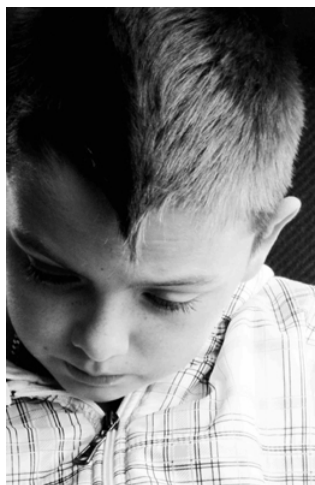# Diversity Education: Lessons For A Just World

Multicultural education, intercultural education, nonracial education, antiracist education, culturally responsive pedagogy, ethnic studies, peace studies, global education, social justice education, bilingual education, mother tongue education, integration – these and more are the terms used to describe different aspects of diversity education around the world. Although it may go by different names and speak to stunningly different conditions in a variety of sociopolitical contexts, diversity education attempts to address such issues as racial and social class segregation, the disproportionate achievement of students of various backgrounds, and the structural inequality in both schools and society. In this paper, I consider the state of diversity education, in broad strokes, in order to draw some lessons from its conception and implementation in various countries, including South Africa. To do so, I consider such issues as the role of asymmetrical power relations and the influence of neoliberal and neoconservative educational agendas, among others, on diversity education. I also suggest a number of lessons learned from our experiences in this field in order to think about how we might proceed in the future, and I conclude with observations on the role of teachers in the current socio-political context.

Introduction

Although many of my examples are based on the U.S. context and on my research within that context, much of what I have to say is familiar to others in different societies around the world because the power relations and social injustices in the other countries I mention may be similar to the U.S. experience, especially South Africa which, like the United States, also has a history of racial discrimination. Moreover, increasing globalization is making our world smaller and more connected than ever. As a result, whether education is taking place in a large urban school in Johannesburg, a suburb of Boston, a colegio in Buenos Aires, a rural school outside Beijing, a sprawling high-rise community on the outskirts of Paris, or in numerous other places around the world, we face many of the same

challenges, problems, and possibilities brought on by the post-colonial condition and by immigration and global economic issues.
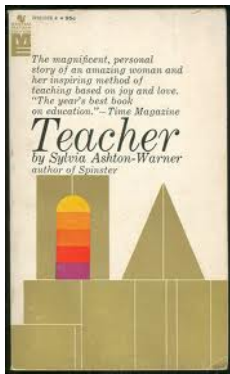
Sylvia Ashton-Warner's 'Teacher'

Although diversity education is widely recognized as having its origins in the mid-twentieth century United States in what was called the intergroup relations movement (Banks, 2005), glimmers of what could loosely be understood as multicultural education were also taking place in other countries around the world. For instance, Sylvia Ashton-Warner's 1963 book *Teacher* chronicled her innovative work with Maori children in New Zealand. Eschewing basal readers and other materials that had little connection to the lives of the children she taught, Ashton-Warner undertook what she called '*organic teaching*', that is, teaching based on the discourse and realities of her students. At the same time, Paulo Freire's (1970) groundbreaking literacy work with Brazilian peasants, in which they learned to '*read the word and the world*', was beginning to have an impact on both literacy and liberation movements around the world. Although neither of these authors used the words now associated with diversity education, they were both concerned with providing students with an education based on the principles of social justice and critical pedagogy, central tenets of what most people today would define as diversity education.

What came to be known as multicultural education in the United States, intercultural education in Europe, antiracist education in the U.K. and, later, nonracial education in South Africa, began with a focus on race. This focus is historically logical and understandable. In the United States, the field has its roots in the civil rights movement while in the U.K. it was a reaction to the

tremendous educational inequities faced by young people from former colonies.

In South Africa, the anti-apartheid movement provided a basis for the nonracial movement, and it is still, according to Mokubung Nkomo, Linda Chisholm, and Carolyn McKinney (2004) the underlying basis for the movement which was *'born out of a conscious effort to transform undemocratic apartheid culture and practice by replacing it with a democratic, inclusive education ethos founded on a human rights culture'*. More recently, the focus of diversity education has expanded beyond race alone to also include ethnicity, gender, social class, language, sexual orientation, ability, and other differences. Although there is by no means general agreement on this more inclusive definition of diversity education among either scholars or practitioners in the field, there is a growing recognition that there are complex and important intersections among all social identities that need to be accounted for in diversity education.

Definitions and parameters

For the purposes of convenience, and to be as inclusive as possible, in this paper I refer to the movement that is now most commonly called multicultural or intercultural education with the more neutral term diversity education. Needless to say, there are numerous perceived and real differences among all the terms mentioned, but because I do not want to spend all my time discussing the nuances among these differences, I instead propose some general parameters that I believe most of us in the field would agree with. At the same time, I am mindful of the tremendous differences in context, condition, and history of each society in relation to diversity education. In some nations, diversity education has been concerned primarily with marginalized people of colour, as is the case in the United States. In other nations, particularly in Europe, xenophobia towards both long-term and short-term immigrants is the defining issue (Santos Regó & Nieto, 2000). In South Africa, integrating an immense population that was legally excluded from the full benefits of citizenship looms much larger. Hence, diversity education has not been experienced similarly across distinct contexts. As Crain Soudien, Nazir Carrim and Yusuf Sayed (2004) have argued, *One size does not fit all because citizens are not located in homogeneous, symmetrical and stable social, economic, and political positions. How one addresses the differences and the different kinds of inequalities thrown up by the complex social contexts in which people find themselves is a strategic matter.*

In the broadest terms, diversity education recognizes the pluralism that students

embody (racial/ethnic, social class, gender, and other) as resources to be used in the service of their education. At the same time, multiculturalism is not simply the recognition of group identity, although it has been used in this way in some places, most notably in the United States. Rather, I use diversity education to mean multiculturalism as public policy, as the term is used in Canada and Australia, among other nations (Castles, 2004; Hill & Allan, 2004). Diversity education, used in this way, acknowledges that structural inequalities in society impede equitable outcomes in education, not to mention in life, and it recognizes the role of the state in addressing such inequalities.

For some on the left, multiculturalism is little more than a distraction in the face of the massive global neoliberal retrenchment of the welfare state and the neoconservatives' outcry for a return to the past. Whether we agree with this assertion or not, it is important to be aware of the palliative nature of *'feel-good'* multiculturalism unaccompanied by a commitment to social and economic justice (Kalantzis, 1987). The danger of unquestioning loyalty to any particular cultural group may in fact lead to supporting policies and cultural practices that can be repressive; in the worst cases, uncritical cultural affiliations can result in extreme sectarianism and the fundamentalisms that inevitably slide into racism and exclusion of others. We are living with the results of these fundamentalisms in many countries around the globe. Amy Gutmann (2002) suggests instead that the primary social allegiance must be to social justice: *'Doing what is right',* she says, *'cannot be reduced to loyalty to, or identification with, any existing group of human beings'.*

Related to the issue of group loyalty are competing notions of identity, or what has been called identity politics. Given the roots of diversity education as an attempt to address the scandalous condition of education to which many marginalized populations have been subjected, it is understandable that racial, ethnic, and linguistic identity became the defining features of diversity education. The implication, however, is that all students from a particular group behave and learn in more or less the same way, believe the same things, and share the same values. This assertion is problematic because it essentializes culture, assuming that culture consists of specific elements that can be applied mechanically to all within a particular social group. In turn, essentializing can lead to generalizations and stereotypes that get in the way of viewing students as individuals as well as of members of groups whose cultures are constantly evolving. One problem with a

static view of culture is that it fails to recognize that all societies are more heterogeneous than ever. With multiple identities growing ever more rapidly, it is impossible to speak about culture as lived today as if it were unitary. In fact, a static view of culture contradicts the very notion of diversity education today. A more accurate term to describe the cultural fusion that is a fact of life for millions of people in many nations today is hybridity, that is, the synthesis of various cultures to form new, distinct, and every-changing identities.

Acknowledging this reality aligns diversity education directly with social justice while it also challenges approaches – variously referred to as *'heroes and holidays'*, *'tourist approach'*, or *'polka and pizza'* – that simply affirm differences and include 'ethnic titbits' (Nieto, 2004) or mention cultural icons in the curriculum. Thus, segregation and other institutional policies and practices that separate students from one another are generally viewed as impediments to equitable education. This is particularly true in South Africa where, according to Nkomo and his colleagues, the dismantling of apartheid meant the dismantling of an inequitable education system predicated on the separation of the races: *'If race segregation was the defining feature of schools in the apartheid era'*, they write, *'race integration became a defining aspiration in the postapartheid era'* (Nkomo, Chisholm, & McKinney, 2004, p. 5). At the same time, as Naledi Pandor (2004) suggests, the policy of *'first mix then engage'* was naïve. She writes, *The challenge is not simply racial integration. The challenge is the successful promotion of the values of dignity, equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms. The challenge is to teach that skin colour is not a marker of superiority and inferiority and that we can all take pride in our cultures and heritages.*

In general, as my colleague Patty Bode and I have suggested elsewhere, access and equity must be the overarching framework for diversity education (Nieto & Bode, forthcoming). Absent this critical perspective, diversity education can too easily skirt the issues of inequality that make creating a just school system, and indeed, a just society, impossible.

Another aspect of diversity education that is especially challenging is bilingual and multilingual education. Both in seemingly homogenous societies as well as in more culturally diverse societies, language differences pose a unique challenge. In countries as diverse as Canada, Sweden, Japan, and the United States, policymakers and the general public have often viewed language differences as

problematic and as an impediment to social cohesion (Crawford, 2000; Cummins, 1998; Fishman, 1976; Ota, 2000). As a result, programs such as bilingual and multilingual education, immersion education in the national language, and second language instruction have been viewed with varying levels of suspicion, depending on whether they are perceived as adding to, or detracting from, national unity. South Africa is unique in having eleven official languages, and this too presents challenges and opportunities as each of the languages is associated with a particular ethnic group which in turn has a specific set of political, social, and economic conditions.

Although promoting multilingualism is an official policy of the South African constitution, realities such as the lower status and prestige of languages other than English (and to an extent, Afrikaans) and the social, cultural, and economic capital to be derived from them, are issues of particular salience in this context (Mda, 2004). Finding a balance between promoting language diversity and securing social cohesion is thus a conundrum that will need to be worked out, not only in South Africa but also in numerous nations around the world. What is evident to proponents of diversity education, however, is that an imposed language that neglects to recognize and affirm languages other than the lingua franca (such as is the case with English Only in the United States), is in direct contradiction of the very nature of social justice and equal rights.

'Profoundly multicultural questions'
When used in simplistic ways, diversity education fails to address the tremendous inequities that exist in schools. For example, to adopt a multicultural reader is far easier than to guarantee that all children will learn to read; to plan an assembly program of socalled '*ethnic music*' is easier than to provide music instruction for all students; to equip teachers with a few lessons in cultural awareness is easier than to address widespread student disengagement in learning; and to simply bring white and black students in close proximity in South African desegregated public schools, is far easier than interrogating the quality of post-apartheid contact. Although these may be useful activities and initiatives, they fail to confront directly the deep-seated inequalities that exist in schools and society. Because they are sometimes taken out of context – isolated as pre-packaged programs or '*best practices*' – diversity education can become a bandaid approach to serious problems that require nothing short of major surgery.

Diversity in Education

Diversity education is also not simply about culture and cultural differences, although of course it does embrace these concerns. But a focus on culture alone, as if everyone from the same background behaved in the same way or held the same values, is in the end ineffective (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003). The same can be said of the kind of diversity education that focuses on the past glories of marginalized populations. If we agree that it is centrally about access and equity, then we need to accept that some culture-centric approaches based on romantic notions of an idealized past can simply obfuscate the primary goals of diversity education.

Instead, I want to suggest that diversity education is primarily about what I have elsewhere called '*profoundly multicultural questions*' (Nieto, 2003a). That is, it needs to address questions that at first glance may not seem to be about diversity at all:
• Who's taking calculus?
• Who's in talented and gifted programs?
• Do all schools receive equal funding?
• Do all children have access to quality integrated schools?
• Are all teachers prepared to teach – and do they value – children of all
• backgrounds?

I define these as '*profoundly multicultural questions*' because they concern first and foremost equity and access. In addition, they imply that hidden dimensions of education, including low expectations of students of marginalized backgrounds, are equally vital to consider.
Diversity education must also take into account how asymmetrical power relations position pluralism in schools and society. A simple '*celebration of diversity*' is not enough because it fails to address how some groups benefit from unearned power and privilege based on their race, gender, social class, or other social difference, and how such power and privilege are used against the very

same people whose diversity is being celebrated. The antiracist movement, first in the U.K. and Canada, and later in the United States, is a case in point, particularly because multiculturalism without an antiracist perspective has been viewed by some as simply a way to manage disruptive groups of people of colour (Troyna, 1987).

Social justice
It is clear, then, that if diversity education is to go beyond a simple recognition of differences, it must be aligned with the concept of social justice. Yet this term, although frequently invoked, is rarely defined. Bandied about as if there were universal agreement as to its parameters, social justice has become little more than another mantra (such as the 'all children can learn' mantra in the United States that rarely leads to real changes in student achievement). For the purposes of our discussion, then, I want to make clear what I mean by the term. I offer the definition that my colleague Patty Bode and I use: we define social justice as a philosophy, an approach, and actions that treat all people with fairness, respect, dignity, and generosity. On a societal scale, this means affording each person the real – not simply a verbalized – opportunity to reach their potential by giving them access to the goods, services, and social and cultural capital of a society, while also affirming the culture and talent of each individual and the group or groups with which they identify (so long as such groups are willing to live peacefully and respectfully with others).

In terms of education in particular, social justice is not just about *'being nice'* to students, or about giving them a pat on the back. Social justice in education includes four components: First, it challenges, confronts, and disrupts misconceptions, untruths, and stereotypes that lead to structural inequality and discrimination based on race, social class, gender, and other social and human differences. This means that teachers with a social justice perspective consciously include topics that focus on inequality in the curriculum, and they encourage their students to work for equality and fairness both in and out of the classroom.

Second, a social justice perspective means providing all students with the resources necessary to learn to their full potential. This includes material resources such as books, curriculum, financial support, and so forth. Equally vital are emotional resources such as a belief in students' ability and worth; care for them as individuals and learners; high expectations and rigorous demands on them; and the necessary social and cultural capital to negotiate the world. These

are not just the responsibilities of individual teachers and schools, however. Going beyond the classroom level, social justice means reforming school policies and practices so that all students are provided an equal chance to learn. As a result, policies such as high-stakes testing, tracking, student retention, segregation, and parent and family outreach, among others, need to be viewed critically. Social justice in education, however, is not just about giving students resources. A third component of a social justice perspective is drawing on the talents and strengths that students bring to their education. This requires a rejection of the deficit perspective that has characterized much of the education of marginalized students around the world, to a shift that views all students – not just those from privileged backgrounds – as having resources that can be a foundation for their learning. These resources include their languages, cultures, and experiences.

Finally, a fourth essential component of social justice is creating a learning environment that promotes critical thinking and supports agency for social change. Creating such environments can provide students with an apprenticeship in democracy, a vital part of preparing them for the future (Nieto & Bode, forthcoming).

Maintaining the focus on social justice in diversity education, however, is not easy given the current sociopolitical context of schools and society, to which I now turn.

The sociopolitical context of education today

Given our globalized economy and huge population diasporas, the world is a vastly different one from what we knew just a few decades ago. Public education, often viewed by people around the world as the central way out of poverty and ignorance, will either gain from this unique time or lose its moral authority as the one place where young people of all backgrounds and conditions can expect to receive an education that will prepare them to live productive lives. Hence, understanding the sociopolitical context of schools and society will be decisive in helping chart the course of diversity education in the years ahead.

Defining the sociopolitical context

The sociopolitical context to which I refer includes the ideologies, conditions, laws, regulations, policies, practices, traditions, and current events that define a society. In many cases, these ideologies, laws, traditions, and so on, support the status quo and keep structural inequality in place, although they could just as easily promote equality and social justice. In the South African context, the

apartheid ideology supported and enforced laws regarding the promotion of white supremacy and the subjugation of all those who were not whites. Moreover, taken-for-granted societal ideologies, assumptions, and expectations – which are often related to people's identities, including their race, ethnicity, social class, language, gender, sexual orientation and so on – may work in tandem with the material and concrete conditions in society to create barriers to (in the case we're concerned about here) educational progress. Although there is never complete consensus concerning these assumptions and ideologies (if there were, change would be impossible), they nevertheless help define what a society collectively believes that people from particular groups are capable of doing and worthy of receiving.

At a personal level, we take in the ideologies and beliefs in our society and we act on them whether we actively believe them or not. In the case of the ideology of racism, for example, Beverly Daniel Tatum (1997) has aptly described it as *'smog in the air'*. She goes on to say: *Sometimes it is so thick it is visible, other times it is less apparent, but always, day in and day out, we are breathing it in. None of us would introduce ourselves as 'smog breathers' (and most of us don't want to be described as prejudiced), but if we live in a smoggy place, how can we avoid breathing the air? (p. 6).*

At the societal level, these laws, traditions, assumptions, and ideologies determine who counts? That is, who has access to education? Health care? Employment? Housing? And what counts? That is, whose language is '*standard*'? Whose lifestyle is '*normal*'? At the school level, we must consider questions such as: How do school policies and practices (i.e. curriculum, pedagogy, disciplinary policies, hiring practices, parent outreach, etc.) benefit some students over others? For instance, in terms of curriculum, whose knowledge counts? What knowledge does the curriculum reflect? Whose perspective is represented? Who benefits? Who loses?

The South African experience shows that in many desegregated public schools, white upper/middle class cultural values have become a normalized and at times required school discourse (Chisholm, 2004; Vandeyar, 2008a; Vandeyar, 2006) to such a degree that the schools prioritize these cultural values, thus marginalizing those from outside this dominant discourse. It becomes a case of systematic assimilation of black students into white culture in order to be part of the school.

At the individual level of biases and expectations, the sociopolitical context

manifests through teachers' and administrators' practices and decisions. For instance, in terms of teachers' relationships with students, who is favoured? This is particularly evident in the United States where research has shown that pre-service teachers expect – and want – to teach students much like themselves (Irvine, 2003). And since about 90% of all teachers are white, middle-class, and English monolingual speakers, that leaves little room for immigrants, those who speak languages other than English, the poor, and students of colour. Decisions about who is gifted and talented and who needs to be in special education are also affected by teachers' biases. For example, in the United States, black and Latino students are chronically underrepresented in programs for the gifted and talented, being only half as likely to be placed in a class for the gifted as are white students, even though they may be equally gifted (Harry & Klingner, 2006.).

Changing demographics and diasporas
The current sociopolitical context also includes dramatically changing demographics in both the society in general and in classrooms in particular. Whether we live in small hamlets or large urban centers, whether we are from Africa, Europe, South America, Asia, or anywhere else, our world has changed enormously in the past several decades, and it will continue to do so. For example, what were once fairly homogeneous populations are now characterized by a tremendous diversity of race, ethnicity, and language, among other differences. In some cases, such as the United States and South Africa, diversity has always been a fact of life – although it has not always been acknowledged, accepted, or adequately dealt with. In other nations, the demographic changes have proven to be cataclysmic, challenging the sense of nationhood and community that once seemed fairly straightforward and secure. In all these contexts, children living in poverty, children of backgrounds that differ from the majority, and those who speak native languages other than the common language are now becoming the majority in urban centers and urbanized suburbs, and even in rural areas. Numbers alone, however, as may be seen from the experience in South Africa, will not change the status quo. And even when there is a significant power shift, as has happened in South Africa, it will take many years for changes to be felt by the majority of the population. This is certainly the case in the area of education.

Structural and social inequality
Another aspect of the sociopolitical context concerns the long-standing and

growing structural and social inequality throughout the world that invariably results in poverty, inadequate housing, joblessness, poor access to health care, and the attendant racism and hopelessness experienced by many people on a daily basis. In South Africa, the post-apartheid government's adoption of the neoliberal ideologies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund through the macroeconomic policy known as Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR), has placed the socio-economic conditions and the prospects of social mobility of the poor in a precarious situation in this new democracy. (Although GEAR has been recently replaced by the Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (ASGISA), neoliberal principles are also inherent in ASGISA). This macroeconomic policy has been favourably reviewed by the World Bank, but it has had the effect of economically disempowering poor South Africans (Bond, 2004; Desai, 2002; Gumede, 2005). Since education does not take place in a vacuum, this economic inequality trickles down to public schooling, especially because most public schools in poor townships of South Africa have not yet recovered from apartheid inequalities, even though the education budget has increased in all nine provinces (Ndimande, 2005).

In the United States, educators Jean Anyon (2005) and David Berliner (2005), as well as economist Richard Rothstein (2004) have all argued that it is macroeconomic policies, that is, policies that regulate such things as the minimum wage, job availability, tax rates, health care, and affordable housing, among others, that are chiefly responsible for creating school failure because educational policies by themselves cannot transcend these larger policies. While none of them deny the importance and necessity of school reform, they make it clear that what schools can accomplish will be limited if these larger macroeconomic policies do not change. In his report released in June 2006, *'Reforms that could help narrow the Achievement Gap'*, Richard Rothstein of the Economic Policy Institute in Washington, D.C., asserts that education reform without complementary investments in early childhood education, health care, housing, after-school and summer programs, and other social and economic supports (more jobs and a liveable minimum wage would also no doubt help), the so-called achievement gap will never be closed. He goes on to warn about the pitfalls of creating a society that is increasingly characterized as having a very few 'haves' and many 'have-nots'. He writes: *If as a society we choose to preserve big social class differences, we must necessarily also accept substantial gaps between the achievement of lower-class and middle-class children. Closing those*

gaps requires not only better schools, although those are certainly needed, but also reform in the social and economic institutions that prepare children to learn in different ways. It will not be cheap.

It is clear, then, that dramatic inequalities exist in the access that students around the globe have to an excellent, high quality education, inequalities that are lamentably too frequently based on race, social class, language, and other differences. No matter how much schools change to accommodate student differences, they cannot, by themselves, completely overcome these structural realities. Moreover, given the current political realities we are facing in the world, it is clear that it will take concentrated work at many levels – institutional, state, national, and international – to turn the situation around.

Neoliberal and neoconservative politics
Current global conditions may have even more of an impact on education than local or national policies. Neoliberal and neoconservative movements around the world, for instance, have had a devastating impact not only on diversity education, but on education in general, not to mention on national policies and practices that affect all other arenas of life. In his book, *Educating the 'Right' Way* (2006), Michael Apple describes how right-wing neoliberal and neoconservative ideologies have had a powerful and negative impact on public education around the world. The right, according to Apple, is not a unitary force, but rather a coalition of sometimes strange bedfellows. It includes, for instance, neoliberals (defined by Apple as *'capitalism with the gloves off'*), who believe in a 'weak' state and view the world through a market lens and define freedom as individual choice; neoconservatives, who believe in a *'strong'* state and tend to hold a vision of an idyllic past that they yearn to return to; and religious fundamentalists who want to bring God (or, more accurately, their version of God) into public institutions. Then there is the New Middle Class/Managerial Class, which tends to swing back and forth in the Alliance, based on where they benefit with their managerial skills. Together, this amalgam of ideologies forms the *'new right'*, or what Apple calls conservative modernization: *Conservative modernization has radically reshaped the common sense of society. It has worked in every sphere – the economic, the political, and the cultural – to alter the basic categories we use to evaluate our institutions and our pubic and private lives.*

There are numerous examples of how neoliberal and neoconservative policies have impeded progress in diversity education, particularly as it relates to social

justice. In South Africa, Ndimande (2006) has made the case that the influence of neoliberalism and neo-conservatism has partly contributed to the lack of resources in township schools and has impeded school access and equal educational opportunities. In Australia research in urban secondary schools shows that the introduction of community languages had very positive effects not only at the school level but also in the community (Kalantzis, Cope, Noble, & Pynting, 1990). Notwithstanding their success, many of these programs were dismantled in the 1990s when neoliberal educational policies began to be implemented around the world (Castles, 2004).

No Child left behind

A growing standardization, bureaucratization, and privatization in education are also part of the international sociopolitical context. Needless to say, diversity education has suffered in this sociopolitical context. For instance, the conservatives' vision of *'traditional values'*, narrowly defined to include only the values of the majority, denies any credibility to multiculturalism. The loss of local authority and a concentration of central control through high-stakes tests and a national curriculum are other important elements of neoconservative ideology. The contribution of neoliberals has been a determined focus on privatization through vouchers, charter schools, and other such schemes. In the United States, the No Child Left Behind legislation is a perfect amalgam of these forces, but it is clear that the United States is not alone in forging such policies. England, New Zealand, Canada, and other nations have also felt the effects of this new agenda (Apple, 2006; Gillborn & Youdell, 2000). In the United States, this has meant, among other things, a growing pressure to *'teach to the test'*, influenced by the No Child Left Behind federal legislation that is, in fact, leaving many children behind, particularly those that this legislation was supposed to help. Moreover, evidence is mounting that the testing frenzy, which is a direct result of the call for *'high standards'*, is limiting the kinds of pedagogical approaches that teachers

use, as well as constricting the curriculum, especially in classrooms serving the most educationally disadvantaged students. Recent research has found that high-stakes testing, rather than increasing student learning, is actually raising dropout rates and leading to less engagement with schooling: Audrey Amrein and David Berliner (2002) reported findings from research in 18 states that student learning was unchanged or actually went down when high stakes testing policies were instituted.

From this discussion, it is evident that the sociopolitical context is a complex issue with many layers: it is an ideological problem, an institutional problem, and a personal problem. The solutions, therefore, have to be at all these levels as well.

Hard lessons learned

What to do with the chasm that exists between stated ideals and the grim realities of life is an especially vital question for nations and educational systems to consider. A common response, unfortunately, is to behave as if this chasm did not exist. Given the parameters of diversity education I outlined previously, however, I argue that the appropriate response is to confront these challenges directly at various levels, including the ideological, national, local, and classroom levels. I want to suggest some ways of doing so by proposing three lessons to be learned from our experiences with diversity education over the past half-century or so. One is the obstinate power of asymmetrical relations, the second concerns how changing the situation is easier said than done, and the third is how teachers – in spite of the sometimes stifling and unsupportive contexts in which they work – have an immensely crucial role to play.

The obstinate power of asymmetrical relations

One of the toughest lessons that proponents of diversity education have learned is that, in spite of admirable intentions and enormous passion, no program, approach, or perspective will, by itself, change the sociopolitical status quo in either schools or society. Put another way, power relations do not disappear simply because we implement diversity education. We certainly have many examples of this throughout the world, including attempts to integrate schools in the United States (Orfield & Lee, 2006), address inequality in Brazil (Gonçalves e Silva, 2004), or reform the curriculum in South Africa to include topics concerning social justice (Moodley & Adam, 2004).

What often happens when marginalized communities make a claim for equitable treatment in housing, employment, education, or other institutions (through

uprisings, court cases, or other means) is that authorities, while seemingly paying attention to these claims, end up providing a watered-down version of what was demanded, thus subverting its original intention. In the United States, while segregation was outlawed through the historic 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision, states were so slow in acting that there was little change for many years. In the end, after years of stalling, some desegregation did in fact occur but in the decades to follow, there was continued resistance to desegregation, '*white flight*' from urban areas where most black students lived, and so many other ways of getting around the requirement for integrated schools that segregation once again prevailed. In fact, schools in the United States are even more segregated now, in total, than they were over 50 years ago.

South Africa is a unique case because there was no watered-down version of reforms as the post-apartheid government was always committed to democratic change. Yet a formidable challenge and resistance comes from the right, especially those who have the financial power and access to information to manipulate, for instance, school zones so they can keep their own districts segregated (Jansen, 2004). Racism is still evident in South African public schools (Vally & Dalamba, 1999), including a 2008 racial incident at the University of Orange Free State where white students urinated on a plate of food and duped or intimidated black workers into eating the urinated food. Other white students who appeared on national television claimed that this despicable act was an expression of their opposition to racial integration on what they still consider '*their*' university campus, especially in '*their*' white dormitories.

In England, uprisings in 2001 led to the Cantle Commission Report (2001). The report, while agreeing that there was tremendous polarization and little meaningful interaction among various ethnic and racial groups, rather than suggesting diversity education instead recommended a renewed emphasis on the English language, a recognition of the contributions of all groups to the development of the nation, and primary loyalty to the U.K. According to Peter Figueroa (2004), *Yet, there is scant evidence that a lack of English language or of loyalty to the U.K. were important factors in causing the riots. Instead, social and economic deprivation, discrimination, Islamaphobia, resentment between the White and Asian communities, and political activity by the far right all seem likely contributing factors.*

Another example is what in the United States is referred to as the '*achievement*

gap', that is, the disproportional achievement rates among various groups. The *'achievement gap'* refers to the fact that some students, generally those from the dominant class or race or ethnic group, achieve substantially more than students from the marginalized and dominated classes. This situation, of course, is not unique to the United States. Although the so-called *'achievement gap'* is generally positioned simply as a problem of students' motivation, culture, race, or community, or of teachers' competence to teach, I want to suggest that it could just as legitimately be called the resource gap or the caring gap: the resource gap because achievement is usually tied to widely varying resources provided to students based on where they live and who they are, and the caring gap because it is too often influenced by teachers' low expectations, lack of caring, and inability to teach students who are different from them. Yet we persist on calling attention to the so-called *'achievement gap'*, once again laying the blame squarely on the children rather than on the system that created the gap in the first place.

Del dicho al hecho hay gran trecho
The Spanish phrase *del dicho al hecho hay gran trecho*, literally translated as *'there's a big difference between what people say and what they do'*, or in more colloquial terms, *'easier said than done',* is another lesson learned from the state of diversity education in the world today. In spite of enormous differences in history and culture, diversity education is a taken-for-granted reality in many nations today. To quote Will Kymlicka (2004), *This trend is quite remarkable given the many obstacles faced by proponents of multiculturalism. These range from deeply rooted legacies of ethnocentrism and racism that denigrate the value of minority cultures to modernizing ideologies of nation building that privilege uniformity and homogeneity over diversity.*

Yet in many societies multiculturalism as a policy and practice has not taken root in any meaningful way. In many countries, diversity education is viewed either as threatening to the status quo or as irrelevant to the national interest. In other countries, if acknowledged at all, there is little more than lip service paid to diversity and social justice. But even in cases where the principles of social justice and multiculturalism are inscribed into a nation's most venerable documents, making these concepts part of the very way a nation defines itself, there is still a discrepancy between what is said and what is done. The *'policy gap'* (Sayed & Jansen, 2001) is thus a reality in even those nations that have written diversity and social justice into their constitutions. This is, for instance, the case with

Canada (Joshee, 2004) and South Africa (Nkomo, McKinney, & Chisholm, 2004; Vandeyar, 2006). Multiculturalism as public policy in Canada, for instance, dates back all the way to 1971, but the shift to the right in the 1990s also brought about changes in educational policies that made a commitment to diversity education difficult, if not impossible (Joshee, 2004). As a result, the fact that multiculturalism and social justice are public policy in no way guarantees that they will be carried out in practice.

Diversity education is also increasingly linked with citizenship education, and more recently, with the notion of democracy. Here too, the fact that multiculturalism is, if not accepted, as least grudgingly recognized, does not mean that it is a reflection of democratic practice in those nations. At a conference of major academics in diversity education that took place at the Bellagio Conference Center in Italy in 2002, one of the major findings was articulated by James Banks (2004), the convener of the conference:

In nation-states throughout the world, citizenship education programs and curricula are trying to teach students democratic ideals and values within social, economic, political, and educational contexts that contradict democratic ideas such as justice, equality, and human rights.

'Easier said than done', therefore captures the challenge we are facing if we want to make a difference in the life chances of young people around the world. Why have I focused on macro, policy, and institutional levels? I do so because otherwise we fall into the trap of thinking that teachers alone will make all the difference. Most reports about the 'achievement gap', for instance, focus on teachers, school administrators, and students: what teachers and principals are doing wrong, how their beliefs and biases affect student learning; how students' lack of motivation leads to their failure, how their families need to take more responsibility for student learning; and so on. There is some truth in all of this. But it is misleading, and I might say even immoral, to address the problem at only these levels if we do not at the same time look at the structural inequalities in schools that are, after all, simply a reflection of the inequalities in society. If we start at the teacher and student level, once again blaming them for student failure, we are being at best naïve, and at worst cynical.

Teachers change lives forever
Given the bleak sociopolitical context of education I have outlined, what is the role of teachers, and of those who prepare them, in confronting and challenging

social injustice in schools and society? I believe that teachers play an enormously significant role in the lives of students, and even in the life of a society. The final lesson from the past few decades of diversity education that I want to propose is that teachers can, and indeed to, make a difference, sometimes a life-changing difference, in the lives of students around the world. Because I have focused my remarks on the larger context in which education takes place, in what follows I shift my attention to the levels closest to learners, that is, the teacher and school levels.

I now want to turn to my final point: that teachers can and do make a difference in spite of everything. Although we need to also work to change societal ideologies and structural barriers, we cannot wait around for these things to happen. In the meantime, we know that good teaching can help to alleviate – although it certainly cannot completely overcome – the situation in which many children attend school. There is a growing body of research, for instance, that good teachers make the single greatest difference in promoting or deterring student achievement. In the United States, for example the landmark 1996 report of the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (1996) found that *'what teachers know and do is one of the most important influences on that students learn'*. One widely-cited study, for instance, found that students who are assigned to several highly effective teachers in a row have significantly greater gains in achievement than those assigned to less effective teachers, and that the influence of each teacher has effects that spill over into later years (Sanders & Rivers, 1996).

Let me then briefly focus on the role teachers have in creating success in spite of societal inequities. Teachers, after all, are not apolitical actors in a neutral space. Education is always a political endeavour and teachers are significant players in this context. The most successful teachers with whom I have had the privilege to work are skilled in their pedagogy, well versed in their subject matter, and consciously political in the sense that they know their work makes a difference. Consequently, they embody particular behaviours and attitudes that help them both teach and reach their students, while at the same time they challenge inequities both in their schools and, more broadly, in their societies.

To define these behaviours and attitudes more concretely, I draw on my work with teachers over the past thirty years, and more specifically, on my research with teachers in the past decade or so (Nieto, 2003b and 2005). These are:

affirming students' identities; creating a sense of belonging; expecting the best from all students; teaching students to be critical; and understanding their own power as teachers. I focus on these not because they are the only behaviours that make a difference but rather because more bureaucratic responses to teacher quality such as certification tests and specific courses in subject matter assume that these alone will result in higher quality teachers. While recognizing that other elements besides behaviours and attitudes are equally important, I focus on these because they are equally significant. Subject matter knowledge, for instance, is crucial, but if teachers do not learn how to question it, they end up reproducing conventional wisdom and encouraging students to do the same. Knowing pedagogy is also necessary, but if teachers do not at the same time develop meaningful relationships with their students of all backgrounds, the students simply will not succeed. And if teachers do not understand the life-and-death implications of the work they do, no amount of certification requirements or tricks of the trade will help.

The first behaviour, then, is to affirm students' identities. Too frequently, students' identities – their race, culture, language, social class, and other characteristics – are treated as problems to be disposed of rather than as resources to be used in the service of their education. To affirm identities also means that teachers admire, respect, and honor their students' differences. This affirmation is manifested through the curriculum and pedagogy, as well as through teachers' relationships with students.

A related behaviour of successful teachers is creating a sense of belonging. Students who feel alienated from school find it difficult to claim membership in that particular social circle and they may instead look to other, sometimes more negative spaces, to claim membership. Creating a sense of belonging means making space for all students of all backgrounds. This sense of belonging is visible in classroom activities as well as in outreach activities with families.

Third is to expect the best from all students. The low expectations that teachers and schools have for some of their students based on both societal ideologies and personal biases make their way into pedagogy and other school practices. Numerous research studies over the past several decades, however, have demonstrated that when teachers hold high expectations for their students – in spite of the conditions in which students live or the lack of resources in schools – they meet, and even surpass, those expectations (see Nieto & Bode, forthcoming, for a review of this research).

A fourth behaviour is to teach students to be critical. Too often, controversial topics such as power and inequality are taboo subjects in schools, and this should come as no surprise. After all, as institutions schools are charged with maintaining the status quo and discussing such issues can be threatening. But schools in most societies also claim that a major goal of the educational system is to wipe out inequality. The contradictions between democratic ideals and actual manifestations of inequality need to be exposed, although it might make educators uncomfortable. Such matters are at the heart of a broadly conceptualized diversity perspective because the subject matter of schooling is society, with all its wrinkles and warts and contradictions. Students, therefore, must learn to challenge the '*regimes of truth*' (Foucault, 1980) perpetuated by societal institutions, including schools. Ethics and the distribution of power, privilege, status, and rewards are basic societal concerns. Students of all ages should be allowed to engage in conversations about these issues if we are serious about teaching for, and about, democracy. Moodley and Adam (2004) agree. They write, *We argue that problematizing the contested issues in the context of current debates makes for more relevant and effective learning about democracy than the abstract and idealized exposition of democratic values.*

Finally, teachers who make a difference understand their own power. Every day, around the world, teachers matter tremendously in the lives of their students. Let me quote the words of Karen Gelzinis, a high school mathematics teacher I worked with a number of years ago. Karen, who taught in an urban high school in Boston, Massachusetts, was one of the teachers in an inquiry group I led that met for a year at various high schools in the city to reflect on the question of '*What keeps teachers going?*' On our final day together, we met at a beautiful retreat centre outside Boston. Karen brought a card for me to that final meeting. It said simply, '*Teachers Change Lives Forever*'. She did not really think about it until later that summer when she sent me a long email, only a small part of which I reproduce here: '*Teachers change lives forever'... Driving home, thinking about the whole day, the verse on the front of the card hit me. I had looked at the verse: We change lives forever. What power! Of course, we all know it. But how often do we really think about it? Does it get lost in the papers that we correct? In the scores/grades that we write down? This has been another of the group's gifts to me.. I always knew teachers made a difference, a tremendous difference, and I've always taken the responsibility very seriously, but to think about it using these words: Teachers change lives forever and ever ... and ever ... lives ... To really*

think about that, for a long time, is frightening, that type of power, to use it day after day... We are going to change lives forever, one way or another, for good or for bad. Are we doing all that can be done? Despite everything in our way, why do some of us end up staying? Is it because our lives continue to be changed forever, for the better, by our students? What would my life be without Sonie? Without Jeramie? It's not a give-and-take; it's a cycle ... Once your life has been changed, you understand the power.

Conclusion

What are the implications of all these things for diversity education? And what are the responsibilities and roles of teachers, and of those who prepare them for the profession? Given the current context, I believe these are incredibly crucial questions. At present, most responses to them are bureaucratic: devise more stringent teacher tests; create rubrics, benchmarks, and templates; count the number of courses prospective teachers take; look at college grades to determine who will teach. While some of these may be important, they are certainly not enough.

Let me briefly mention some of the changes that need to take place at both the macro and institutional levels if diversity education is to succeed. Beginning with fair funding of education, for example, which would make a tremendous difference. In the United States, the richest country in the world, the most recent *Funding Gap Report* from Education Trust (2006) found that across the country US $907 less is spent per student in the highest-poverty districts than in the most affluent districts. In the worst case scenario, *The Christian Science Monitor* (Huh, 2005) reported that the difference in annual spending between the wealthiest and the poorest districts has grown to a staggering US $19,361 per student! Surely no one can say with a straight face that this difference does not matter.

Since South Africa allocates a large portion of its budget to education, it is important that this money be efficiently distributed and spent, especially on poor schools in the townships, instead of being returned to the Department of Treasury as surplus at the end of a fiscal year (MacFarlane, 2002). Most importantly there should not be a mismanagement of funds in departments of education (Jansen, 2005), funds which could otherwise be used to improve teaching and learning conditions. This would give children in poor neighbourhoods access to public schools with better resources, rather than transporting these children to suburban public schools with better educational resources (Ndimande, 2005).

At the institutional level, removing or reforming school policies and practices that get in the way of student achievement would also lead to a change in student learning. These policies and practices include curriculum, pedagogy, tracking, high-stakes testing, retention, the recruitment and hiring of teachers, parent and family outreach, and others. In teacher education, we can develop programs that encourage prospective teachers to learn more about the students who they will teach and the contexts in which they live, and to respect their families and communities (Vandeyar, 2008b). We can provide experiences – through courses, field experiences, and extracurricular activities – that will help prospective and practicing teachers learn to speak other languages and learn about cultures other than their own. We can create a climate through innovative courses and assignments in which prospective and practicing teachers can become critical thinkers. We can help practicing and prospective teachers understand – through dialogue in courses and seminars, through interactions with excellent veteran teachers, through critical readings, and through reflection in journals and essays – that teaching is more than a job.

Change is also possible if we reform the climate in universities and faculties of education. This is a tall order, but an absolutely necessary one if we are to make a difference. This means recruiting a more diverse faculty in terms of experience and background, as well as determining which attitudes and behaviours dispositions will best serve them if they are to be successful with students. At the societal level, we can advocate for teachers to be well paid for their work, and given the respect they deserve. This means committing the nation's economic and moral resources to the problem. Both the bureaucratization and the marketization of public education, I submit, are wrong-headed choices. Even diversity education, in and of itself, will do little to change things. What is required is a change of will – as well as a reorganization of national and international priorities – to address the tremendous inequalities that exist in our societies today. The struggle is long and difficult, but the result, I know, will be worth the time and energy we commit to it.

About the author
Sonia Nieto is Professor Emerita of Language, Literacy, and Culture in the School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. She has taught students at all levels from elementary grades through graduate school, and worked at the university level preparing teachers and teacher educators for over thirty years. Her research focuses on multicultural education and the education of Latinos, immigrants, and students of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Her books include Affirming Diversity (4th ed., 2004), The Light in Their Eyes (1999), What Keeps Teachers Going? (2003), and two edited volumes, Puerto Rican Students in U.S. Schools (2000), and Why We Teach (2005). In addition, she has published dozens of book chapters and articles.

NTR ~ Caribisch Nederland, 3 jaar later ~ Bonaire

19 oktober 2013. Toen Bonaire een bijzondere gemeente van Nederland werd, onstonden er 2 eilanden. Er was het kleine pittoreske Bonaire waar iedereen elkaar kent, en een nieuw snel Bonaire van Nederlandse migranten.

Zie: http://www.uitzendinggemist.net/Caribisch_Nederland

De geschiedenis van de San

Destijds, lang, lang geleden was er een vrouw die =Um-=um-Borose heeft geheten. Zij was onze moeder en zij is van de zon af gekomen.
Umum Borose baart, na haar dood, kinderen van de zon, de San volken.

De San van nu zijn nakomelingen van de oudste mensen op aarde. Hun tradities, levensbeschouwing en geschiedenis zijn verschillend van de hen omringende Bantoe volkeren.

De San leefden in groepen, ieder met een eigen taal en naam, verspreid over heel Zuidelijk Afrika. Meestal werden ze verjaagd van de grote gebieden waar ze leefden. Pas recent zijn ze zichzelf als een volk gaan zien. Als volk werden ze o.a. Bosjesmannen, Bushmen of San genoemd en in Botswana bij voorbeeld ook Basarwa. We zullen hen, afhankelijk van de context, San, Boesmans, Basarwa of Bushmen noemen en soms hun eigen groepsnamen gebruiken, die velen van hen verkiezen.

Het oudste volk ter wereld
In Afrika ontstond zo'n 200.000 jaar geleden de huidige mensensoort, de *Homo Sapiens.* Recente genetische onderzoekingen wijzen erop dat de genen van de San en van sommige Pygmeeennstammen teruggaan tot het oudste genetische menselijk materiaal ter wereld. De San kwamen waarschijnlijk zo'n 20.000 jaar geleden uit het Noorden naar de zuidelijke delen van Afrika. Dat was lang voordat de Bantoevolken uit Centraal Afrika er arriveerden.

De San leefden in en rond de Kalahari, het enorme savannegebied in het zuiden van Afrika. Hun leefgebied strekte zich uit van de Atlantische tot de Indische oceaan en van de Zambezi tot Kaap de Goede Hoop waar zij heel lang de enige bewoners waren, zoals blijkt uit rotstekeningen en archeologische vondsten die dateren tot 20.000 jaar geleden.

De San waren jagers-verzamelaars die leefden in familiegroepen varieerend van zo'n 15 tot 50 mensen.

Ze hielden meestal geen vee, maar leefden van de jacht en van 'veldkos', het Afrikaanse woord voor alles wat in en op het 'veld' te vinden en eetbaar is. Vruchten, knollen, wortels, maar ook honing en struisvogeleieren dienden als basisvoedsel. Ze woonden nergens permanent, maar hadden wel eigen gebieden en pleisterplekken waar ze steeds terugkwamen, veilige plekken in grotten of in het veld met een paar eenvoudige grashutten en een vuurtje. Ze volgden de trek van de wilde dieren in het droge seizoen en trokken over grote afstanden binnen hun gebied.

Tussen de verschillende Sanfamilies die gebruik maakten van waterplaatsen en vruchtbare streken bestonden afspraken over het gebruik ervan, over de jacht en over het verzamelen van veldkos. Voor het gebruik van bepaalde waterreservoirs moest toestemming worden gevraagd aan de groep die de plek van oudsher beheerde. Dat werd alleen in buitengewone situaties geweigerd.

De Sancultuur was gebaseerd op een grote mate van gelijkheid – ook tussen mannen en vrouwen – en het was een economie die niet gedomineerd werd door concurrentie, maar door geven en delen. Alleen zo konden de groepen overleven in de barre omstandigheden van de Kalahari.

Er leven in heel zuidelijk Afrika nog zo'n 100.000 afstammelingen van de Bushmen. Soms zijn ze Bushmen in rechte lijn, maar er zijn ook huwelijken geweest. Of iemand als Bushman gezien wil worden, maakt hij of zij zelf uit.

Omdat de San in kleinere groepen in enorme gebieden leefden en veel verschillende talen spraken en spreken, zagen ze zichzelf vroeger trouwens niet als een volk. Ze noemden zichzelf in hun eigen taal gewoon 'mensen' of 'echte mensen', bijvoorbeeld Naro, Ju/'hoansi, Gcui. De Gcui noem zich Kua, mensen, en dat woord kennen de meeste Sanstammen.

Boesmans was de nogal discriminerende benaming die de Hollandse kolonisten hen gaven. Zij zagen in de 'Bosjesmannen 'wilde mensen zonder vee'; primitieve armoedzaaiers dus.

In een regionale bijeenkomst van Bushmen uit Namibie en Botswana in 1991 kozen de daar aanwezigen toch voor de term 'Bushmen' omdat die internationaal bekend is en al lang bestaat. Sommige Bushmen vonden dat het hun relatie met de natuur het sterkst weergeeft. Ze wilden er een erenaam van maken, een soort Geuzennaam.

In een latere bijeenkomst bleek dat velen toch liever kozen voor de naam San, die al werd gebruikt door antropologen. Deze benaming wordt tegenwoordig veel

gebruikt. San (uit te spreken als Saan) komt van Saran wat 'verzamelen 'betekent. Dat geeft hun verwantschap weer.

Onder elkaar gebruiken de San liever hun eigen groepsnamen. In Zuid-Afrika en Namibie, waar Afrikaans nog lang als administratieve taal gebruikt werd, wordt nog vaak van Boesmans of Bushmen gesproken, ook door de overheden.

In Botswana werden en worden de San meestal Basarwa genoemd. Dat betekent 'horigen, mensen zonder land en vee'

De SAN in de hoek gedreven
Als ik mijn boog span voel ik me gelukkig. Het herinnert me aan de dagen van vroeger. We jaagden enhadden een goed leven. Toen kwam de blanke man en nam ons onze jachtvelden af. Hij noemde ons dingen van niets. Wat voor leven is dat? – Ou Jacob Oma.

De eerste nieuwe migranten waarmee de San kennis maakten was het aan hen verwante volk van de Khoekoen of Khoikhoi, later door de Hollanders Hottentotten genoemd. De Khoekhoen waren immers 'stotteraars'. Van de verschillende Khoekhoe groepen zijn de Nama, die hun eigen taal nog spreken, het meest bekend. Ook de Damara en HaiIIom in Namibie spreken die taal. Waarschijnlijk trokken de Khoikhoi zo'n 2.000 jaar geleden van Centraal en Oost Afrika naar naar het Zuiden. Ze vestigden zich in Botswana en bij de Limpopo, maar bereikten ook de kust van Zuid-Afrika.

Daar werden ze later 'strandlopers' genoemd. Het waren oorspronkelijk ook jagers en verzamelaars, maar ze hadden van Bantoevolken het houden van schapen en later ook runderen geleerd. In die onmetelijke Kalahari was er voor hen, met hun vee, genoeg ruimte om met de San vreedzaam samen te leven.

Vanaf het einde van de 15e eeuw verschenen er af en toe Europeanen aan de kusten van Zuidelijk Afrika. De Portugees Vasco da Gama was de eerste. Portugezen, Fransen en Hollanders begonnen hun schepen aan te leggen in de baaien aan de in Natal, de Walvisbaai en aan de zuidkant. Ze legden al gauw contact met de Khoikhoi en ruilden tabak, gereedschap, drank en snuisterijen voor vlees, melk en andere eetbare waar.

Bantoestammen uit Oost en Centraal Afrika waren op zoek naar weidegronden voor hun vee in de Zuidelijke gebieden. Daarbij waren onder andere de Zoeloes, de Xhosa's en de Sotho's, waarvan de Tswana's – waarnaar het land Botswana

genoemd is – een stam zijn. Ze namen met hun vee veel land in bezit. Aanvankelijk vond er wel uitwisseling van kennis en producten plaats. De San ruilden bijvoorbeeld wild en planten voor koeienmelk.

Maar de gevolgen van de geleidelijke invasie werden rampzalig voor de San. Ze werden vaak onderworpen en gebruikt als slaven. Verzet van de San eindigde vaak in een bloedbad.

Doordat de Bantoes ook Sanvrouwen namen, vond er vermenging plaats. Sommige clicks van de Santalen vinden we dan ook terug bij Bantoegroepen, zoals de Xhosa's, bekend van de prachtige liederen van Miriam Makeba.

Sinds 1616 hadden VOC schepen, op weg naar de Oost, vaak Kaap de Goede Hoop aangedaan. In 1652 zette Jan van Riebeeck definitief voet op Kaap de Goede Hoop en stichtte er in opdracht van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie een verversingsstation en reparatieplaats die uitdijde tot een kolonie. Deze nederzetting groeide uit tot wat nu Kaapstad is.

De kolonie voorzag passerende VOC-schepen van voedsel. Met hulp van Khoikhoi en ingevoerde slaven legden de kolonisten akkers en groentetuinen aan en verzorgden ze het vee dat ze van de Khoikhoi kochten. Steeds meer ex-soldaten en bootslieden kregen eigen land in de omgeving en begonnen voor zichzelf. De handel met de inheemse bevolking was belangrijk. De Khoikhoi waren als schapenhouders succesvoller dan de San omdat ze iets hadden om te onderhandelen. Ook pasten ze zich gemakkelijker aan dan de San.

De positie van de San werd steeds kwetsbaarder. Meer en meer kolonisten begonnen op grote schaal met veehouderij. Daardoor verdrongen zij zowel de San als de Khoikhoi. De sfeer werd voortdurend vijandiger.

Van Riebeeck liet vier forten bouwen als bescherming tegen de overvallen van de Khoi en de San. In 1659 vond een gewelddadige confrontatie plaats bij een van de forten.

Tussen 1799 en 1803 werden de 'Hottentotten' verslagen door de Hollanders en werden ze getroffen door de pokken. De inheemse bewoners hadden geen weerstand tegen de door de Europeanen meegekomen ziektes.

Met het verzet van de 'Boesmans' hadden de Hollanders meer moeite, juist omdat zij veel minder aan een plaats gebonden waren. Met die onberekenbare 'roofsugtige Bossimans' kon je geen 'gewone' oorlog voeren.

Er waren voortdurend confrontaties. De San overvielen boerderijen en namen vee mee. Ze bevochten de boeren met speren en giftige pijlen.

De Hollanders op hun beurt brandden elke 'Boesmannederzetting' af en namen de kinderen mee om hen te 'temmen' en op boerderijen te werk te stellen. Ze sneden hen soms de achillespezen door om weglopen te voorkomen.

De leefomstandigheden van de Boesmans werden steeds slechter. Boeren, soms geholpen door hun Hottentottenknechten, jaagden op hen als waren ze wilde beesten. De San trokken naar meer afgelegen, minder toegankelijke, plekken in de Kalahari.

Pas eind 18e eeuw kwam er uit Nederland, Duitsland en Engeland een nieuw geluid over de Bushmen. Die primitieve halve wilden werden interessant bevonden. Zendelingen en onderzoekers zetten zich in voor het bijbrengen van beschaving en kerstening van de zwarte stammen, ook van de Boesmans.

In de 19e eeuw verloren de Bushmen steeds meer hun traditionele jacht- en leefgebieden aan zwarte en blanke boeren. De inheemse mensen konden alleen nog overleven door zich nog verder terug te trekken in droge gebieden of door in dienst te gaan bij die boeren. Met name in Zuid Afrika gingen hun talen en cultuur vrijwel geheel verloren.

De Bushmen waren ondertussen bezienswaardigheden geworden. In 1850 werden deze bijna uitgestorven *wilden van Afrika* tentoongesteld op de kermis in Den Haag. Ook de Oranjes kwamen naar hen kijken. In Engeland werden ze tentoongesteld als 'Afrikaanse dwergen'. Soms kwamen ze zelfs terecht in een dierenpark.

Leven in de wijde Kalahari

De Kalahari is een van de dunst bevolkte gebieden ter wereld. Dun bevolkt door mensen, want dieren leven er des te meer. Vooral in de regentijd zijn er veel leeuwen, zebra's, nijlpaarden, stokstaartjes, antilopen, springbokken, buffels, olifanten, krokodillen, slangen, apen en ga zo maar door.

Die dieren worden vaak geschilderd door San kunstenaars die nog steeds een soort weemoed hebben naar de oude tijden toen hun voorouders nog vrij konden leven tussen de dieren en planten. Vrouwelijke kunstenaars schilderen vaker de eetbare en medicinale planten, vogels en kleine dieren.

De Kalahari is 3,5 miljard jaar oud en daarmee een van de oudste stukken van de

vaste aardkorst. Het is een groot plateau boven de zeespiegel. De grond kan wit zijn, zandkleurig, bruin tot hevig rood omdat de ondergrond soms ijzerhoudend is. In centraal Botswana vind je nog zoutpannen en zit er o.a. koper, nikkel en diamant in de grond. Het grootste deel van de Kalahari ligt in Botswana en Oost-Namibie.

Soms wordt de Kalahari een woestijn genoemd, maar het woord halfwoestijn is eigenlijk correcter. Het gebied – ongeveer 900.000 km2 – kent enkele zandvlakten, maar ook zijn er steppen en savannen, gebieden met gras, doornstruiken en acacia's. De meer begroeide gebieden worden 'bush' genoemd. Als er lage begroeiing is, wordt dat 'veld' genoemd. Daar verzamelden de vrouwen en kinderen hun veldkos en in de goede tijden, met behulp van de mannen, ook kostbare honing. Waar het enigszins mogelijk is doen de San dat nog steeds.

Het woord Kalahari komt mogelijk van de Kgalagadi, een San stam die daar woonde. Ook betekent Kalahari in het Setswana 'grote dorst'. In ieder geval is water er buitengewoon kostbaar. Dat blijkt bijvoorbeeld uit de naam van de Botswaanse geldeenheid: 'pula'. Dat betekent: regen.

In de regentijd, tussen november en maart, ziet de Kalahari er heel anders uit dan in de droge tijd. Vanaf het hoogland van Angola stroomt de Okavangorivier de woestijn in en dan ontstaat een drassige delta, met stroompjes en kleine meren. Dan zit er vis in de rivier en nestelen er vogels.

Liederen van de kraanvogel
Als we sterven waait de wind. Wij, de Xam mensen, maken wolken als we doodgaan. De wind waait als we doodgaan, de wind doet het stof opwaaien en wil daarmee onze sporen uitwissen, onze voetstappen. Onze sporen, die de wind wil verwaaien, zouden anders nog steeds open en bloot zichtbaar zijn. Dan zou het lijkenalsof we nog in leven waren.

Dit legde een Xam Bushman rond 1870 uit aan de Duitse linguist Wilhelm Bleek. Bleek had eerst het verband tussen de Noord Afrikaanse talen en het Khoikhoi bestudeerd, maar raakte in Kaapstad geinteresseerd in de San. Hij interviewde enkelen van hen, o.a. in de gevangenis. Bleek slaagde erin drie San in zijn huis op te nemen, waaronder een geweldige verteller, een oudere man, //Kabbo genaamd. Bleek werkte nauw samen met zijn schoonzus Lucy Lloyd, die het werk na zijn dood nog jarenlang voortzette. Bleek en Lloyd hadden respect voor de San.

Ze onderzochten met name de Xam-taal, die nu uitgestorven is.

De San hebben veel van hun verhalen en kennis overgedragen aan de familie

Bleek, die hun taal bestudeerde en hun verhalen vastlegde. Samen maakten Bleek en Lloyd een catalogus. Een bron waaruit veel schrijvers en dichters hebben geput. Zo maakte de bekende dichteres Antjie Krog een prachtige keuze uit die overgeleverde verhalen in haar bundel *'Liederen van de kraanvogel'*, in het Afrikaans en het Nederlands.

Van landgebruik naar landbezit; de San delven het onderspit.
De Boeren, Britten, Bantoes en Duitsers verspreidden zich over Zuidelijk Afrika. De San werden meer en meer verdreven van het land waar hun voorouders leefden. De veehouders hadden veel land nodig om het vee voedsel en water te kunnen geven en ze bakenden dat af als hun eigendom. Bushmen konden soms voor hen werken, maar konden in veel gebieden niet meer jagen en verzamelen.
In de Kalahari sloegen met name vanaf 1950 de veehouders steeds meer waterputten. 'Waar de schaduw van mijn runderen is, daar is mijn land' , zeiden de Herero's.
Kortom, de San werden gezien als tweederangsmensen. Ze hadden immers geen dorpen met afgepaald land. Ze hadden altijd gebruik gemaakt van het land van hun voorouders zonder het als een bezit te zien of te claimen. Volgens de nieuwe wetten bezaten ze geen grond en water en mochten ze dus ook niet meer jagen of verzamelen in gebieden van de nieuwkomers.

Exandas Documentaries – *Bushmen* – Small Planet Productions proudly presents *"Exandas Documentary Series"* (http://www.exandasdocumentaries.com) a multi-awarded documentary program currently broadcasted by the Greek Public Television (ERT).

Niet alleen de eerdere invasies van de Bantoestammen en Europeanen veroorzaakten een ernstige breuk in het leven van de San. Ook de technische, economische, politieke en bureaucratische ontwikkeling van de moderne staten verwoestten de levenswijze van de San. De grond is nu in bezit van grote boeren of van de overheid die land in bruikleen geeft, vooral aan veehouders. De boeren hebben hun land omheind. Als de San niet in dienst zijn van de boer mogen ze daar niet meer komen. Overal duiken veehouders op, de koeien grazen het land kaal bij hun 'cattleposts' of op de publieke gronden.
San werken voor boeren op grote farms of voor veehouders op overheidsgrond. Ze vestigen zich daar met hun gezin of familie, maar trekken soms een tijd weg als ze teveel heimwee hebben naar hun geboortegrond die hen niet meer

toebehoort.

De veldkos is moeilijk bereikbaar geworden en er is ook buiten de grote boerderijen minder van te vinden. Op wild kunnen de San praktisch niet meer jagen. Wie betrapt wordt binnen de omheiningen van de wildparken krijgt een meestal onbetaalbare boete en gaat dus de gevangenis in.

Als het al toegestaan is om te jagen, mag het alleen nog op de oude manier met pijl en boog. Maar het wild is schuwer geworden door de jacht met geweren.

Door dit alles zijn de San gemarginaliseerd. Als ze geluk hebben vinden ze werk bij zorgzame veeboeren. Dan mogen ze wat eigen vee houden op de 'plaas', de vaak uitgestrekte boerderij. En mogen ze de kinderen naar school sturen. Of ze werken op gamefarms, grote boerderijen waar ook wilde dieren leven. Daar gaan San met groepen toeristen op stap om de sporen van wilde dieren te volgen en die te observeren. Ze geven ook informatie over veldkos, gaan op fotosafari, vertellen over hun geschiedenis en dansen voor de gasten. De vrouwen maken vaak sieraden van de schaal van struisvogeleieren: armbanden, kettingen. Hun beschilderde struisvogeleieren zijn geliefd bij toeristen.

In tijden van droogte en ernstige honger heeft de overheid in Botswana 'Basarwa' aan het werk gezet bij het onderhoud van de wegen of andere activiteiten in ruil voor voedselpakketten, de zgn. 'food for work' programma's.

De moderne maatschappij bracht welvaart voor wie geletterd was. Of jong genoeg om kansen te benutten. De San zagen de opkomst van de 'bottlestores', de drankwinkels, illegale bars, dure zonnebrillen, chinese shirts, horloges en mobiele telefoons. Maar je hebt geld nodig om mee te kunnen doen. Sommigen lukt dat, zij werken dan voor overheidsprojecten of voor NGO's.

De samen-delen principes, waarin het voeden en verzorgen van de familie de prioriteit had, zijn naar de achtergrond verdwenen. Veel San wonen in 'settlements' die door de overheid zijn toegewezen of in arme wijken rond stad of dorp. Daar leven ze in armoede, die gepaard gaat met alcoholisme, bedelarij, prostitutie, handel in en gebruik van dagga (cannabis). En met ziektes als aids en tbc.

De levenskracht van de San
Wij als San kunnen nu voor ons zelf spreken, ook met de regering. Wij zijn vrij om onze problemen aan de orde te stellen. Andere mensen hoeven niet in onze plaats te spreken. – Ingezonden brief in Botswaanse krant

In Namibie *werd* de Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperation de eerste grote San

organisatie. De Zuid-Afrikaanse thuislandpolitiek had het Noordoostelijke Kalaharigebied tot Bushmanland verklaard. Na de onafhankelijkheid van Namibie slaagden de Ju/'hoansi erin, onder andere met steun van Amerikaanse antropologen, een gedeelte van het gebied te houden.

John Marshall and Claire Ritchie hadden al in 1981 de 'Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperation' in het gebied helpen oprichten. De antropologe Megan Biesele steunde de CooÅNperatie bij het opkomen voor hun rechten tegenover de SWAPO en de nieuwe Namibische regering. Ook slaagde de cooperatie erin in diezelfde tijd putten te slaan in het Nyae Nyae gebied, zodat niet ontkend kon worden dat de San daar leefden.

In 1998 werd de 'Nyae Nyae Conservancy', een organisatie voor het behoud van het natuurgebied, opgericht. De minstens 1.000 leden hebben recht op de opbrengst van hun gebied. Ze kunnen leven van jacht en verzamelen, houden soms wat geiten bij hun huis, vergezellen betalende jagers en bieden hen toegang tot hun land en verblijf op een camping. Ze hebben de zorg voor het gebied van 9000 km2.

Veel wilde diersoorten waren schaars geworden, maar de San hebben de dieren als de eland en de springbok weer teruggebracht in het gebied. Van de 38.000 Bushmen in Namibie wonen ongeveer 3000 Ju/'hoansi in en rond de Conservancy.

De organisatie wordt gesteund door de Nyae Nyae Development Foundation. De NNDF is een belangrijke organisatie die met onderwijs, handel (Hoodia, Devils Claw), toerisme en actieve samenwerking met andere San groepen een nieuw leven voor de San ontwikkelt. Daarnaast zijn er andere organisaties opgezet door verschillende San taalgroepen . Op het ogenblik worden ze gesteund door de WIMSA Support Organisation in Windhoek.

In Botswana heeft de organisatie: 'First People of the Kalahari' een belangrijke rol gespeeld in het verkrijgen van landrechten.

'Hoe kunnen wij nu een gevaar zijn voor het wild, terwijl wij als enigen hier altijd hebben geleefd samen met de dieren'.

In Botswana speelt zich nu al lange tijd een bittere strijd af. De San werden door de overheid vanaf 1997 geleidelijk verdreven uit de 'Central Kalahari Game Reserve', een gebied zo groot als Denemarken. In het verleden hadden er duizenden San op traditionele manier geleefd.

De Britten hadden de CKGR bestemd als natuur- en wildgebied en bij de overdracht aan de Tswana in 1966 was die bestemming en de rechten van de 'Basarwa' om er te leven en te jagen aanvankelijk bevestigd.

Europese subsidies hielpen de nieuwe Botswaanse overheid om een enorm hekwerk rond de CKGR te zetten. De Tswanaregering wilde het vee en de wilde dieren uit elkaar houden om mond- en klauwzeer te voorkomen. Voor import van Botswaans vlees in Europa moest voldaan worden aan strenge eisen. Het ongewenste effect van het hek was dat hele horden wilde dieren, zoals buffels en springbokken, zich tijdens hun seizoentre k letterlijk dood liepen tegen de hekken. Dat was een ramp voor de San. Niet alleen omdat het moeilijker jagen werd, maar ook omdat deze slachting het natuurlijk evenwicht verbrak.

Om het schaarsere wild te beschermen, wilde de overheid helemaal geen jagers-verzamelaars meer in de CKGR. Hun aanwezigheid zou de status van beschermd natuurgebied belemmeren.

Ook het belang van de diamantwinning en de bestemming van het gebied tot toeristische trekpleister zullen zeker een rol gespeeld hebben bij dit besluit.

De regering probeerde de 'Basarwa' eerst zover te krijgen dat ze zich als 'beschaafde mensen' vast in een dorp vestigden. Het dorp !Xade kreeg watervoorzieningen, een school en een kliniek. Naast de veldkos hielden de San wat geiten en kweekten ze groenten voor eigen gebruik in wat tuintjes.

De overheid besloot daar een einde aan te maken. De 'Basarwa' moesten verhuizen naar een nieuwe plek buiten de CKGR. Sommige San accepteerden de verhuizing naar nieuwe nederzettingen zoals 'New Xade' aan de rand van het gebied in ruil voor vee, faciliteiten, uitkeringen en voedselpakketten. Maar regelmatig verdwenen ze ook weer, terug de CKGR in. De overheid zette ze dan weer naar buiten. Zo jojo-den ze op en neer.

Gesteund door binnen- en buitenlandse organisaties en goede advocaten gingen de San de juridische strijd aan. De First People of the Kalahari, met Roy Sesana als spreekbuis, nam de leiding. Er kwam brede steun en in 2006 verklaarde het hooggerechtshof in Botswana dat de verhuizing van de San strijdig was met de wet.

Erg gul was de uitvoerende macht niet: alleen de 198 San die de rechtszaak hadden aangespannen mochten weer de CKGR in.

San keerden terug naar hun oude gebieden, maar ze ondervinden allerlei administratieve tegenstand. Ze krijgen moeilijk vergunningen, ze mogen er niet meer jagen en worden gevangen gezet als ze daarop betrapt worden. Ook is er bijvoorbeeld strijd om het weer toegankelijk maken van een vroeger al gebruikte waterput. De Botswaanse overheid weigert toestemming te geven.

9 Mei 2012 werd een historische dag voor de San. Tijdens de jaarlijkse vergadering van het United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) in New York presenteerde Job Morris van KFO (Kuru Family of Organisations, een San organisatie die vanuit D'kar gevormd werd) – gesteund door andere Sangroepen – een collectieve verklaring van de Zuidelijk Afrikaanse San. Dit was de eerste keer dat een verklaring door de San en voor de San in dit forum werd gepresenteerd.

De Sanverklaring met vier aanbevelingen roept op tot de erkenning van Sanland en rechten op alle grond, met inbegrip van o.a. het gemeenschappelijke (tribal) land, conservancies en het beheer van natuurgebieden.

De verklaring benadrukt de schade veroorzaakt door commerciele landbouw en mijnbouw aan hun voorouderlijke land. Ook wordt geeist dat er altijd overleg zal moeten plaatsvinden met Sangemeenschappen over projecten zoals van de exploitatie van edele metalen, gas en olie.

In Zuid-Afrika kwamen tijdens de regering van Mandela de San nakomelingen 'uit de kast'. Tijdens de lange apartheid meende men dat de San niet meer bestonden. SASI, het South Africa San Institute, heeft een belangrijke rol gespeeld – en doet dat nog – in de lobby en de steun voor ontwikkeling van Sanprojecten. Een aantal Sangroepen kregen als Khomani rechten in het Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park op de grens van het Noorden van Zuid-Afrika en Botswana. Ze kregen ook land om zich te vestigen. Khwattu in het Zuidwesten is een organisatie die San traint als gidsen voor toeristen. Ze ontwikkelen San-toerisme, kunst en cultuur.

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Voor meer informatie: www.ksg-san.nl

Waarom legt een struisvogel een ei?

Thamae Kaashe – Ostrich and fire

Om kinderen te krijgen natuurlijk.

Struisvogels leggen veel eieren, soms wel 15, en hebben daarom ook veel kuikens.

De bosjesmensen gebruiken de eieren ook om er hun water in te bewaren. Ze maken er een gat in, laten het ei leeglopen en maken een dopje van gras waarmee ze het gat kunnen dichten. En dan doen ze er het kostbare en schaarse water in dat ze vinden in de woestijn, zodat het een veldfles wordt, en die nemen ze dan mee op hun tochten.

Ooit was de wereld leeg, zonder bewoners. Er waren nog geen mensen, nog geen huizen, nog geen dieren of planten. Toen kwam Mantis, de god van de bosjesmensen, hij zette alle dieren op de aarde en schiep ook de bosjesmensen. Mantis had een probleem, hij had het vuur hoog in de lucht en die wilde hij naar de aarde brengen. Want het vuur is belangrijk voor de mensen: je kunt je eraan warmen, je kunt erop koken en je kunt er gevaarlijke dieren mee op afstand houden.

Maar vuur zelf is ook gevaarlijk.

Dus Mantis dacht: "Aan wie kan ik nou het vuur geven om het veilig te bewaren?" Hij keek naar alle dieren, naar de giraf maar die heeft geen plek voor vuur, naar het nijlpaard maar die leeft in het water, dus dat is ook niet handig. Toen viel zijn oog op de struisvogel, want die heeft grote dikke vleugels en daar kan zo'n mandje met vuur wel achter verstopt worden.

De struisvogel voelde zich toen heel belangrijk. Hij deed zijn vleugel open, Mantis zette het vuur erachter en de struisvogel deed zijn vleugel weer dicht.

De bosjesman had gezien dat hij het vuur kreeg. En die dacht: "Ik wil dat vuur hebben, want dan kan ik warm worden, koken en de leeuwen weghouden".
Maar hoe moest hij dat vuur nu te pakken krijgen?

De bosjesman ging naar de struisvogel en hij zei tegen de struisvogel: "Wat ben jij een mooie vogel! En je bent ook heel sterk en je kunt heel hard lopen."
De struisvogel was zeer gevleid en hij luisterde aandachtig toen de bosjesman vervolgde: "Maar je kunt nog niet vliegen".
Daar was de struisvogel inderdaad erg bedroefd over, dus hij luisterde nog meer aandachtig toen de bosjesman zei dat hij dat misschien wel kon leren. "Als je nou morgenochtend naar de heuvel loopt en je steekt je kop in de wind en je doet je vleugels omhoog terwijl je van de heuvel springt, dan ga je vanzelf vliegen."

De struisvogel kon er niet van slapen, zo spannend vond hij het vooruitzicht om te leren vliegen. Dus bij het krieken van de dag, toen de zon opkwam, liep hij naar de heuvel, ging erop staan, deed zijn kop in de wind en zijn vleugels omhoog en liet de wind erdoorheen spelen.
En toen viel het mandje vuur naar beneden en de bosjesman, die achter de heuvel verstopt zat, holde ernaartoe om het weg te halen. Hij rende ermee weg en de struisvogel had het nakijken.

Wat was de struisvogel boos op zichzelf. Wat was hij een domoor. Hoe kon hij nou denken dat hij kon vliegen? De bosjesman had hem in de maling genomen. Hoe kon hij nou vergeten dat hij het vuur moest bewaken?
Sindsdien legt de struisvogel altijd een ei buiten zijn nest, zodat hij niet vergeet dat hij aan het broeden is. En dat ene ei komt niet uit zodat dat ei door de bosjesman gebruikt kan worden als veldfles om er water in mee te nemen.

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On The Limits Of Single-Issue Social Science

Max Weber – Illustration
by Ingrid Bouws

The state of the art of the social sciences at the end of the sixties of the past century was characterized by a strong mood of optimism.

The rediscovery of the critical roots of social sciences as exemplified by the work of Marx and Weber contributed to the idea that one of the main tasks of social science should be to unravel the dynamics of social inequalities and to demystify ideological legitimatizations of those inequalities. Besides, the development of analytical tools and the recognition of the fast growing capabilities of computer software that could process huge amounts of data offered new opportunities to study the complexities and dynamics of modern societies. The combination of theoretical ambitions and research-technical possibilities seemed to promise new ways for social research inspired by 'sociological imagination' (C. Wright Mills, 1967).

A well-known example is the ambitious project of The Club of Rome: a group of interdisciplinary researchers who aspired to develop a model encompassing a variety of social, economical, cultural and environmental factors to study the development and possible futures of the living conditions of societies, social groups within these societies, and mankind in general (Meadows, 1972). The

explicit ambition of Dennis Meadows and his colleagues was to combine a holistic approach with a well-founded research strategy using new analytical tools. However, the validity of their research results was rather limited due to the fact that the theoretical focus of their research was biased by a neo-Malthusian political agenda.

Johan Galtung

Another example is the project initiated by Johan Galtung to study structural inequalities within societies as well as between societies (Galtung, 1978). The '*Social Position Theory*' developed by Johan Galtung is also characterized by a holistic approach of the dynamics of societies and relations between societies: *The general aim is to study the combined effects of different types of social inequalities between Social Positions within societies and the way these effects are influenced by structural inequalities between societies*.

Of course, the state of the art of sociology at the end of the sixties was far more varied then summarized above. First, there were different viewpoints concerning the relation between critical ambitions and scientific goals of social science. The risk of politicizing social science constituted the major topic in these debates. Second, in empiricist research traditions there was scepticism about the holistic ambitions of grand theories. Third, in qualitative sociology and anthropology the idea of combining a holistic approach with a predominant quantitative research-methodology was viewed as unfeasible.

Nevertheless, the general mood in the sixties was dominated by the idea that the possibilities of new research methodologies could be used to study major social problems from a holistic viewpoint.

The sixties is almost half a century ago. So it is worthwhile to wonder about what has happened to the ambitious research agenda of the sixties concerning social inequality? What has sociological research since the sixties contributed to our knowledge of social inequality? To what extent are the expected promises fulfilled?

A review of recent literature on social research on social inequality is in several respects a disappointing experience. Of course, social inequality is still an important issue in social research and as a consequence there is an abundance of empirical studies of social inequality. Nevertheless, the growing quantity does not reflect a growing quality of our knowledge of the dynamics of social inequality.

Symptomatic is the fact that a holistic research agenda such as the one envisaged by the Club of Rome or its methodological approach have not acquired an influential position in sociological research in the western world.

The same is more or less true for the *Social Position Theory* of Johan Galtung. Sociological research on social inequality is dominated by the tendency to focus on one or a few dimensions. Research agendas inspired by a holistic approach such as implied by the *Social Position Theory*, are virtually absent.

The reduction of sociological research on social inequality to 'single-issue' studies is the main topic of this chapter. First, the main traditions of empirical research on social inequality are discussed. Second, I deal with the epistemological, methodological background of social research and the social conditions of scientific production that privilege single-issue research practice. Third, the main weaknesses of single-issue studies are outlined. Finally, some strategies are discussed to overcome the weaknesses characteristic of traditions of single-issue sociology.

Current sociological research on social inequality

The mainstream of relevant empirical research in this field is focused on a specific type or form of social inequality. Interrelations between different forms of social inequality are either neglected or the focus remains limited to the relations between only a few different forms. Several research traditions can be distinguished.

Studies on social class

The most important research traditions on social inequality are focused on social class. The history of research on social class is in itself a good example of the

growing dominance of reductionist approaches to social inequality. In the first half of the former century it was more or less taken for granted that social class should be viewed as a multidimensional concept. In his famous studies on social class in American cities, Lloyd Warner developed a measurement instrument that was intended to capture the richness of different dimensions of what he called '*the status system*' (Warner & Lunt, 1942). Besides the main source of income (salary, private or public welfare, profit-earning from inherited or acquired capital) and occupational prestige, he also tried to measure cultural aspects of living conditions and life style such as the quality of the residence and the socio-cultural prestige of the environment. The inclusion of cultural indicators of class inequality was partly based on the well known studies of Stuart Chapin (1933) who developed the so called '*living room scales*' that focused on differences in life style by measuring items in the home. The general approach of Lloyd Warner was very much inspired by Karl Marx and Max Weber. As a matter of fact, the whole series on '*Yankee Cities*' can be viewed as an ambitious effort of Lloyd Warner to translate the theoretical notions of Marx, Weber and Sorokin in methodological procedures on behalf of the measurement of social inequalities. Lloyd Warner and his colleagues were not the only researchers who tried to capture the multidimensionality of class. Another example is Richard Centres (1949) who focussed on the relationship between criteria used to define different objective class positions and the subjective criteria used by the people themselves to distinguish different classes as socio-psychological groups. Centres used a variety of different criteria to measure objective class positions such as educational level, type of job, power, income, standard of living and social prestige.

A common denominator of research on class inequality in those days was a general awareness that power positions should be distinguished according to the type of resources that functioned as the powerbase. For example, power based on economic resources (i.e. economic classes) should be distinguished from power based on political resources, cultural resources or social prestige.

The issue of multidimensionality remains a relevant topic of theoretical debate throughout the sixties and seventies (Blau & Duncan, 1967; Goldthorpe & Hope, 1974; Parkin, 1972; Runciman, 1968; Svalastoga, 1959). However, in actual research on social class most attention focused on the occupational structure, especially on the way occupations can be used as indicators of positions in a general system of social stratification. This development had two important implications. First, social prestige became the main topic of social research on

class inequalities while other dimensions of social class disappeared to the margins of the research agenda. Second, the focus on occupational hierarchy implied that the measurement of social prestige was narrowed down to occupational prestige. In case other dimensions of class were included, very often the original theoretical concepts were also narrowed down on behalf of 'efficient' empirical measurements. For example, 'economic class' is often operationalized as income. As noted by Frank Parkin (1972) this is '*almost the antithesis of Weber's own much broader and more useful definition*' (Parkin, 1972. p. 31).

Up until now reductionism is characteristic of the current main stream of social research on social class. The ranking of professions along the social ladder is viewed as the preferred indicator of general social prestige (Ganzeboom et. al., 1992). However, the construction of an unambiguous ranking of professions is not without difficulties. Rankings of professions can vary over time and between societies. Even within a society there may be differences between socio-cultural groups. Last but not least, occupational prestige of a profession is also dependent on gender characteristics of those who exercise that profession (Van Doorne-Huiskes, 1984). To circumvent those complexities, educational level is often used instead as a measure of social prestige.

Main Topics

There are two main topics within the tradition of social class in terms of occupational prestige. First, the effects of social class on the living conditions of individuals occupying different class positions. Especially income is used as an indicator of those living conditions. Second, mobility between classes. The research agendas concerning these topics are rather straightforward: they include changes in effects of social class over time and changes in mobility over time. Comparative studies about the differences between societies with respect to effects of social class and the mobility of social class constitute a growing field (Ganzeboom et al., 1992).

In the research tradition in which social class equals occupational prestige, attention is paid to the interrelation between social class and some other forms of social inequality. Mainly due to feminist criticism of male-biased research traditions in studying social class, the interrelation between social class and gender receives more attention than it did some decades ago (Blees-Booij, 1994). However, the attention for these interrelations is still rather marginal. As Blees-Booij rightly argues, up until now '*the position of women as subject of stratification research is even worse than their position on the labour market*'

(op.cit. p. 53).

Besides the mainstream research on occupational prestige, there are approaches in which the concept 'social class' refers to positions within the relations of production (neo-Marxian tradition; see for example: Erik Olin Wright, 1979, 1985) or to general relations of power (conflict-sociological approach; see for example Dahrendorf, 1959). Especially within the neo-Marxian tradition the interrelation between class, gender and race is considered a relevant research topic (Erik Olin Wright, 1979).

However, empirical research based on neo-Marxian or conflict-sociological approaches of social class constitute a marginal position in comparison with the vast amount of social research on occupational prestige.

Gender studies and the study of race relations
Since the seventies gender studies has become a more or less accepted branch of sociological research. Gender studies filled the gap left by the dominant sociological approaches. It goes without saying that the main focus of gender studies is on different aspects of gender inequality. There is a growing interest in the interrelations between gender inequality and other forms of inequality. First, in order to tackle the blind spots of male-biased research traditions in studying social class, the interrelations between inequality of class and gender inequality is part of the research agenda of gender studies. Second, in the eighties another branch of sociological research emerged. Students of this approach criticized gender studies for underestimating the structural differences between the Social Positions of black women and those of white women (Kimberley Crenshaw, 1989). In order to overcome colour blindness, the concept of intersectionality was introduced in gender studies as a central category of analysis (Leslie McCall, 2003). This concept focuses on the intersection of different forms of inequality and is based on the assumption that the study of gender inequality requires that interrelations with other forms of inequality be taken into account. This approach has led to interesting empirical studies. For example, Leslie McCall (2001) studied how gender, race and class differences interact and intersect in different economic conditions.

Notwithstanding the promising possibilities of this development, a holistic approach, which aims to encompass all relevant forms of social inequality, is still absent in gender studies and the study of race relations (see also: Lutz, 2002). Intersectionality remains restricted to the interrelation between gender inequality and racial inequality or inequalities of social class (Albeda, Drago & Shulman,

2001; Andersen & Collins, 2000; Gruski, 2001; Johnson, A. 2001; Rothenberg, 1992; Smith, 2005).

Studies of age discrimination and relations between age groups
Along with class, gender and race, age is one of the key components of structured inequality especially in industrialized societies. In comparison with the other components age discrimination is the least acknowledged issue. As a consequence structured inequality between age groups is a rather new field of social research (Macnicol, 2006). The research in this field is mainly focused on the effects of age on job opportunities, and mobility within or between classes (Bessey & Ananda, 1991). The question of how age intersects with other forms of social inequality, such as gender inequality and inequality of social class, has not yet received much attention.

Cultural studies
A rather recent phenomenon is a research field that is dominated by a culturalist viewpoint on inequality. Of course, the unequal disposition of cultural resources constitutes an important form of social inequality. And culture may play a decisive role in reproducing and/or transforming relations of inequality. But unfortunately, the research agenda is often based on the exclusive attention towards cultural inequalities. A major example is the revival of the '*culture-of-poverty*' theory developed by Oscar Lewis in the sixties of the former century (Lewis, 1966). This approach is not only an example of narrowing the theoretical focus down to a specific form of social inequality, i.e. social inequality due to cultural differences. This approach is also an example of theoretical imperialism. The ambition of the culturalist viewpoint is far from modest. It pretends to explain all other forms of social inequality. As a consequence culturalist theories on social inequality fulfil ideological functions by justifying structural inequalities. Very often, research from a culturalist viewpoint boils down to produce blaming- the-victim theories on social inequality (Dalrymple, 2001).

International studies
The study of the relation between different states constitutes a separate branch of social and economic research. Power relations between states are the main focus of these studies. But there is a tendency to focus on specific aspects of those power relations. Especially within economics there is a substantial branch of research that focuses on economic differences between the Centre and the Periphery between and within countries (Hout & Meijerink, 1996; Köhler, 1998).

Holistic studies that focus on the interactions between political, military, economical and cultural power relations are scarce (but see: Samir Amin, 1977, 1980). Holistic studies of how interstate relations of inequality affect structural inequalities between social groups within states are virtually absent.

On the popularity of single-issue sociology
The brief summary of the current state of art of sociological research on social inequality does pose the question how to explain the general tendency to focus on one form of social inequality or the interrelation between just a few different forms or dimensions? Why is single-issue sociology so prominent and why is multi-issue (or better: multidimensional) sociology so absent?
The answer is that single-issue sociology as a social practice is stimulated by a variety of factors. In this section the theoretical, epistemological and methodological characteristics of mainstream sociology that contribute to single-issue sociology are more closely examined.

The decline of 'Grand Theories' and the rise of Empiricism
In mainstream sociology, the self-restraint to focus on one specific form of social inequality (racial inequality or gender inequality, or inequality due to social class or social prestige, etcetera) within a specific domain (e.g., labour relations or family relations) is viewed as a way to guarantee to conduct research meticulously. It is believed that, in order to avoid the pitfalls of 'Grand Theories', empirical research should be limited to those phenomena that can be measured in standardized procedures.
The 'grand stories' about society are viewed as something of the past. As a consequence, the theoretical and empirical contributions of those scientists who try to understand the dynamics of historical developments of social formations and the structural relations characteristic for those social formations such as Marx, Weber and Sorokin are marginalized (see also: Johan Galtung & Sohail Inayatullah, 1997). Holistic approaches are distrusted as either indefensible forms of reductionism or untestable forms of theoretical speculation. Even the term 'holism' as such is often associated with just 'bla,bla'. According to this view, the complexity of modern or post-modern society should focus on empirical testing of hypotheses of survey-able phenomena. The rules for scientific publication stimulate research practices that fit in with this narrow empiricism. Ironically, this empiricism is often presented as '*theory driven research*' because the hypothetic-deductive method requires that research should start from testable

hypotheses. However, it is seldom argued how theoretical premises from which those testable hypotheses are deduced, fit in with a more general theoretical framework.

The dominance of Methodological Individualism

Besides empiricism, the mainstream of research on social inequality is either implicitly or explicitly based on methodological individualism. The 'fait social' is viewed as the sum total of the interactions of individuals. This viewpoint is nicely summarized by the well-known one-liner of Margaret Thatcher: *'Society doesn't exist'*. As a consequence, social inequality is conceptualized in terms of differences between individuals, who possess different amounts of assets (income, prestige, etcetera). From this viewpoint inequality is essentially a ranking of individuals based on some type of asset. The focus on research of separate ranking systems is conceived of as a necessary prerequisite to build up a more complete representation of the combined effects of different forms of social inequality. How the construction of a complete representation should be achieved, is seldom reflected. Our hypothesis is that most researchers assume or dream that this goal will be achieved somewhere in an unspecified future by combining and adding results of specialized single-issue research.

This dream is based on a very simple concept of causality: *Causality is viewed as linear and additive.* Of course, there is some attention for possible interactions of different causal factors. But the baseline of the general research strategy is the assumption that additive causal relations are the rule and interactions are the exceptions to the rule.

From a holistic viewpoint this dominant concept of causality is inadequate for several reasons. First, causal relations should be conceived as fundamentally context-dependent. As a consequence, the real meaning of single-issue research is always uncertain, because this context-dependency is seldom studied. Second, a holistic approach implies a dialectical view on the causal relations between structure and agency. The aggregate of structural relations of social inequalities determines the live chances of social actors occupying the distinguished positions in these relations. But those relations are also reproduced and transformed by those actors. Gender, race, and social class are social constructions and the meanings and boundaries of gender categories, racial categories and class divisions are object of social struggles.

Besides the inadequacies of the dominant concept of causality, the ranking

concept of social inequality that dominates single-issue research underestimates important structural characteristics of social inequality. From a holistic viewpoint a relational concept of social inequality is more appropriate. A relational concept of social inequality implies that inequality is characteristic of relations between interdependent structural positions. Social inequality is primarily about positions and only secondary about the individuals occupying these positions and their mobility between positions.

To summarize, methodological individualism neglects the specific nature of social reality: Social reality cannot be reduced to the sum of contextually independent causal relations between individual characteristics constructed by single-issue research.

Arbitrary eclecticism & reductionism

The *'grand'* theories are not completely absent from the current scene of social research. But the way in which conceptual frameworks developed within these theories function within research on social inequality is rather ambivalent. General theoretical concepts, that are part of those frameworks, are used to legitimize the research in question. At the same time however, these concepts are often reduced to very specific aspects of the phenomena under study.

A good example of this form of eclecticism is the use of Bourdieu's theoretical framework in current social research on social inequality. In fact, Bourdieu is one of the last inheritors of the tradition of 'grand' theories who is still rather popular in the field of empirical research on social inequality. His work is much cited. But the interest remains restricted to only one of the three main forms of 'capital' distinguished by Bourdieu, namely: *social capital*. And even this form is often reduced to a position in a social network in a specific field (labour organization, friendship relations, etcetera).

The other side of the coin of theoretical eclecticism is theoretical reductionism, i.e. the assumed predominance of a specific form of social inequality. In the seventies of the former century, social inequality in terms of social-economic classes constituted the main focus of empirical research. Mainly due to neo-Marxist theories, this focus was often legitimized by the claim that socio-economic class is the 'ultimate' decisive factor in explaining al kinds of social inequality. This type of reductionism can also be found in some feminist approaches of social inequality and in some approaches in the field of race relations.

Since the nineties of the former century, a new branch of reductionism has acquired a dominant position in the field of social research on inequality: the

study of the cultural roots of social inequality. This approach is part of a more general theoretical focus on the assumed importance of cultural phenomena in social changes. The concept of identity plays a central role in these developments. Identity construction is at the forefront of theoretical work and scientific debate. And identity politics seems to replace traditional concepts of politics concerning structural change. These developments run the risk to result into a new form of reductionism in which cultural identities are viewed as 'basic'. As a consequence, Social Position and structural inequality are neglected as important factors determining social and cultural developments. An example is the popularity of the '*culture-of-poverty*' theorists, who claim that social inequality is mainly due to cultural characteristics of the lower classes.

Another example is the influence of the '*Clash of Civilizations*' theory in the field of international relations between western societies and non-western societies (Bernard Lewis, 1993, Samuel Huntington, 1993). International conflicts are explained in terms of assumed cultural homogenous societal formations classified by labels such as 'The Western World' and '*The Islamic World*' or just '*The West*' versus '*The Rest*".

To summarize, the twin sisters '*theoretical eclecticism*' and '*reductionism*' constitute a major force in the legitimization and promoting of simplifying single-issue sociology.

On the social conditions of single-issue sociology
The popularity of single-issue sociology is partly due to the way sociologists construct aims, norms and methods and the way in which they develop and use specific epistemological assumptions and methodologies to legitimize their research practices. But the popularity of single-issue sociology is not merely the outcome of the sum of preferences and convictions of individual researchers. Social research is embedded within scientific institutions and is also partly dependent on features of the broader social and political context. Therefore it is worthwhile to scrutinize how single-issue sociology is related to general institutional as well as political characteristics of the context of social research.

The institutionalized labour division in social research
In most western countries, a strong labour division within social sciences has gradually emerged. As a consequence, social research is divided along disciplinary boundaries and within each discipline research is further divided along different domains and themes of social research. That labour division is

firmly institutionalized and conditions the development of social research and the (im) possibilities of interdisciplinary cooperation. Unfortunately the prevailing segmentation and fragmentation of the academia constitutes optimal conditions for the strategy of single-issue sociology. Different forms of social inequality are studied in different organizational contexts. Socio-economic departments restrict themselves mainly to inequality in terms of social class and/or social prestige. As a consequence, gender studies are often organized within separate departments and the same is true for other forms of social inequality, such as the study of race relations. Inequality in interstate relations is furthermore the privileged object of departments of international relations, etcetera. From a historical point of view this organizational structure of scientific research is understandable, but one of the unintended effects of the prevailing division of scientific labour is the reproduction of single-issue sociology. Besides, research fields that do not fit in with these institutionalized divisions run the risk of being marginalized or removed. For example, peace-studies focuses on the unravelling of the complex dynamics of socio-economic, cultural and political forces that constitute the conditions for the development of violent conflicts and for their solution. Therefore, peace-studies is only viable as an interdisciplinary practice that transgresses traditional boundaries between disciplines. The dominance of organizing scientific research within separate disciplines constitutes a barrier for the development of peace-studies.

The social norms regulating the production and productivity of research activities
During the last decades of the former century general norms were developed to control and measure the productivity of research groups and individual researchers. The norms in the field of social research are mostly copied from those traditionally used in the natural sciences. These productivity rules make it more attractive to produce short articles about specialized topics than to write lengthy books in which complex research is presented. Nowadays social scientists as Weber or Sorokin, who spent years to write voluminous interdisciplinary studies on the development of societal formations, would not survive in modern academic institutes. Besides, the quality journals require articles in which a few well-developed hypotheses are tested. As a consequence, these social norms privilege single-issue sociology.

The political interest in key factors on behalf of managing social change
Government agencies and private companies play an important role in financing

social research. Policy makers are often only interested in finding just a few crucial key factors as instruments for policy measures. Moreover, the general public discourse has also a tendency to frame social problems in simplified terms. It is rhetorically attractive to explain social problems by focusing on just one of the possible explanations. Both tendencies make it tempting to reduce social research to single-issue studies. An example is the growing focus on cultural aspects of social relations between immigrants and native inhabitants in western societies. This corresponds with the public discourse on cultural differences as 'the' cause of racial or ethnic inequalities. In other words, the practice of social research tends to adapt to the dominant culturalist discourse in society and in the political scene while critical research is marginalized.

How to overcome single-issue social science?
In the sections above we outlined the theoretical foundations of single-issue sociology and the conditions that favour social research that conforms to the rules of single-issue sociology. In fact single-issue sociology constitutes an elaborate discourse in the sense of Foucault (1969, 1971): It is not just an ideology or a way of thinking, talking and evaluating social research; it is also materialized in institutionalized forms of social practices and the norms that rule research practices. These practices fit in with the wider social context (policymaking practices, the practices of the mass media and the institutionalization of social research).

This makes it difficult to overcome the deficiencies of single-issue social by developing new ways of studying social reality from a holistic viewpoint. It is not only necessary to construct new research strategies. It is also imperative to create social conditions that make these strategies viable.

In this paper I only deal with the problem of research strategies. It is possible to distinguish between two main roads that aim at studying social inequality from a holistic viewpoint.

Developing and renewing the ethnographic road
Research from a holistic viewpoint has always been one of the hallmarks of qualitative research, especially ethnography. But in the history of anthropology, ethnography has gradually developed from a general research strategy into a specific strategy mainly used to study small communities within a society such as cultural groups in urban neighbourhoods. The advantage of these small-scale ethnographic research designs is that the complexity of interrelations between

different types of social inequality can be studied in-depth while taking into account the context-dependency and the dialectics of complex causal processes. This strategy plays a considerable role in gender studies that try to capture the dynamics of the intersection between gender inequality and other forms of inequality. In the research practice of gender studies two variants of this strategy can be distinguished.

First, this strategy is used to scrutinize the complexities of the lived experience of a social group whose living conditions are determined by the intersection of different forms of social inequality. Leslie McCall (2003) labelled this approach as '*intra-categorical*'.

Second, within a post modern approach this strategy is used to deconstruct the way the social group is categorized by questioning the boundary-defining process itself. Leslie McCall (2003) used the label '*anti-categorical*' to characterize the latter approach. From the viewpoint of a holistic approach such a division between structure oriented and agency oriented research strategies is rather unfortunate. To unravel the dialectics of processes of reproduction and transformation of structural relations of inequality, one should combine both strategies.

A common feature of the different strategies following the ethnographic road is the tendency to focus on particular social groups at specific points of intersection between different relations of inequality. In this respect intersectional oriented ethnographic research fits in well with traditional characteristics of ethnography in general. Ethnography is often equated with a research design focused on the micro-worlds of the social life of a single group. Multi-case designs focused on a comparative study of different social groups constitute the exception to the rule of single group studies.

But there is not a methodological restriction to use the ethnographic approach in a multi-case design to study the general dynamics of a society as a whole. In terms proposed by Leslie McCall, such a multi-case design is compatible with an inter-categorical approach.

A well-known example of such an inter-categorical approach is a nationwide study on the effects of social inequalities on social life: *the ambitious research project led by Pierre Bourdieu on social suffering in contemporary society* (Bourdieu, 1993). The concept of social suffering does not only include poverty but all kinds of deprivations and feelings of failure. The research of Bourdieu and his colleagues aims at how the combined effects of different forms of social inequalities and aspects of living conditions are experienced by individuals and

contribute to different kinds of suffering. This holistic ambition is realized by conducting a series of ethnographic studies of the life of different individuals and their families living in very different social and physical spaces. Each of these studies is based on in-dept interviews and observations. The results that are presented in an extensive publication makes it possible to create a general representation of how different forms of social inequality interact and function in the daily life of ordinary people in French society at the end of the eighties and how these people cope with these inequalities. Of course, this is a labour-intensive research design, but the strategy followed by Bourdieu and his colleagues could be further developed by combining this type of qualitative case studies with quantitative data about the social conditions in the society to be studied.

Developing and renewing the Social Position Theory
A second road that is compatible with the inter-categorical approach is the development of a quantitative model based on a holistic approach of social inequality. This research strategy could depart from with the theory of Social Position as developed by Johan Galtung at the sixties. Before this approach is elaborated, it is necessary to review the dimensions of inequality as conceptualized four decades ago. New social developments (such as the recognition of the inequality of access to natural resources) and new theoretical insights (such as the proto-theory for the empirical study of social inequality developed by Veit-Michael Bader and Albert Benschop (1988) should be taken into account in the re-conceptualization of the different dimensions of inequality. The proto-theory of Bader and Benschop is an important step in the development of an all-embracing holistic theoretical framework for the analysis of structural inequalities. It breaks through the compartmentalization of social research in separate disciplines or even sub-disciplines and it overcomes the limitations of narrow-focused research traditions.

Up until now, the scientific community largely neglected the important study of Bader and Benschop. There are a few exceptions. Benschop himself conducted an extensive study to develop an integral theory of social class (1993). Inspired by the proto-theory of Bader and Benschop, Helma Lutz (2002) proposed to incorporate, besides gender, class, race and ethnicity, other forms of structural inequality such as age, state of health, environmental conditions, cultural resources, possessions, state of societal development, and position of the society in international relations ('North-South' and 'East-West').

Of course there are other possibilities to conceptualize the different forms and dimensions of structural inequalities.

Besides conceptual innovations, new analytical tools should be introduced to unravel the complexities of the interactions of different forms of social inequality. The original Social Position Theory proposed a research strategy that aims at the construction of an overall index that is conceptualized as the sum total of positions on dimensions of social inequality. Such an index assumes an additive causality. Fortunately, there are new research possibilities to take into account conditional causality that is characteristic for social reality. Different analytical techniques are developed that can be used to analyse the complexities of the intersection of different forms of inequality. For example, in case of large datasets multi-level research may be used to analyze context dependency of the way different forms of inequality intersect. In case of comparative studies of a limited number of groups, regions or countries, the research tools and analytical procedures – known as the Comparative Method and developed by Charles Ragin (1994) – can be useful to analyze the dynamics of the way different forms of social inequality interact in social life of individuals. The Comparative Method is based on the assumption that any research strategy should take into account that conditional causality is the rule and that the simple model of additive and linear causal relations is the exception to the rule. That assumption fits in quite well with the general approach of the Social Position theory as outlined by Johan Galtung (see chapter 2 and 3 in this book).

To summarize, new theoretical insight as well as new research techniques enable the development of the conceptual framework and of the methodology of the Social Position Theory. This helps us to tackle the complexities of the modern social world and the combined effects of different forms of social inequality.

Conclusion
In this paper I outlined the consequences of current research traditions for research on social inequality. Especially the dominant position of single-issue social science constitutes an obstacle that impedes substantial progress of scientific knowledge. Of course, in-depth research that focuses on a detailed study of a very specific phenomenon can be very important. But if single-issue research becomes paradigmatic for the way social research in general should be carried out, then real progress of knowledge will turn out to be fictitious. Unfortunately, the dominant position of single-issue social science is very well institutionalized within social science.

However, dominance is never complete, and can be challenged. Therefore it is important to discuss possible research strategies that can overcome the deficiencies of single-issue sociology. In this paper, two different strategies are discussed. One strategy departs from the virtues of the ethnographic method and tries to avoid the limitations of traditional ethnographic research. The other strategy departs from a holistic conceptualization of social inequality and the virtues of quantitative modelling and analytic procedures.

In fact both strategies could be combined. Such an approach would fit in with the growing interest in mixed method research. The development of such a combined strategy could constitute a serious challenge to the dead-end road travelled by single-issue social science.

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About the author
Harry van den Berg, sociologist, VU University Amsterdam and Cultural Studies Foundation SCS Amsterdam (www.culturalstudies.nl) works on research projects concerning methodological issues, discourse analysis, social communication, inequality of opportunities in the labour market, and discrimination

Extra Link: www.transcend.org

Laghukatha – Het ZKV in de Hindi-Literatuur

Foto Lodewijk Brunt

In Nederland is de laatste jaren een nieuw literair genre van de grond gekomen: het zeer korte verhaal, oftewel *'zkv'*. In sommige literaire tradities buiten Nederland bestaat zo'n genre al langer. India is een voorbeeld: het zeer korte verhaal is hier terug te voeren op oude fabels en volksvertellingen, en komt in het Hindi voor vanaf de tijd dat het moderne Hindi is ontstaan (tweede helft 19e eeuw). Het zkv heeft zich in verscheidene tijdvakken en maatschappelijke constellaties weten te handhaven. Ten tijde van de Moghul-dynastie (van de 16e tot de tweede helft van de 19e eeuw) bestond in het Urdu (een zustertaal van het Hindi) een levendige traditie van schetsen en raadsels en cynische commentaren op het doen en laten van de machthebbers. In het midden van de negentiende eeuw bloeide de *'caféliteratuur'*, waaronder de poëzie, als nooit tevoren; aan het hof van de laatste Moghul-keizer Zafar in Delhi, maar zeker ook daarbuiten en onder *'gewone'* mensen.**[1]**

In Lucknow waren befaamde literaire salons gevestigd; ze vormen de achtergrond van Mirza Mohammad Hadi Ruswa's indrukwekkende roman Umrao Jan Ada, over het leven van een roemruchte dichteres en courtisane. De bekende schrijver Premchand heeft in de eerste decennia van de 20e eeuw behalve sociale romans, korte en zeer korte verhalen geschreven. Latere topauteurs als Saadat Hasan Manto en Ismat Chughtai hebben zich eveneens aan het genre gewaagd; hun zkv's over de religieuze tegenstellingen tussen hindoes en moslims, met name tijdens de Partition, de scheiding tussen India en Pakistan in 1947, zijn ongeëvenaard.

Ondanks deze rijke traditie wordt in recente beschouwingen soms de suggestie gewekt dat laghukatha (*laghu* = kort, variërend van enkele zinnen tot een bladzijde, *katha* = verhaal) pas ontstaan is in de jaren 1970, toen onder het

schrikbewind van Indira Gandhi naar wegen werd gezocht om de welig tierende corruptie, het nepotisme en het monddood maken van politieke tegenstanders aan de kaak te stellen. Het zkv bood uitkomst en vond als een soort protestliteratuur zijn weg op pamfletten, muurkrantjes en posters. Laghukatha maakte een bloeiperiode door, maar is na de periode Indira Gandhi blijven bestaan. Het zkv is overal te vinden, in boeken, bundels, tijdschriften en sinds een jaar of tien uiteraard ook op internet.

Ondanks het feit dat het verschijnsel zkv als zodanig lang niet overal in India bekend is, zelfs niet in kringen van intellectuelen, heeft het genre de laatste tijd aan literair prestige gewonnen. Schrijvers van zkv's hebben inmiddels hun eigen commissies, prijsvragen, conferenties en onderscheidingen.

In Nederland lijkt het zkv ook aan een opmars bezig. Men organiseert voorleesavonden en festivals en in literaire tijdschriften als *De Gids* of *Das Magazin* wordt ruimte vrijgemaakt voor zkv-auteurs. Sinds kort bestaat zelfs een Snijdersprijs voor het genre, in 2012 gewonnen door Jente Posthuma. In de Angelsaksische wereld grijpt het zkv nóg sterker om zich heen. De laatste jaren zijn bij gerenommeerde uitgevers diverse bundels gepubliceerd met namen als hint fiction, flash fiction of sudden fiction. Net als de Constantijn Huygensprijs 2010 voor A.L. Snijders, zal de Man Booker International Prize 2013 voor de Amerikaanse zkv-schrijfster Lydia Davis vermoedelijk een forse stimulans voor deze tak van literatuur betekenen.

Laghukatha bestaat uit dialogen, soms monologen, reportages, verhalen of scènes met een morele, maatschappijkritische ondertoon. Nog steeds wordt corruptie aan de orde gesteld, het kopen van stemmen bij verkiezingen, machtsmisbruik, de hypocrisie en achterbaksheid van de machtigen der aarde; nog steeds spelen ook religieuze tegenstellingen, met name tussen hindoes en moslims, een voorname rol. Een groot deel van de verhalen gaat daarnaast over problematische aspecten van het familieleven, huwelijken en bruiloften, geboorte, dood, emigratie en de diaspora. Auteurs belichten de moderne gezinnen uit de stedelijke middenklasse, waar men worstelt met dienstpersoneel, de opvoeding van kinderen, de problematische verhouding tussen mannen en vrouwen.

Foto Lodewijk Brunt

Je ziet in Indiase zkv's eigenlijk nooit wat zo typerend is voor het Nederlandse zkv: de zieleroerselen en mijmeringen van een schrijver die rapporteert over zijn persoonlijke bestaan. De stukjes van A.L. Snijders zijn hiervan een sprekend voorbeeld: hem lezen is hem leren kennen.

In laghukatha lees je over maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen, sociale verhoudingen, tegenstellingen – de schrijver is waarnemer, onderzoeker, commentator en als zodanig blijft hij anoniem.

Het is ons niet altijd meegevallen om laghukatha-stukjes te vertalen. Hoewel het Hindi niet per se ontoegankelijk is – hoe zou het kunnen met zo'n genre – zijn de beschrijvingen vaak compact; de auteur moet het per definitie van de beknoptheid hebben en van de punchline. Hij (of zij) schrijft voor de goede verstaander, met veel dialoog in spreektaal, in een Hindi dat gemengd is met Urdu en soms met lokale varianten van Hindi die we niet meteen thuis kunnen brengen. Desondanks hebben we vele tientallen verhalen vertaald, het werd bijna een verslaving. We beseften dat de zkv's een bijzonder inzicht bieden in het hedendaagse India: ze tonen de lezer een bittere waarheid die dikwijls verscholen is achter de juichkreten van economische vooruitgang en politieke volwassenheid. Toen onlangs de wereld werd opgeschrikt door enkele gruwelverhalen over verkrachtingen in India, konden we zonder moeite een handvol zkv's tevoorschijn toveren over dat onderwerp. Ook in de bundel *De bittere waarheid – Zeer korte verhalen uit India* – hebben we er voorbeelden van opgenomen. Bij ons vertaalwerk hebben we baat gehad van eerdere ervaringen met het vertalen van moeilijke Hindi-teksten, zoals gedichten en liedjes. **[2,3]**

Zoals uit de bundel blijkt, snijden de auteurs uiteenlopende onderwerpen aan:

arm – rijk; man – vrouw; hindoe – moslim; ouder – kind; sociale hiërarchie; corruptie.

Om de verhalen te ordenen hebben we een ruwe driedeling aangebracht: persoonlijk leven, maatschappelijk leven, moraal en godsdienst. Op het eerste gezicht blijkt al dat zo'n indeling nooit waterdicht kan zijn en dat is soms misschien verwarrend. *Het duistere spel gaat door* betreft de hongerstaking, in de zomer van 2011, van de sociale activist Anna Hazare tegen de grootscheepse corruptie in India.

Het verhaal, uit september 2011, is een typisch voorbeeld van een scherpe reactie op de actualiteit. We hebben het verhaal, vanwege de corruptie, ingedeeld bij 'maatschappelijk leven'. In *Arme buurvrouw* wordt een miskraam beschreven en in dat verband komt de echografie aan de orde: net zo actueel als de kwestie Hazare. Maar dit verhaal hebben we bij 'persoonlijk leven' ondergebracht, hoewel de maatschappelijke consequenties van het doden van meisjes overweldigend zijn.

In *Chonu* gaat het om een klein jongetje dat niet begrijpt wat de achtergrond is van het godsdienstige geweld waarmee hij wordt geconfronteerd. Het is ingedeeld bij 'moraal en godsdienst', waar veel voor te zeggen is – maar het thema heeft natuurlijk ook betrekking op beide andere categorieën. Ons doel was om de lezer zo onbevangen mogelijk te laten kennismaken met de Indiase zkv's en hem niet te overdonderen met academische retoriek. Het staat iedereen vrij zijn eigen indeling te verzinnen.

Het zkv is ondanks de vormbeperking, kort tot zeer kort, een literair genre dat zich in India zonder moeite staande weet te houden naast meer 'Westerse' literaire vormen, zoals romankunst, toneel/film, essayistiek. Het is de zoveelste manifestatie van oude culturele vormen die de tand van de moderne tijd hebben doorstaan en zich met vanzelfsprekendheid hebben aangepast aan nieuwe vragen.

Klik *hier* voor een aantal ZVK's uit de bundel.

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De vertalers zijn dank verschuldigd aan Anne Louwen en Leonore Ooms voor hun kritische commentaar op de vertalingen.

www.indiainstituut.nl

Noten:

1 William Dalrymple – The Last Mughal. The Fall of a Dynasty, Delhi, 1857. New Delhi etc., 2006, (Penguin/Viking): vooral hoofdstukken 1, 2, 3.

2 Lodewijk Brunt en Dick Plukker (vertaling en inleiding) – De bittere waarheid. Zeer korte verhalen uit India. India Instituut ism Rozenberg Publishers, Amsterdam 2013

3 Lodewijk Brunt en Dick Plukker (vertaling en inleiding) – Ik zag de stad. Moderne Hindi-poëzie en Mijn lippen vroegen om een lied. Hindi-film¬liedjes, uitgekomen in Amsterdam bij het India Instituut, respectievelijk 2006 en 2010. Zie ook: Laghukatha: het zkv in de Hindi-literatuur. De Gids, nr. 1 (2012): 53 – 65.

Hindi en het Hindi-zkv op internet

Hiervoor is al gewezen op de populariteit van het Hindi-zkv op internet. Een deel van de verhalen ontlenen wij aan het net; ze zijn niet in boekvorm verschenen.

Een derde van onze auteurs heeft een eigen website of blog. In de diaspora onderhouden expats een band met hun geboorteland door middel van literaire Hindi-websites.

In de lijst hieronder geven wij een aantal voorbeelden.

Nirmal Gupt – *http://www.nirmalgupt.blogspot.com* *

Jagdish Kashyap – *http://jagdishkashyap.wordpress.com* *

Jay Prakash Manas – *http://www.jayprakashmanas.blogspot.nl*

Chitra Mudgal – *http://www.chitramudgal.info*

Shefali Pandey – *http://www.shefalipande.blogspot.nl* *

Yograj Prabhakar – *http://www.openbooksonline.com* *

Rakesh Rohit – *http://www.aadhunikhindisahitya.wordpress.com* *

Asghar Wajahat – *http://www.asgharwajahat.com*

Krishnakumar Yadav – *http://www.kkyadav.blogspot.nl*

http://www.abhivyakti-hindi.org * – verhalen en bibliografische gegevens van tientallen auteurs

Verwijzingen naar andere Hindi-sites:

http://www.bharatdarshan.co.nz – proza, poëzie, beschouwingen (Nieuw-Zeeland)

http://www.hindi-chetna.blogspot.nl – on-line tijdschrift

http://www.gadyakosh.org – zeer uitgebreide literaire website

http://www.laghukatha.com * – zkv's en vooral veel beschouwingen over het genre; verslagen van zkv-conferenties

http://www.pratilipi.in – tweetalig (!) literair on-line tijdschrift (Hindi en Engels)

http://www.prernamagazine.com * – on-line tijdschrift

http://www.rachanakar.org – proza, poëzie, beschouwingen

http://www.sahityakunj.net – proza, poëzie, beschouwingen (Canada)

http://www.srijangatha.com – proza, poëzie, beschouwingen

Alle adressen zijn voor het laatst in september 2013 bezocht. De sites waaraan wij zkv's hebben ontleend, zijn gemarkeerd met een *

http://www.prernamagazine.com * – on-line tijdschrift

http://www.rachanakar.org – proza, poëzie, beschouwingen

http://www.sahityakunj.net – proza, poëzie, beschouwingen (Canada)

http://www.srijangatha.com – proza, poëzie, beschouwingen