.

Besides external validity, there is internal validity, which is fostered by asking respondents about their background, teaching experience, age, gender, and others. The findings are not easily generalizable for the Netherlands because only seven teachers were interviewed. Besides, age, gender, and migration background were taken into account when finding respondents, but due to a lack of response, these factors were eventually left out. The

researcher did several attempts to increase the number of respondents, but that also failed due to a lack of response. Having four respondents at one school and three at the other school makes a difference, but as this research is not focused on comparing the two schools, it is not a substantial problem. Although it is not a representative quota of teachers in the Netherlands, the case study took place in different geographical locations, and as mentioned before, both Nijmegen and Culemborg are cities where the population which has a migration background is close to the country's average, which increases the generalizability.

Besides validity, reliability is of importance. It refers to the uniformity of measurements over time, using different tools, and among various observers. It plays a crucial role in ensuring that research findings can be replicated and trusted. When reliability is high, the results are consistent and credible. However, low reliability casts doubt on the precision of the collected data (Andersson et al., 2024). In order to increase the reliability, the researcher did a pilot interview using the interview guide. The guide was afterwards reconstructed so that throughout all seven interviews, the same, well constructed interview guide could be used. Using the same research guide for every interview promotes reliability. Also, making sure I can reach out to respondents if I have any unclear answers, and using the same coding for analysing every interview increased the reliability of this research.

Respondents	Teaching experience (secondary school)	Field of profession
Kandinsky (A)	2 years	Language
Kandinsky (B)	2 years	Societal
Kandinsky (C)	24 years	Societal
KWC (D)	20 years	Language
KWC (E)	20 years	Language
KWC (F)	4 years	Language
KWC (G)	3 years	Societal

In this table, respondents from both schools can be found. The teachers are numbered and in the table the years of teaching experience and field of profession can be found.

3.3. Data analysis

Right after the interviews were conducted, they were transcribed and coded using Atlas.ti. The coding process follows an abductive approach, which blends deductive and inductive methods to allow greater flexibility in refining codes when findings do not align with initial expectations. Abductive coding typically begins with the creation of an inductive codebook. As the coding progresses, additional codes are introduced based on emerging patterns, ensuring that the analysis remains dynamic and responsive (Vila-Henninger et al., 2022). Abductive coding is an iterative process and it allows the researcher to deeper insights that might not come to light in deductive or inductive ways of coding. The coding started with six main codes and around 30 sub codes. Whilst coding, it became clear that more codes needed to be applied. This happened when a single sub coding had well over 50 codes, making it hard to extract specific information. Codes were split up and made more insightful. When the coding was finished, well over 80 code groups and 790 quotations were marked.

4.0. Findings

In this section, the findings of the interviews will be stated and shown. The findings are organized thematically based on the five dimensions of multicultural education, plus a heading for the sub-question ‘barriers’ (Banks, 1995). To start with, it is important to mention that all interviewed teachers had to deal with a multicultural classroom. The percentage of students with a migration background varied from 20 to 50 percent. The students had a variety of backgrounds. Western (Polish, Croatian, Serbian, Ukrainian, Turkish) but also non-Western (Afghan, Syrian, Moroccan, Kurdish, Egyptian, Iranian).

Almost all teachers mentioned that at the lower educational levels, the percentage of students with a migration background is higher than at the higher educational levels. To the question if the percentage of students with a migration background differs between levels a teacher answered the following:

> ‘’I have all educational levels in the first years of secondary school, and talking about stereotypes, mostly mavo havo. There, I have for sure half of my students with a migration background. Havo, we are talking about a third and vwo, then you're at maximum ten percent.’’ (Teacher A)

The teacher mentions the percentages of students with a migration background at levels of education. The lower educational level, mavo, for sure half of the students have a migration background. At havo, there is about one third of the students with a migration background, and at vwo, the highest educational level, only ten percent of the students had a migration background. However, percentages per level varied, as some teachers mentions lower percentages of students with a migration background.

4.1. Content integration

In this study, it was found that all seven teachers implemented content integration into their lessons. These findings are not unexpected. According to Gross (2024), content integration is the most commonly used and most popular dimension to implement multicultural education. Results also showed that this was the most frequently used dimension of multicultural education. The ways of implementation and frequency did, however vary between teachers. Teachers almost always incorporated self-added content into their lessons. Ranging from movies and music to self-made exercises and stories about their own experiences and journeys. This integrated content was, in some cases, purposely multicultural content. An example is a teacher who incorporated a self-made series of lessons where students encounter people from the Moluccan islands.

‘’At this school, there is an entire project dedicated to the Moluccan islands where Moluccans come to the school. I also made a video about the Moluccan islands where I had a conversation with a Moluccan man.’’. (Teacher F)00:20:52

Here, students encounter a culture other than their own and find out about the history of the Moluccans in the Netherlands. Special is that in the classroom, multiple students have roots in the Moluccan islands. Teacher F is talking about the self-made series concerning the Moluccan islands. She mentions that members of the local Moluccan community come to the school, and the teachers show a video to the students, and the students can conversate with the Moluccans coming to the school.

Other examples of purposely added multicultural content are watching Newsround, which was purposely chosen because the informative journal stressed on cultures and inclusivity, listening to French music which is influenced by Arabic, Moroccan, and Ghanaian cultures, or giving students with a migration background a moment to tell about their culture. Also, when Ramadan was being held, teachers often took the opportunity to talk about it in class. These were all examples of purposely added multicultural content.

However, in other cases, the content that was taught was multicultural, but not purposely. For instance, when movies with black main characters are watched, when there are multicultural mandatory assignments such as a cultural self-portrait and a presentation about a country. Or when a book is about multicultural subjects.

‘’I want to mention that I find it easy to teach and talk about other cultures, because the book lends itself to it.’’ (Teacher C)

Here, the teacher talks about the general geography learning book. Teacher C finds that the content of the book makes it easy to talk and teach students about other cultures. This is, however, contradictory with the opinion of teacher A, who stated that learning books are way to superficial when they refer to other cultures. The teacher also found learning books stereotypical, incomplete, and insufficient when mentioning or discussing other cultures.

Teacher C was not the only teacher who included multicultural content from learning books. Teachers B, C, D, E, and F all used multicultural examples from learning books. Banks would categorise this method of content integration as the contributive approach. This is the easiest way of integrating ethnic and cultural content (Arsal, 2019). Hence, it is also seen as the least relevant way of implementing multicultural content (Banks, 1995).

4.2. Knowledge construction

Even though teachers mentioned knowledge construction was not part of their regular education, all teachers were aware of knowledge construction.

Teacher C even had a lecture about knowledge construction and was well aware of it. ‘’Coincidentally, that was one of the subjects discussed when I was here last month.’’ Teacher C was at the university and followed a lecture about knowledge construction. Teacher A mentioned ‘’it are only white professors combining the curriculum.’’ The teacher uses this argument to explain that the learning book is written from a Western (white) perspective. Teacher F also mentions that knowledge construction is present in learning books. The teacher states: ‘’Oh yes, that appears in the books’’.

There is however difference between teachers. Some are more reluctant to speak of knowledge construction because they find the knowledge not necessarily constructed from a western perspective or influenced by the author's background. An example is teacher D who believes that knowledge construction exists but not as presence.

> ‘’But maybe if you take a critical look and with a theory and you zoom in that you notice things of that you think, yeah, this is typical from a Western scope seen.’’ (Teacher D)

Teacher D is talking about the learning book and does not find the book written from a Western perspective. In the teacher's opinion, other cultures and names are incorporated into the book and that is well balanced. The teacher does, however, as can be read in the quote, nuances the stance, by mentioning that somehow it could be seen as a Western scope. Teacher A sees it differently. The teacher mentioned that he found the book written from a Western perspective. The teacher finds the ‘knowledge’ from the books to have a Western perspective.

> ‘’When you are speaking about inclusivity, it are only white professors who put together the course material. And it is only about the positive Paris. They do explain what a banlieue is, but they do not incorporate the culture or the music.’’ (Teacher A)

Even though all teachers are aware of knowledge construction, only teacher F mentions it slightly to the classroom by nuancing the course material when it is, in the teacher's view, stereotypical. For instance, when hunger and poverty in certain countries are discussed, the teacher does mention that there is also another side to the country. The reasons why the other teachers do not mention it vary. Teacher A mentioned ‘ignorance is bliss’, by which the teacher meant that students don't need to know it because they are better off not knowing it. Teachers B and E find that the students are not developed enough to be taught about

knowledge construction. According to the teachers, the students need to be taught the course, and not in-depth information about knowledge construction. Teacher F thinks that it is just the way it is, and mentioning it won't change it. Teacher C stated that ‘’as long as you are aware of it, that's the most important part.’’ By this, the teacher meant that the teacher does not need to mention it to the classroom, as long as the teacher is aware and anticipating knowledge construction.

Teacher F, who did mention knowledge construction in the classroom, also incorporated a lesson where marginalized knowledge was discussed. It was a lesson about a Moluccan man who was involved in highjacking a school. The series of lessons aimed to let the students encounter the Moluccan culture and another point of view on the highjacking. This activity was the closest to knowledge construction because the teacher deliberately showed marginalized content. As the teacher mentions:

> ‘’Why did he do it? That’s to me the most important part. Students think, or Dutch people think, we have an image of why they did what they did. Do we portray the Moluccans in a bad way? (…) You do need to know the context behind the acts, otherwise you have no clue.’’ (Teacher F)

Teacher F talks about the Moluccan man who was involved in the highjacking. The teacher finds it of great importance that students can empathize with other viewpoints.

To sum up, all teachers were aware of knowledge construction, but mostly it was not mentioned and implemented in the classroom.

4.3. Prejudice reduction

All teachers contributed to prejudice reduction. The ways in which they contributed were mostly the same. Often, it is done through implementing multicultural content so students get to be aware of other cultures. Through this content, awareness is created, and this can, according to Banks (2023), lead to more positive attitudes towards racial groups. An example of this added content is the holy house tour, as mentioned by teacher F, where students visit the synagogue, the mosque, and the protestant and catholic churches. Other examples can be found in the ‘content integration’ section above. Becoming aware of other cultures and their beliefs is of importance according to Banks (2023).

However, teachers notice that students sometimes provoke whenever multicultural subjects are being discussed. Especially when the content is not in line with their own cultural viewpoints. Hurtful and hateful comments might arise because of the multicultural content. Teachers have to deal with this. Whenever a student says something racist, sexual, or

unacceptable, teachers find themselves in a situation where they correct the student and get to talk. Ask why the student thinks or says something and try to create awareness. For example that people can get hurt by their words.

‘’They call each other gay, which I think is really weird, so I discuss it’’. (Teacher E)

With ‘discussing it’’ the teacher means stopping the lesson for a second and mentioning that what is said or done is not acceptable. The teacher tries to make sure that it won’t happen again so other students in the classroom won’t be hurt again. Another example of students reacting to each other

‘’Yeah, I think I have an example because in my classroom I have two Syrian girls or girls with a headscarf. And you notice that students want to react to it. (…) But that boy doesn’t have a clue that what he says and that he hurts these girls. And I think that’s a cultural thing. That they don’t know it is so sensitive and it can hurt.’’(Teacher G)

In this situation, teacher G is talking about how the teacher corrects students when hurtful comments are made. The teacher mentions that most of the time, when hurtful comments are made, it was not on purpose, and by correcting the student, he or she will notice that what was done wasn’t okay.

In general, teachers correct students when a hurtful comment is made. In doing so, they also mention that it can be hurtful for some students. Teachers also mention that it is not something to joke about because it can be hurtful and it is normal to have a different culture or be gay. Teacher A mentions:

‘’Your opinion is personal, and I won't say that you cannot think about it that way, but do keep the feelings of others in mind.’’

Other examples of handling these situations are stopping the discussion when it's found pointless and hurtful, talking to the student in private, mentioning that people in the direct environment are hurt by the comments, and sometimes using positive behavior strategy, which involves not correcting students but only complementing when something good is accomplished. Also, stopping the lesson is a used tactic. As teacher F mentions:

‘’Yes that happens. Sometimes when something is shouted it is found funny. Than I stop the les and I try to make clear that it can be very hurtful.’’

Here, the teacher is talking about racist, sexist, or homophobic comments that are being shouted through the classroom. The teacher finds that it is unacceptable and students need to be corrected. Later on during the interview, the teacher also says these comments could

lead to unsafe situations when they are being shouted in public. According to the teacher, students need to be aware that these comments are an absolute no go.

Another aspect of prejudice reduction is increasing contact between students. By increasing contact between students with other cultures, prejudice reduction takes place (Banks, 2010). Teacher C tries to increase contact between students. The teacher does this because she noticed that within the school and classroom, polarization is taking place.

> ''So let for once the boy, the silent boy, talk to the other boy whom he usually tries to stay away from. So then they have to and they will find out that it is fine.''(Teacher C)

The teacher is talking about an assignment where different students in the classroom are mixed and have to talk to each other. Even though the students would normally avoid each other, they now have to communicate with each other.

Besides, teachers try to create prejudice reduction through increasing awareness about other cultures and ethnic groups. For example, teacher E has a rainbow flag hanging at the back of the classroom. According to the teacher, it is because it shows that every student is welcome and every student can be him or herself in the classroom. Whenever students make comments about the flag, the teacher explains why the flag hangs there.

> ''I tell them and explain to them that the numbers say about twenty percent of this classroom is attracted to, for example, the same gender. Or does not feel man or woman or anything. We are also different. It is of importance that everyone feels good, whatever your opinion may be.'' (Teacher E).

4.4. Equity pedagogy

Teachers implemented different methods of learning, grading, and teaching into their lessons, some of whom increased equity pedagogy. Teachers implemented different graded assignments that intentionally focused on non-Western cultures. Teacher E, for instance, made students make a poster in French about a French speaking country, which could not be France itself. This resulted in posters about countries such as Ghana or Morocco. This makes knowledge about non-Western countries of importance for their grading.

Making sure that all students feel valued and participate in the classroom is an important aspect of equity pedagogy. Teacher C and teacher F try to include all students by implementing activating didactics. This is a teaching method that actively engages students in learning through interactive, participatory learning styles and assignments. This method also includes the students who are usually silent and in the background.

‘’When you ask a question, there are always the same three students who lift up their finger and they answer the question whilst the rest of the students think, alright, and they don’t have to think about it. And with the cooperative work forms we try to stimulate the other students as well.’’ (Teacher C)

The teacher is talking about activating didactics and cooperative work forms, which is a way to implement activating didactics. By doing so, the teacher tries to activate all students in the lesson.

Another route to let students participate is to talk about their own cultures. The vast majority of teachers try to include students' cultural backgrounds in their lessons regarding holidays and important moments in their culture. When, for instance, Ramadan is going on, teachers ask the students about it. Sometimes it happens individually, but also classical, where the students get a moment to participate and mention their cultural holiday. This makes that students are actively encouraged to participate in the lesson. Also, their voices are heard and valued.

‘’For example, when it is Ramadan, or when Iftar or Eid Muburak is, I'm aware of it. I take that into account. I reference it even though it is a small gesture that I have in mind.’’ (Teacher A)

The teacher mentions he not only knows when it is Ramadan, but also takes it into account when he is teaching. He is doing so by making small gestures and mentioning something about Ramadan during the lesson. By this, the teacher tries to show to the students who participate in Ramadan that he respects it, and that in his classroom, there is space for multiple cultures. Also, teacher E is aware of Ramadan. The teacher, for instance, does not plan in resits for the tests the days after the sugar feast. The teacher had resits for oral exams the week after the sugar feast was celebrated. The teacher found it unfair to let the Muslim students resit the week after they had one of their most important celebrations. As a solution, she planned the oral exams of the Muslim students a week later.

Teacher A and F are aware of cultural differences and their effects. The teachers both mentioned that students from certain cultural backgrounds have different values and see gender roles different. For example, women are looked at differently and therefore have less order. As teacher C mentioned: ‘’your authority. Your authority, especially as a woman, that is questioned by boys.’’ Teacher A also mentioned that he is especially assigned to classrooms because a man has more authority than a women.

‘’Yeah that the man is different than the woman. Yes, in the eyes of that culture maybe stronger. Or you should have more respect. And when that is learned from your parenting.

The first twelve years and you go to secondary school, which collides with the Dutch culture.'' (Teacher A).

Teacher A talks about cultural differences. In some cultures, the man is seen as strong, more important, and a leader. This makes that students from some cultures listen better to a man standing in front of the classroom than a woman. Both teacher A and C mention it.

An important issue teachers have to face is a language barrier, especially for students who have a migration background. First it gets noticed by teachers, because reading and writing are below standard. At secondary schools, there is help for students with a language deficiency. Students will be sent there to better their Dutch speaking, reading and writing. However, also in the classroom the students are supported. By checking whether the students understood the explanation, or making assignments easier. Teacher A also tries to explain it to the students in their own language.

''But yeah, language is not a problem, because I do have the basics to make simple explanations which help with French. And I have general knowledge of the Arabic structure and language, so I can explain. I don't have the Dutch way of thinking. In Arabic, for instance, there is no singular, and you don't have articles. I keep that in mind.'' (Teacher A)

Teacher A speaks many languages, which makes it easy for the teacher to explain things to students who don't speak Dutch that well. Instead of translating the French words to Dutch, this teacher can translate it into other languages,

4.5. Empowering school culture and social structure

Equal opportunities within the school are empowered. An example is Teacher B, who saw inequalities between two students. Two students had to switch educational levels because the level was too high. A boy went from three havo to four mavo, whilst a girl went from three havo to three mavo. After seeing this inequality, teacher B managed to make the same arrangement for the girl so she could also go to four mavo. The teacher mentioned that the boy had white, highly educated parents who approached the school so he could skip a year. So, on the initiative of the school and teacher, the girl could also skip a year.

Despite these efforts to make school a place of equal opportunities, all teachers mentioned that at the lower educational levels (mavo) more students with a migration background sat in the classroom than at the higher educational levels (havo, vwo). Teachers did mention different percentages of students with a migration background, at mavo ranging from above 50 to 20 percent and at havo, ranging from a third to 10 percent and vwo mostly around 10 percent. Even though teachers mentioned different numbers, all teachers agreed that at

mavo, more students with a migration background where present. Teacher A, for example, mentions:

‘’Especially my mavo, I have for certain half my students with a migration background. Havo were talking about a third and at vwo, your maximum at ten percent.’’ (Teacher A)

Teacher A is talking about the percentages of students with a migration background per level of education. Teacher C mentions that in some classrooms, half of the students have a migration background. The percentages that teacher A and C mention do however not align with the percentages mentioned by other teachers. Teacher B mentions that about 20 percent of the classroom the teacher teaches have a migration background.

Creating a safe place where students can tell about and learn about each other's cultures is also of importance. Teacher C contributed to this by organizing an evening where students and parents can tell about their cultures.

‘’With a few other colleagues, we have organized that once a year there is a cultural evening. Were everyone with a different cultural background can perform or do something alike.’’ (Teacher C)

This evening includes presenting your culture in all sort of ways, from activities to delicacies and just talking about each others cultures. All cultures are welcome. The purpose of the evening was to create awareness about each others cultures, and connect with each other.

At the two schools were teachers where interviewed, several activities and helpful initiatives took place. To name help for students with a language deficiency, days free of education and celebrating certain holidays took place.

4.5.1. Het KWC

At het KWC, there is also a week specially dedicated to creative assignments. These assignments can, for example, be about multicultural aspects. For instance, an assignment where students need to present a country, a tour where students get in contact with the Islamic, Jewish, and Christian cultures. Also, students need to do voluntary work. This let students come in contact with other cultures, as teacher G mentions:

‘’Or they go to someone's home to help because that person is not mobile anymore and they help clean the attic. And so on. There they run into a lot of different cultures and I think that is really important. Imagine going to someone’s house and you see they have a different culture. Their house looks different, but that is just normal for those people.’’

Teacher G is talking about voluntary work that students need to participate in. Helping the elderly who are not mobile anymore is also part of the voluntary work. As students help elderly at their houses, they encounter with a culture other than their own.

4.5.2. Kandinsky College

At the Kandinsky College, the Chinese New Year is celebrated, just as Ramadan. They also organise a lot of trips across Europe. For some students and their parents, these trips are not affordable. At the Kandinsky college, there is a fund for these students so they are still able to go on these trips. Also, teachers can contribute to this fund as teacher A mentions:

> ‘’And it makes sure children from poorer families can also come on these trips. And most of the time as a teacher you get a Christmas gift. You can choose the Christmas gift but most of the time it is so trivial that teachers communicate to the board that they can leave the present. Use the money for the fund. So in this way also teachers can help out a bit.’’
>
> (Teacher A)

Teacher A is talking about a fund at the Kandinsky College who helps students from poorer families with financing school trips. The Kandinsky College has a budget for every teacher so they can get a Christmas gift. However, teacher A finds the gifts not useful and makes sure the fund gets his budget for the Christmas gift. Other teachers at the school do it as well.

4.6. Barriers

As mentioned above, teachers have multiple ways of implementing multicultural education into their lessons, purposely or not. However, teachers are experiencing multiple barriers when it comes to teaching multicultural. The barriers can be split into four main categories. Institutional, professional, cultural, and practical barriers.

4.6.1. Institutional barriers

To start, institutional barriers consist of curriculum, materials, negative profile of the school, and help from within the school. Teachers have mentioned the curriculum and other mandatory assignments they have to teach. Teachers mention that assignments given to them by the board of the school take up a lot of their time, leaving not much for their own implementations. Teacher B mentions: ‘’That’s what it says in our PTA. So yea, I am obliged to keep it that way.’’ What the teachers means by this is the mandatory graded assignments take up so much time, that there is no space for own implementations. And teacher A mentions: ‘’But the periods are so defragmented that you barely can deviate from the

curriculum.'' The defragmented structure the school provides makes it hard to implement own (multicultural) subjects. Not being able to deviate from the curriculum does not necessarily mean that multicultural education is not possible, but some teachers also find the curriculum not multicultural enough. Teachers who deviated from the curriculum have found out that their students did score lower on general exams. However, teachers also mention that the curriculum only forms a barrier in certain fields and courses. The history and geography teachers who were interviewed said it was in their courses easier to implement multicultural content. As teacher G mentioned

''I don't think that it is a problem with MEMA. So no. Because the curriculum is aimed at world societies. So you are already talking about the world.'' (Teacher G)

Teacher G is talking about MEMA, which is a course that combines geography, history and economics. The teacher finds the course multicultural because it discusses the entire world.

Also, material forms a barrier. Materials, such as books, which is connected to the curriculum, forms a barrier, but also other material related subjects form barriers. Teacher B found that printing forms a barrier. The teacher wants to include all sorts of assignments which involves that involve students needs to print. Printing does, however, cost money.

''I find printing complicated because some students say they forgot their card, and you did not forget your card, there is no money on your card.'' (Teacher B).

Because of this, the teacher finds it difficult to implement assignments that involve printing, leading to less variation in assignments.

4.6.2. Professional barriers

Besides institutional barriers, some teachers mentioned professional barriers, such as lack of knowledge and training what makes it difficult to implement multicultural education. Teacher F mentions that during her teacher's education, multicultural education or similar theories were not included in the study program.

Also a lack of knowledge about cultures or beliefs made multicultural education harder to implement. Teacher C answers the question whether the teacher runs into problems trying to implement multicultural education:

''Yes i cannot because I don't have the background. Yes and perhaps I know too little about it.'' (Teacher C)

The teacher finds that because the teacher does not have a migration background, and lives in a wealthy neighbourhood in Nijmegen, has too little knowledge to implement multicultural

education as well as the teacher would want to. In order to fix this problem, teachers named study groups where teachers could come together and exchange experiences and solutions. Also, at the Kandinsky College, a guest speaker about teaching a diverse classroom is visiting.

4.6.3. Cultural barriers

However, another problem that was named cannot be fixed so easily, and perhaps won't at all. It was mentioned that, in the eyes of some teachers, multicultural education is not important at all. As teacher E states:

> ‘’I think it mostly depends on where your priorities are and what you want to teach the students.’’ (Teacher E)

Teacher E mentions that some teachers do not find it important and have other priorities than multicultural education. They find it less-, or not important at all. Only teacher E had mentioned explicitly the ‘unwillingness’ of some teachers. In other research is also found that ‘unwillingness’ is not that attendant. Most researchers are reluctant when speaking of unwillingness as a barrier, mostly because it is hard to determine whether the unwillingness or other aspects, such as lack of knowledge, form the barrier.

Another reason teachers don’t implement multicultural education is because of negative consequences bounded to it. Multicultural education can lead to tension within and outside of the classroom. To start, some parents don’t want their children to be taught multicultural content. An example is mentioned by teacher D:

> ‘’A couple of years ago my mentor class was talking about all sorts of beliefs, and at a certain point they mentioned the Islam and the teacher wanted to say something about it. Yes, then a father of a mentor student of mine became very angry, because his child ofcourse told him about the Islam and that they talked about it and the father demanded that his daughter wouldn’t hear another word about it.’’

The father of the student also told the teacher that we live in the Netherlands, where we have a Dutch culture, and the Islam is not part of it. These cultural differences lead to tension and this can form a barrier. The teacher, however, had to continue telling about the Islam, because there was a test due. After a talk with the father, the teacher continued teaching about the Islam, leading to more dissatisfaction by the father.

Inside the classroom multicultural content can also lead to tension, especially when talked about sensitive subjects. Teachers are afraid of disrespectful comments and an uncomfortable setting. For instance the Israel-Palestina conflict, or talking about the LGBTI community. Teacher E had discussions about a rainbow flag hanging in the back of the classroom.

''The flag hangs there, and I have mentioned it to my students, because everyone is welcome in my classroom. So everyone can be him or herself. And I have noticed that some, not all, but students with a migration background. They have problems with it and they mention it as well.'' (Teacher E)

The problems regarding the rainbow flag is because of their cultural persuasions. Being gay is not generally accepted and is forbidden in the Islam. Teacher E mentions that students say ''because of my belief it is not allowed''. Therefore, students feel uncomfortable when a rainbow flag hangs in the back of the classroom.

4.6.4. Practical barriers

Another barrier mentioned by teachers is work pressure. Implementing multicultural education costs time and energy, which some teachers don't have. Besides, a teacher is standing in front of a classroom full of teenagers. As teacher D mentioned:

''Thirty students, you cannot help them all individually and implement multicultural. Multicultural is the ideal picture, but that is impossible. Class management is number one priority.'' (Teacher D)

Teacher D finds it hard to implement multicultural education, due to lack of time and a classroom full of students with their own needs. Class management, which involves handling the classroom so everyone does what is asked and needs to be done, is number one priority. Also implementing general norms and values about behaviour in the classroom is part of it. By doing so, there is no time left for implementing multicultural education. However, teachers E and F do find themselves in a situation where they cannot spend hours on multicultural education, but do mention that is does not have to take up that much time. Small implementations of multicultural education are also possible. Teacher E mentions:

''I do think that you can do a lot of small things, such as asking about Ramadan, and explaining it to the classroom. You don't have to prepare anything to do that. So yeah, it costs very little time, and it does not have to be big.'' (Teacher E)

Teacher E disagrees with teacher D when talking about the time it takes to implement multicultural education. Small things are, according to the teacher, easy to implement and const little time. Therefore, it does not form a barrier.

5.0. Conclusion

In the next section, the research questions will be answered. The main research question is: *How do teachers in urban areas in the Netherlands implement multicultural education?* Teachers at Het KWC in Culemborg and the Kandinsky College in Nijmegen implement multicultural education in various ways. It was found that all five dimensions of Banks' multicultural education were implemented by teachers. Mostly, content integration is used, as it has been found to be the easiest way of implementing multicultural education. Differences in implementation between teachers are present, as some teachers find it easier and more necessary to implement. Also, most implementations were small. Differences between Het KWC and the Kandinsky College are not clearly present, besides because the respondents are with a few (N=7), general conclusions about the teacher population at these schools cannot be drawn. In order to further elaborate the six sub questions are mentioned below. Five sub questions concerned the pillars of Banks' multicultural education and the last sub question concerned the barriers teachers experience when implementing multicultural education.

In this study, I found that all seven teachers incorporated content integration into their lessons, using a mix of self-selected and textbook materials. While some content was deliberately multicultural, such as lessons about the Moluccan Islands and discussions about Ramadan, other content was not purposely multicultural, such as films, assignments and books. Teachers' opinions about the content from textbooks varied, whilst teacher C found them useful, teacher A found in superficial and stereotypical. Overall, the findings highlight that teachers actively shape their approach to multicultural education, often relying on self-selected materials rather than textbooks to foster cultural understanding. According to Gross (2024), content integration is the most commonly used and most popular dimension to implement multicultural education. This is aligned with the findings in this study.

All seven teachers were aware of knowledge construction, but mostly it was not mentioned to students. The results showed that teachers are aware of knowledge construction, but because they generally find it not important or not necessary to mention, it was not mentioned towards the students. Also, between teachers, the importance of knowledge construction varied. Some teachers found that it was not that present, whilst others found it clear to see. Teacher A, B, F, and G do, however, adjust their lessons because of knowledge construction. Even though teachers were not educated about knowledge construction, they were still aware of it. As other researchers, such as Egne (2019) and Matshikiza & Luggya (2019) mentioned, knowledge construction and multicultural education are not integrated into teacher education.

All seven teachers contributed to prejudice reduction. Mostly, prejudice reduction was implemented by integrating multicultural content, fostering awareness, and cross-cultural interactions. Next, teachers contributed to prejudice reduction by correcting students when inappropriate, hateful, or hurtful comments were made. Correcting students was done through creating awareness about the hurtful side of their comment, asking why students think of say something, or trying to nuance their stance. Also, by symbols such as hanging a rainbow flag in the classroom and showing that every culture is welcome in the classroom, prejudice reduction is implemented.

Equity pedagogy was mostly implemented by using different forms of grading, different assignments, extra language lessons and different learning methods. Language barriers affect migrant students, leading to tailored support strategies, including simplified explanations and external assistance for Dutch lessons. Assignments focusing on non-Western cultures encourage broader knowledge, while activating didactics ensure participation from typically silent students. Also, trying to make sure that all students feel valued was a commonly implemented method. Ways of making students feel valued were for instance, giving students a podium to talk about their own culture or home situation, and letting them know all students are welcome in the teacher's classroom. Through these approaches, teachers promote inclusion, cultural understanding, and student engagement in multicultural classrooms.

Empowering school culture and social structure is implemented in multiple ways by teachers. An example is addressing disparities in student placement, as seen in Teacher B’s intervention to ensure fair academic outcomes. a safe, inclusive environment is emphasized through activities like cultural evenings, where students and parents share their traditions. Additionally, schools implement support initiatives, such as language assistance and recognition of cultural holidays, to enhance inclusivity and student success. Despite these efforts to make the school a place of equal opportunity and mutual respect, students with a migration background are found to be more often placed at a lower educational level (mavo) compared to higher levels (havo, vwo). Teachers' answers vary in percentages, but all teachers did mention that at the lower educational levels, more students with a migration background were present.

During the implementation of these dimensions of Banks' (1995) multicultural education, teachers faced barriers. For instance, not being able to deviate from the curriculum, lack of training, and differing perspectives on its importance. Some teachers struggle with limited flexibility, fearing lower student performance if they adjust lesson plans. Others cite insufficient knowledge and lack of formal training, though study groups and guest speakers

offer partial solutions. Resistance from parents and students, particularly regarding sensitive topics like religion, LGBTQ+ issues, and conflicts, adds further barriers. Additionally, work pressure makes extensive implementation difficult, though teachers acknowledge that small gestures, like discussing cultural holidays, can still foster inclusivity.

5.1. Comparison

At both schools, there was no policy concerning multicultural education. Also, seeing the fact that both schools are in cities that have around 30 percent op the population with a migration background, major differences were not expected. Therefore, in this research, the schools are not compared on all five dimensions of Banks' multicultural education. However, there will be zoomed in on the fifth dimension ‘empowering school culture and social structure’. The Kandinsky College and the KWC both implemented ways to support an inclusive school culture. Because there was no clear policy concerning multicultural education in either school, the implementation of multicultural content was not compared.

Het KWC

At het KWC, there is a week specially dedicated to creative assignments. These assignments can, for example, be about multicultural aspects. For instance, an assignment where students need to present a country, a tour where students get in contact with the Islamic, Jewish, and Christian cultures. Ramadan is also celebrated. On top of that, students need to do voluntary work. This makes students encounter other cultures. Another way of encountering other cultures is an evening where parents come to school and present their culture.

Kandinsky college

At the Kandinsky College, the Chinese New Year is celebrated, just as Ramadan. They also organise a lot of trips across Europe. For some students and their parents, these trips are not affordable. At the Kandinsky College there is a fund for these students so they are still able to go on these trips. Also, teachers can contribute to this fund by handing in their Christmas gift. To end, there is an evening organised to let people encounter cultures other their own.

Both schools implement the empowerment of school culture and social structures in their own way. However, they do have common implementations such as the celebration of Ramadan and organising an evening where parent come to the school to talk about and show their culture. Differences are to be seen, but it are mostly differences in celebrations

and activities, but both schools try to include these multicultural activities. Ranking the schools is not possible due to the varying ways of celebrating.

5.2. Results

The results showed that all five aspects of Banks' (1995) multicultural education were implemented by teachers. The results did, however show that the implementation of multicultural education was not optimal because teachers mentioned they had a lack of training, experience, and resources. This aligned with the expectations and earlier research (Clarke & Drudy, 2006; Parkhouse et al., 2023). The results also pointed out that content integration was the most commonly used dimension of multicultural education. Seen as Gross (2024) had the same findings, it was to be expected.

Also, teachers mentioned that at lower educational levels, they had to deal more often with a multicultural classroom. This is complementary to the statistics of the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2020), which states that students with Moroccan, Turkish or Antillean parents are more often placed at lower educational levels. This makes the lower educational levels more multicultural.

Besides, teachers mentioned barriers to multicultural education. These barriers aligned with earlier barriers found by other researchers (Khaja et al., 2010; Hassanpour et al., 2022; Gross, 2024; Aroson & Kheirkhah, 2025). Therefore, most of the mentioned barriers were to be expected. Nevertheless, new insights occurred. In Nijmegen, Kandinsky College in particular, and in Culemborg, Het KWC in particular, have not been researched before. Hence, leading to new insights about the implications of multicultural education in these specific geographical locations. General new insights occurred concerning the sixth sub question about barriers. Stressed by almost all teachers were the negative consequences and opinions by students and parents on multicultural education. The barrier of 'parent involvement' was already found by Khaja et al. (2010), but student involvement was a new insight. The major importance of this barrier was not mentioned in earlier research. All teachers experienced negative opinions and comments towards certain subjects by students, forming a barrier.

During this research, Banks' multicultural education is found to be a sophisticated and helpful theory for teachers, but it has its shortcomings. For instance, it was found that the dimension of knowledge construction was not a dimension that was implemented in the classroom. Next, the theory is broad, which at the one hand, makes it easier to implement. However, on the other hand, it makes it harder to implement in depth. Most implementations done by teachers were easy and small, not reaching the full outcome.

5.3. Limitations

Despite efforts to realize methodological rigor, an extensive analysis, and clear display of the results, this study has several limitations. First, the sample size and the demographic scope can restrict the generalizability of my findings. The sample size, which consists of seven respondents, restricts the generalizability. On top of that, only teachers at schools in urban areas (Nijmegen and Culemborg) have been researched. Rural areas are excluded because of differences in population. Rural areas have a less multicultural population, and therefore, the situation can be different.

Next, my positionality limits this study. Coming from a white middle-class family with two highly educated parents, not having to experience discrimination or disadvantages myself, might make me overlook certain aspects of multiculturalism. Besides, the researcher is not educated within the field of pedagogical sciences. However, the researcher did an educational program to become a teacher and has a teaching degree. This might be helpful as I am able to place myself in the position of a teacher, but it can also be a limitation because the researchers' vision is not neutral.

On top of that, this study relies on self reported data from teachers. This is sensitive to biases and socially desirable answers. Socially desirable answers are answers given because people think that's how other persons in their environment would like them to react (He et al., 2015). Especially because it involves sensitive topics like race, privilege, and personal beliefs, socially desirable answers can occur. However, I did try to promote fair, not desirable answers to clearly mention that the interviews were anonymous, making it impossible to identify who said certain things. Despite my efforts, there was one new insight regarding the barriers, which the teacher afterwards mentioned should not be mentioned in this research.

Following, due to time and resource constraints, the research did not incorporate classroom observations. This could have provided a richer, more triangulated understanding of how multicultural education is implemented in practice. This could also address the issue of socially desirable answers, because another source of data could contradict the given answers. Future research could take away these limitations by employing a mixed-methods design.

Finally, because my researched focussed on multiple aspects of multicultural education and the barriers concerning the implementation, in-depth information might not have come to light. Therefore, the researcher suggests that future research is focused on one or a few

parts of multicultural education. Choosing, for instance, to research only barriers, more in-depth information can be gained.

Despite its limitations, the researcher believes this thesis contributes to a broader understanding of how multicultural education is actually practiced by teachers in secondary schools. It has encouraged me to think more critically about the relationship between theory and practice. Besides, it has sparked a lasting interest in issues of equity, diversity, and teacher agency.

5.4. Implications and future research

In the scientific relevance multiple research regarding barriers to multicultural education at primary schools and universities were mentioned. In this research, the knowledge gap was filled by researching primary schools. This research clearly shows that the implication multicultural education is evident but can be improved a lot by removing barriers to multicultural education. Lack of training and knowledge, too few materials and a non-inclusive curriculum are barriers that can be removed. By removing these barriers, multicultural education can be better implemented, leading to equity and inclusivity within education (Banks, 1995). Therefore, it is of importance that schools, curriculum makers, and teaching education are more supportive of multicultural education. Schools can, for instance, support teachers by organising additional education and arranging extra time so teachers can implement multicultural education. Curriculum makers can make the curriculum more multicultural and the teaching academy can pay more attention to multicultural education or theories alike. This can remove barriers and make implementing multicultural education a lower threshold. If these changes are implemented, multicultural education can be more easily implemented, and equity and equality in education can be realized. If not, the performance gap will continue to exist.

To continue the improvement of the educational system and the implementation of multicultural education, more research is needed. Three implications for future research came to light during this research. To start, the researcher suggests to better look at the characteristics of teachers so there is knowledge about it. This makes it easier to understand teachers and their backgrounds what might come in handy. In this research, problems concerning negative opinions by students and parents about multicultural education has come to attention. Seen as this is one of the major barriers to multicultural education, gaining insight into this problem is of great importance. Also, as mentioned above, because only rural areas were researched, it could be useful to look at rural areas. This could help fill the research gap.

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