

THE ART OF REPRODUCTIVE LABOR

MAUD BERDEN - MEiA 2020-2021

Maintenance is a drag; it takes all the fucking time. The mind boggles and chafes at the boredom. The culture confers lousy status on maintenance jobs = minimum wages, housewives = no pay. (Ukeles, 1969)

This research was conducted while, cleaning my house, making breakfast, lunch and dinner for myself and others, washing the dishes, washing my clothes, folding my laundry, vacuuming the floor, mopping, watering my plants, doing my groceries, cleaning my desk, drinking coffee, throwing away the garbage, changing my sheets, taking a shower, doing my make-up, correcting typos, meeting with my supervisors, keeping the customers happy at work, paying my bills, taking up a second study, loving my boyfriend, being loved by my family and being supported by amazing friends.

The Art of Reproductive Labor is a research on the revaluation of reproductive labor with MBO level 1 care and service interns using an artistic approach. Submitted to Piet Zwart Institute in Rotterdam (The Netherlands) for the final examination for the Master Education in Arts.

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INTRODUCTION

Subject: Internship / volunteer work
Maud Berden <maudberden@gmail.com>
Attachments: CV Maud Berden 2019.pdf

Rotterdam, Oct 31, 2019, 2:44 PM
to Z. D. Cochia

Dear Zoë D. Cochia,

I am sending you this email because I would like to start a learning process with you.

My name is Maud Berden, I am 26 years old and I live in Rotterdam West. I would like to learn from you and Niffo Gallery about running a gallery with a social and educational function.

I hope to start a conversation with you to see if I can do something for you. I am currently in a gap year of my Master in Art Education at the Piet Zwart, before that, I obtained my diploma at the art academy where my focus was on lifestyle and cultural diversity.

I would like to hear if you are interested in a chat to get to know each other.

Sincerely,

Maud Berden

After this brief correspondence and a first get together we agreed that I would start volunteering at Niffo Gallery beginning of January 2020. During the first Covid-19 pandemic lockdown, Zoë and I took the time to clean and re-organize the gallery and project space. What can we recycle? What can be sold? And what becomes trash? Organizing left-over material, cleaning the front window, dusting out the bookshelf, rubbing the toilet and kitchen and vacuuming the floor. I took the vacuum cleaner and started randomly vacuuming the floor, until Zoë stopped me.

“I don’t want to be silly” she said with a smile, “but if you were one of the interning MBO level 1 care and service students you would fail the test”.

“The test?” I asked.

“Yes, cleaning is a part of the examination of the MBO level 1 care and service students interning at Niffo”.

“Can you explain me how it is done correctly?”

“You start in the front and work from left to right all the way to the back”

The MBO level 1 care and service interns at Niffo Gallery are not solely there to hone their entrepreneurial skills. Zoë explained to me that every day starts with cleaning, because if you’re a small business owner, cleaning is part of the everyday. The students also learn other skills here. From arriving on time to preparing lunch, from presenting to writing, to tidying up your things when you are done working or just helping someone with grocery shopping. For this reason, she categorizes it as “art with a broom”.

After this experience, I started thinking of my own role, as volunteer, working together with these interning MBO level 1 care and service students whom enter this space with a completely different approach. Having to admit that in this case, the issue of volunteering, is a slippery one. A crucial differentiation needs to be made between my choice of career volunteering. My motivation to undertake this voluntary internship/ volunteering is first and foremost to advance my career, and the volunteering which is without career intention and primarily time freely donated to a cause with which one identifies (Precarious Workers Brigade, 2018). Having made this distinction does not mean that overtime my motivation to volunteer at Niffo Gallery slowly changed to a cause with which I identified.

Before I started my volunteering at Niffo Gallery, I also volunteered at a bigger art institute. In November 2019, I just started my study-break at MEiA. I decided to take a break to gain more practical experiences and what better way to do so than volunteering. Eventually, I mainly worked in the Activist Kitchen, set behind the reception desk and refilled drinks

and snacks for the artist in residency. I remember telling my friends, that I was so excited about working with my hands again, getting dirty in the kitchen doing the dishes, serving food to workshop participants while being in an artistic surrounding felt satisfying. However, my enthusiasm changed, reflecting on these moments, I now realize that I felt undervalued and invisible. Coming in and having no decent spot to put my bag and coat. No clear introduction of the day but being put to work immediately. And even though the kitchen staff were lovely people, and there always was food available, the work put into it felt invisible. Because the staff and participants of workshops would come to the table, have their lunch and leave. (Some were so friendly to bring their dishes to the dishwasher for me to clean it.) After my work was done, I was only sometimes be able to find the head of volunteers in her office to say goodbye, thank her for the day and other times I would leave in silence. I think it eventually lasted 5 days, after which my mailbox continued to fill up with available shift, but I declined every shift with excuses, to eventually end my volunteering contract in silence.

Conversation with intern Nasteha:

Maud: "What would you prefer as your future career?"

Nasteha: "I would like to be doctor, because my grandfather in Eritrea was also a doctor."

Maud: "That is a great goal and beautiful profession. Why would you like to become a doctor?"

Nasteha: "To help others, to make people better."

Maud: "How do you think this internship at Niffo is helping you to become a doctor?"

Nasteha: "It is not, nothing I do here fits with the task of a doctor."

Maud: "Whom is then making sure the doctors workspace stays clean?"

Nasteha: "The assistant."

Maud: "And how does welcoming guest than relate to the profession of a doctor?"

Nasteha: "Ow well yes, a doctor always needs to be friendly to its patients, especially children. "

These conversations and experiences, sparked my interest in the value given to tasks like cleaning, grocery shopping and welcoming visitors with a cup of tea, in the arts, care and service sector and everyday life.

It made me wonder how an artistic context, such as Niffo gallery, can help to think critically about and revalue this labor?

After volunteering for 9 months, I started my BA visual arts and design teacher training, which changed my position of career volunteer to interning gallery educator. For two months I was able to actively work as an intern together with five interns from Albeda College MBO level 1 care and service students at Niffo Gallery. We have to recognize the work of the mostly anonymous and female gallery educators. The continuing negation of gallery education, as a specific form of curation, is very similar to the negation of women's reproductive labor. While gallery education is usually paid, contracts have often been precarious and, essentially, it is associated with women and children. (Horne, Spencer, Richards & Lloyd, 2016). As seen, or actually invisible, in most cases, reproductive labor in galleries tends to be hidden in the world of professional practice.

In this research I will take several roles, the one of researcher, volunteer, intern, gallery educator, teacher (in training), interviewer, sister, friend, cleaner and artist. These roles are all forms of work, but are often not articulated. Following the work of Silvia Federici and the strategies of the *Wages for Housework Campaign*, the act of exposing the culturally hidden aspects of our role is important in order to get a better understanding of the underlying exploitative structures of our working environment. The creative sector is vulnerable for exploitation which add to the poor economic situation which leads to a lack of resources and reliance on free labor by interns and volunteers.

In November 2020, Niffo Gallery suffered a huge blow, due to the second Covid-19 pandemic lockdown. In addition Zoë's personal circumstances deteriorated. Unfortunately the gallery had to close its doors and remained closed during the further conduction of this research. This affected our community, since we no longer had a space for equal learning opportunities, accompanied with a great mentor and our roles as interns in an independent artist-run project space. This influenced the further steps taken in conducting this research.

As a volunteer, I have learned the importance of preparing lunch, doing groceries and cleaning etc. By taking it on myself to execute these so called ordinary tasks, I started to grasp the necessity of taking care. Without someone taking care of these tasks, structure and stability would be compromised. These tasks are commonly underestimated by many, hence my choice to make it a priority and part of the artistic practice in the gallery context.

So how do we find artistic ways to critically and practically disrupt the working conditions that we inherit and perpetuate? In this thesis the word

'artistic' can be defined as a non-conventional / instrumental perspective on social and political issues. Not only can the assignments be seen as instruments for students to understand the subject at hand better. The assignments themselves can be seen as an artform and so the products that followed from the assignments can be seen as art as well. (Heijnen & Bremmer, 2020, p.12).

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic circumstances, my initial research concept could not be put in to practice. However, this didn't stop me from using the artistic context as a framework. Instead, to make this work, the participants are still from the MBO level 1 care and service training, just not the same interns at Niffo Gallery. This caused the demographics of the interns and by that also the workplaces to change, this makes the art context less prominent in the further reading.

Nonetheless, I still wondered how MBO level 1 care and service interns perceive, and value tasks like cleaning etc. Another question that was raised, is, what does it mean for them to be trained and assessed in everyday, invisible and undervalued labor?

This is why I anticipate for this research to develop a more serious discussion about the kind of work and learning situations that are offered. I want to address the disconnections between the practice of reproductive labor, critical thinking, about the effect of unrecognized work / worker, and the social / professional development of these students.

First I want to get a good understanding of the experiences by MBO level 1 care and service students / interns. Second, after analyzing and processing this data, I will propose student centered methods, designed to support change via a broad collection of tips, tools, workshops and exercises that draw upon alternative pedagogies and critical thinking.

REPRODUCTIVE LABOR

Without cleaners, our hospitals, schools, stations, libraries and cinemas would be a total mess in no time. Yet cleaners are at the bottom of the labor market, not only in terms of salary, but especially in terms of appreciation. Cleaning is an accessible profession, but also one with few opportunities for growth. According to the Central Bureau for Statistics [1], 75 percent of all cleaners are women. A quarter of the Dutch cleaners work in the care sector, with more than half low-educated which means they solely have a MBO level 1 diploma. Add to this that 1 in 5 cleaners has a non-Western migration background, sometimes not fluent in the Dutch language and unfamiliar with their rights. They, more than anyone else, experience the psychological effects of the flexibilization of the labor market, described by Sennet as “the corrosion of character”: The system (..) radiates indifference (..) through reengineering of institutions in which people are treated disposable. Such practices obviously and brutally diminish the sense of mattering as a person, of being necessary to others. (..) Under these conditions, character corrodes: the question “Who needs me?” has no immediate answer (Sennet, 1998, pp.146-147). Reproductive work is thus paradoxically valued; on the one hand a crucial profession for the social world, on the other hand completely subordinated.

The issue of ‘visibility’ became a recurrent theme in Dutch cleaner campaigns. Cleaners have become a forerunner in the renewal of trade union activism, making it relevant for labor relations in the twenty-first century. The campaigns have become a sort of social glue that binds together the most diverse ethnicities in circumstances of extreme fragmentation. The motto of the anti-globalist movement “let our resistance be as transnational as capital”, has, for the cleaners’ campaigns, turned into an everyday practice (Oudenampsen, 2009).

One of the initiatives of a new way of organizing the Union was to invite artists, designers and illustrators to work with the cleaners. Through these exchanges with artist and the different unions of cleaners they were able to play a central role in their campaigns, by producing their own images and slogans. A clenched fist wearing a yellow cleaning glove, (De Bruijne & Vallejos, 2018, p.86)(FIG. 1) the clenched fist remains a revolutionary sign for labor movements, internationally. Feminist Sara Ahmed speaks about the arm as a revolutionary limb; a promise of what is to come, of how history is still, but not yet done. Arms reminds us too that labor, who works for whom, is a feminist issue (Ahmed, 2017, p.85).

In my view, these developments have a broader meaning than just the successes of FNV Bondgenoten in mobilizing cleaners in strikes and other

actions to improve working conditions. At stake is the ability of low-paid, precarious workers to stand up for their collective rights in an increasingly individualized, flexible and unfavorable working market (Oudenampsen, 2009). The previously invisible cleaner had become visible. Having presented themselves as a self-aware working class able to improve their working conditions.



FIG 1. De Bruijne, M. (2014). Demonstration Union of Cleaners, Brussels, 2014 [Foto]. Bakonline.

How are these local labor markets and trade union actions related to the transnational connections apparent in the rise of multinational cleaning companies and the immigrant workforce? How is the local Dutch context connected to the 'global'?

The debate on precarious labor, and its origins in the restructuring of labor markets since the 1980s, has been going on for some time. The cleaning industry is an example of these developments. Social scientists have been studying professional cleaning precisely because it is paradigmatic for the whole low-skilled service sector in many respects (Mayer-Ahuja, 2004, p.116). Just as recognizing housework is paradigmatic for the reproduction of the national workforce, and the most insidious character as femininity.

In the 1970's feminist Marxist thinkers and activist like Mariarosa Dalla Costa, Selma James and Silvia Federici introduced the term 'reproductive labor' to describe the unpaid domestic labor typically carried out by women

in private homes. In the North American -and European *Wages for Housework Campaign*, a grassroots women's network campaigning for recognition and payment for all caring work, in the home and outside, they criticized traditional Marxist concepts for ignoring the significance of domestic labor, and therefore papering over a gendered division of the working class between those who get paid for their work and those who do not (Wieggers, 2016, p.156). We need to recognize that the dramatic increase of the female labor force in the 1970's reflects women's refusal to function as unwaged workers in the home, and the catering to the reproduction of the national workforce. Or as feminist and theorist Federici advocates in her seminal piece *Wages Against Housework*: "To say that we want money for housework is the first step towards refusing to do it, because the demand for a wage makes our work visible, which is the most indispensable condition to begin to struggle against it, both in its immediate aspect as housework and in the most insidious character as femininity"(Federici, 2012, p.19).

The women's refusal to function as unwaged workers, sparked racial- ethnic discussion focused on housework. This is clearly visualized by Sara Ahmed in her book *Living a Feminist life* (2017). She is talking about the arms and how they remind us, that who works for whom is a feminist issue. Writing about how black women and woman of color; working-class woman; migrant woman; women who have worked in the factories, in the fields, at home; woman who care for their own children as well as other children; such woman have become the arms for other woman whose time and energy has been freed. Concluding that a feminist army of arms that gives life and vitality to some women's arms by taking life and vitality from other women's arms is reproducing inequality and injustice (Ahmed, 2017, p.86).

By 1990, the rise of what professor Evelyn Seiko Nakano Glenn calls "institutional service work" has dramatically expanded the numbers of workers performing the cleaning and maintenance tasks of reproductive labor in institutional settings. Nakano Glenn also argues that as reproductive tasks have been increasingly removed from the household and performed within publicly organized institutions, black woman and woman of color have continued to perform the 'back-room' work (for example, hospital cafeteria workers), while white woman maintain more public and supervisory roles (nurses, for example) (Nakano Glenn, 1992 p.20). The article *Doing the Dirty Work* (2007) by Mignon Duffy, highlights the challenges to understand occupational segregation and the devaluation of reproductive labor in a way that analyzes gender and race-ethnicity in an intersectional way. She writes that because more workers perform the tasks of reproductive labor outside of the private home, more and more of those workers are men. However, the gender shifts cannot be understood without

simultaneously analyzing the racial-ethnic makeup of the men who are doing the work of institutional reproductive labor. While white women are much more likely to be associated with the private forms of reproductive labor, black woman and woman of color are significantly overrepresented in both the private household and institutional incarnations of cooking and cleaning work. And although men are barely represented among private household workers, black men and men of color are disproportionately concentrated in institutional cleaning and food preparation and service occupations, while white men are underrepresented across the board (Duffy, 2007 p. 323).

The participants in this research were five persons. From these five persons, one white man with a east-European migration background, one white Dutch female and three were colored, of which one male.

Reproduction appears in art as an index of liberation movements in the 1970's, especially within feminism. For example, Martha Rosler, a video artist who addressed female labor, Graciela Carnevale's involvement in *Tucuman Arde* (1968), *Woman and Work: A document on the Division of Labor in Industry* (Margaret Harrison, Kay Hunt, Mary Kelly, 1975) and Berwick Street Film Collective's *Nightcleaners* (1975). The documentary made by the Berwick Street Collective, leads us into the sleepless lives of woman, roaming through empty office spaces in the twilight hours. Framed through



FIG 2. Berwick Street Film. (1975). Collective's Nightcleaners [Foto]

a window, the women at work are dusting, scrubbing and vacuuming silently, it is almost impossible to tell the time of day anymore; one might even consider if these women are even there at all, since their labor has been rendered invisible, hence dismissible. The materiality of filming and the materiality of lives being night cleaners are made legible, most apparently in an extensive sequence of watching a toilet being cleaned in real time. The magic of it all, is that we have started to witness the dawning awareness that a life as given is not the only available option, and the care and solidarity among these woman sow the seed for collective action.

Artist Merle Landers Ukeles cleaned the museum for eight hours straight, outside and inside, and considered her work as art. (FIG. 3/4) She wrote a *Manifesto for Maintenance Art 1969! Proposal for an Exhibition "Care" (1969)*, declaring that: "I am an artist. I am a woman. I am a wife. I am a mother (random order). I do a hell of a lot of washing, cleaning, cooking, renewing, supporting, preserving, etc. Also, I "do" Art. Now, I will simply do these maintenance everyday things, and flush them up to consciousness, exhibit them, as Art... My working will be the work."

Ukeles sullied the sovereignty of the art institution with the banality of maintenance. At the same time, she sullied the autonomy of art with the heteronomy of domestic labor. Her gesture exemplified the political valence of revalorizing reproduction as art: challenging the radicality of contemporary art by forcing it to look at its own conditions.

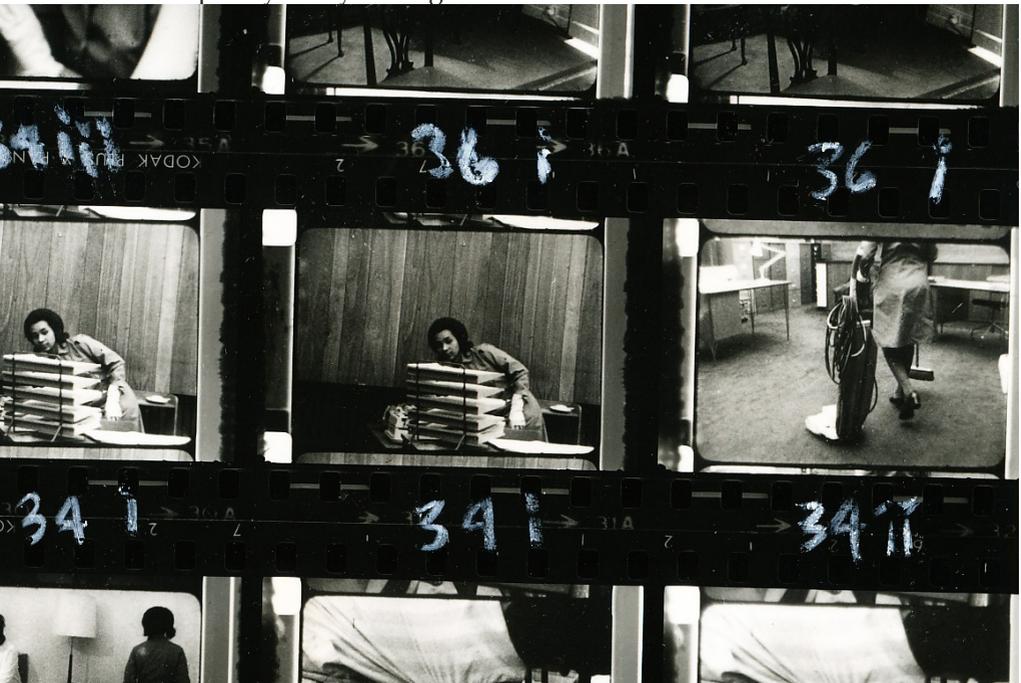




FIG 3. Ukeles, M. L. (1973). Washing / Tracks / Maintenance, Outside [Foto]. Performed on July 20 -22 1973. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art.



FIG 4. Ukeles, M. L. (1973). Washing / Tracks / Maintenance, Inside [Foto]. Performed on July 20 -22 1973. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art.

The interest in Ukele's work circles back to the discovery of Dutch artist Job Koelewijn's and Romanian, Dutch based artist Alina Lupu's work whom re-enacted Koelewijn's *Cleaning the Rietveld Pavilion* (1992- 2018) (FIG. 4). Koelewijn invited 4 women, his mother and three aunts, to clean the schools pavilion, wearing traditional Spakenburg costumes. Lupu engaged with an online platform to recruit cleaner-performers (FIG. 5), she concludes, "As work becomes an increasingly autonomous task, platform mediated, similar in that sense to the apparent autonomy of artist, it also tends to become invisible yet again, engendering division and bringing about an impossibility of understanding its mechanisms when one looks at it from the outside." (Lupu, 2018). All three artists have inspired in continuous line of feminist and socially engaged art, and discussions arose from cleaning as an exemplifier of care labor and the socio-economic and technological frameworks that mediate it.



FIG 4. Koelewijn, J. (1992). *The cleaning of the Rietveld pavilion* [FotoBook]. Printed by Steendrukkerij de Jong & Co in an edition of 500 copies. The pictures were made by Erik van den Boom.



FIG 5. Lupu, A. (2018). *The Recleaning of The Rietveld Pavilion* [FotoBook]. Printed by Printgarden Digitaaldruck Bv.



FIG 6. Casco Team & Annette Krauss, Site for Unlearning. (2014). *Cleaning Together*, weekly exercise, performance, and photo documentation. Photograph by Annette Krauss.

Inspired by the unlearning exercise *Cleaning Together* by 'Casco Art Institute: Working for the commons' (FIG. 6), I tried out a cleaning exercise with two of my fellow teachers in training, artist and cultural workers Isa and Judith. I suggested to clean Isa her studio collectively, while listening to an audio-fragment that I recorded (FIG. 7). The fragment, consisting of four scenes, was compiled of the following sources:

Scene 1 Today: Lupu Alina. (2019)

Scene 2 The Cleaner - <https://ditzijnonzehelden.nl/nl/>

Scene 3 The Artist - <https://ditzijnonzehelden.nl/nl/>

Scene 4 Maintenance: Ukeles, M. L. (1969).

My goal was to connect a cleaning exercise to a mind exercise as a practice. Confronting hierarchies and unequal division in an attempt to shift perspectives and to look critically at our (professional) environment.

"We now all clean together at the same time every Monday in a 'minor' effort to resist the capitalist conditioning that separates production from reproduction and devalues the latter, thus also discarding the bodies of color that often take up this work, in order to sustain it mechanisms of influence and oppression." (Choi & Van der Heide, 2018, p.149)

Reflection

Maud: "Why do you think I asked you to clean?"

Judith: "Well, for me personally, I think working in the cultural sector, let's call myself an artist, I can relate to the text in the audio clip. In the audio I hear, that what is valid for me as an artist; so basically, you are doing an action that you have to do a lot but that action also means something."

Isa: "Yes, that this could help to look at that action (cleaning) with different set of eyes (or different frame?). Which for me, if I think why did I do this or what did it give me or why is it relevant, then I think you can see cleaning as something that is undervalued, something that you don't really want to do, or something that wouldn't really be a job or really work."

Judith: "Something you do in-between."

Isa: "Yes, something you do in-between, but you don't have to look at it that way. That, as an artist you don't easily think of cleaning as a job, while it is. Also, if you look at how few artists really find a job after graduation and then also with how little artists earn that there are also similarities in how people look at a cleaner, they don't earn well, or that's not a good job. But if you look at what artists earn and how bad things are for the cultural sector financially, it's actually worse, while there's much less shame in that. I think if artists are cleaners as a side job, they can be quite ashamed of that."

Judith: "Well, I said earlier, that if I were to clean somewhere I wouldn't like being looked at, whereas as an artist I would like that."

Isa: "Then you don't even think about it."

Judith: "I think being much more open about where you put your time into. Whether you call that maintenance work, or just what you have to do to be able to do your work, at all, to be open about that. To be able to do this work - I do this and this too."

Isa: "Yes I thought it was very funny because when I was polishing like that and listening to the audio fragment I very much had the idea that I was doing a performance and I actually liked that very much. And in my head I also linked it to mindfulness and putting love into everything that you do, whether that's sewing something, cutting something or finishing something, that you can then put just as much love into cleaning up your workspace and cleaning the floor. Why can't that be part of your practice."

But on the other hand, I wonder if it isn't excessively to see a cleaning task as a performance as an artist. If I clean as an artist, then it is a performance."

Judith: "And when a cleaner cleans."

Isa: "Yes, then it's just their job. That's an elitist thing to say."



FIG 9. Screenshot Video Documentation (2020) Active Cleaning / Listening.

Care and its politics have also been a subject of concern to the art world, made all the more urgent by the global pandemic. But is it a real concern that can lead to changes in the way we operate in our institutions and working relationships, or is it merely on surface level? In proposing an artistic politic of reproduction, we should be careful to underline the ambivalence of maintenance insofar as its critical articulation within the institution of art. This can be seen as a ratification of the institution as the only site where capitalism's inequities can be alienated, staged, and then forgotten about again. Insofar as the need of the institution to be 'maintained' is not negotiable. This can lead to outsourcing; gender, racialized, migration-related invisibility of workers; or degraded working conditions as they stand in a determined non-relation to art-world academicism, ideal 'radicality' or criticality, without relation to its conditions of reproduction (Stakemeier & Vishmidt, 2016, p.77).

An artwork may contain socially necessary abstract labor, starting with the space that must always be maintained. Reproductive work is part of the 'everyday' and it will never disappear and therefore it must be revalued and not be disguised, it is important that it exists and the act of exposing these culturally hidden aspects of our labor is important to how we can better understand the underlying structures of our work.

Addressing the unrecognized reproductive work found in practical organizational matters, such as who purchases the toilet paper (Casco, 2018)? It is not only about addressing the unrecognized work but also about addressing the unrecognized worker. How is it that contemporary art institutions are keen and comfortable to talk about care when they have been so care-less in terms of their fundamental engagement with inequalities in labor and recognition in their own environments? In the first months of the pandemic, the most precarious workers at art institutions were fired or put on furlough. Decisions about the distribution of emergency funds and the way labor is valorized, made by boards and managing directors, have not reflected the politics and ethics of care (Fokianaki, 2020). We need to recognize the way art institutions make reproductive labor disposable, and with that effect the mattering and appreciation of the workers as human beings. Whether they are platform mediated, flex contract workers through an employment agency, specially trained museum cleaners, volunteers, interns or regular employees. Their work should be seen as important. How their work can challenge art institutions to look their own conditions, is the valence of revalorizing reproduction as art.

While reproductive labor is often symbolized by cleaning, it is not about cleaning alone. In the case of art institutions reproductive labor also includes, for instance; maintaining the work space, archives, and library, personally welcoming visitors with a cup of tea, taking care of oneself when sick or feeling down, and collective care. For art workers, collective care has become an increasingly important paradigm for transforming our working and living conditions. As we take up this work, it is important that we treat activist and workers from other professional fields as equal partners or better yet, as primary guides, in our effort to change art institutions, to stand up for their collective rights. Because as the feminist movement reminds us, the separation between artistic critique and social critique is furthermore based on a problematic understanding of autonomy as a practice that is already infused and grounded in reproduction and maintenance, yet structurally "invisibilized" to keep its relationship to capital (Choi & Krauss, 2018, p.165).

The creatives sectors relation with capitalism, and the poor economic situation, often leads to a lack of resources. This also means a reliance on free labor by interns and volunteers. Admittedly every sector relies in some sort of form on interns and volunteers. Building on the expectation that some kind of unpaid labor will be mandatory, in order to get onto the 'career ladder', is still a part of the popular narrative or even reality. Even for those rejecting unpaid labor by principle, there are a few alternatives available. I would like to highlight the cultural sector, because while past institutional critiques have been focused on making inequalities visible, now collective care is becoming an increasingly important paradigm. Showing that it is time to actually change our institutions, and demanding the redistribution of care. While we are focusing on demanding this redistribution of care, we should also look at the values given to this profession and whom is actually performing it.

This is why I believe the cultural sector should stand in solidarity with the low-paid and precarious workers. The previously invisible cleaners are now presenting themselves as a self-aware working class, able to improve their working conditions on a bigger scale. I believe these cleaners and their campaigns should be seen as an inspiration for MBO level 1 care and service students.

This research is focused on self-worth and being conscious about your work environment, in this case for MBO level 1 interns. Values like these were also of great importance when you look at historical key events, for instance when the emancipation of cleaners and the whole low-skilled service sector took a great turn. Educating students on these subjects, on an individual and a collective level, could motivate them to stand up for their rights.

TEACHING AND LEARNING PHILOSOPHIES AND STRATEGIES

CRITICAL THINKING AND REFLECTING

In April 2015, the Minister of Education, Culture and Science announced in a letter to the House of Representatives that the requirements in the WEB Examination and Qualification Decree were being tightened up. This concerns critical thinking skills and the ability to conduct a dialogue on complex themes such as radicalization, racism, discrimination, democratic values, freedom of expression and religion. The reason for the tightening is the concern about the increasing polarization in society that is also entering the schools. The changing labor market also requires different qualities than before, such as critical and independently thinking employees.

The MBO level 1 career and citizenship qualification component prepares participants to shape their own careers and to participate in society. In that context, it is important that participants develop critical thinking skills. Critical thinking skills are understood to mean [2] :

- Know how to value information (sources); being able to distinguish between arguments, assertions, facts and assumptions;
- Take the perspective of others;
- To be able to think about how their own views, decisions and actions come about.

Central to my research is the question of how critical thinking can be conceptualized from the perspective of (critical) democratic citizenship education and what the didactic consequences of that are. I therefore agree with the critical pedagogues in the article, *The social nature of critical thinking: didactic guidelines*, by Ten Dam and Volman, that critical thinking is too focused on internal consistency and has too little regard for the political nature of arguments and reasoning (Giroux, 1994). The way social relations are structured and knowledge is legitimized, should be in essential part of critical thinking (Kaplan, 1991). I also subscribe to the criticism that the norms of critical thinking, and the concepts of rationality that underlie them, are culturally determined (Burbules & Berk, 1999). Democratic citizenship requires not only critical and political thinking skills, but also caring attitudes, empathy, and commitment. Preparing students for this requires instructional designs that do not focus exclusively on practicing reasoning tricks, nor on the cognitive activity of analyzing power structures, but that contribute to students' ability and willingness to participate meaningfully and critically independently in concrete realistic social activities.

In such a 'curriculum for critical thinking', a care ethic should also play a serious role (Noddings, 1992).

In social constructivist theories of education, learning is seen essentially as increasingly competent participation in communities of practice. From a participatory approach, to begin with, the educational goal should not be formulated in terms of exclusively critical thinking, but rather in terms of acquiring the competence to participate critically in the communities and social practices of which a person is a part. This competence includes knowledge and skills and the willingness to use them (act). If learning is to be meaningful to an individual and thus contribute to identity development (Wardekker, 1998), it is important that the learning process makes connections that measure the current and future situation in which the learner can and will apply the knowledge and skills they have acquired (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

SOCIALLY JUST

If racism "is a belief in the inherent superiority of one race [or ethnicity] over all others and thereby its right to dominance," then anti-racism is a belief in the equality of all people (Lorde, 1983, p.9).

In my opinion socially just teaching, is the aim to create a space that affirms the dignity of all people. I am committed to educate myself and others about the privileges and oppression that people are subjected to, based upon their age, class, cognitive and physical abilities, gender expression, nationality, race, religion, and sexuality, among others.

To illustrate my perspective on socially just teaching, I would like to quote Audre Lorde (1934-1992), self-described "Black, lesbian, mother, warrior, poet". She reflects on the truth with a fierce love for justice, when it comes down to vulnerability in collective dedication.

"I have come to believe over and over again that what is most important to me must be spoken, made verbal and shared, even at the risk of having it bruised or misunderstood..." And of course, I am afraid, because the transformation of silence into language and action is an act of self-revelation, and that always seems fraught with danger. But my daughter, when I told her of our topic and my difficulty with it, said, "Tell them about how you're never really a whole person if you remain silent, because there's always that one little piece inside you that wants to be spoken out, and if you keep ignoring it, it gets madder and madder and hotter and hotter, and if you don't speak it out one day it will just up and punch you in the mouth from the inside (Lorde 2007 pp.40-42)."

Being aware that this research is asking and facilitating these students to transform their silence into language and action. I acknowledge the courage needed to move from silence into action, that a lot of fear, anxiety and distrust can arise, as the students share their urgent concerns with unfamiliar faces, in this case me as a researcher. I'm aware that this feeling of distrust can also arise since I'm a white, middle-class, educated woman. I believe that if we can accept, and remember regularly, that there are good reasons to distrust white educators, including myself, it helps us to see where racism still animates our classroom. Disregarding this feeling will lead towards a distorted perception of the collective dedication.

I would like to quote bell hooks, a feminist theorist, writer, public intellectual and cultural critic. hooks reminds me of the difficulty of transforming your old ideas and habits. The road is bumpy and traitorous when navigating the terrain of distrust and moving from silence to action. They say "ignorance is bliss", and it couldn't be more true when it comes to learning about equality. As soon as you become aware of injustice, you will see it surrounding us all. Being more conscious of your surroundings can cause discomfort. That is why practicing compassion is necessary in these new learning settings.

"Students taught me, too, that it is necessary to practice compassion in these new learning settings. I have not forgotten the day a student came to class and told me: "We take your class. We learn to look at the world from a critical standpoint, one that considers race, sex, and class. And we can't enjoy life anymore." Looking out over the class, across race, sexual preference, and ethnicity, I saw students nodding their heads. And I saw for the first time that there can be, and usually is, some degree of pain involved in giving up old ways of thinking and knowing and learning new approaches. I respect that pain. And I include recognition of it now when I teach, that is to say, I teach about shifting paradigms and talk about the discomfort it can cause (hooks, 1994 pp.42-43)."

bell hooks remind us that a new setting is needed in order to decrease discomfort whilst looking at the world from a critical standpoint. We used to serve the essence of our critical point of view raw to our students which makes the relation between hierarchies, unequal division, the undervaluing and invisibility in reproductive labor, hard to digest. In my opinion we could formulate better. Decrease discomfort, by practicing compassion. Taking an artistic approach by doing assignments, exercises, workshops and following worksheets, that are seemingly simple, however in my believe have the ability to help students come to a critical standpoint.

CO - CREATED

The concept of co-creation originally got my attention during my study at The Willem de Kooning Academy, graduating in 2018 as a social designer. With my designs, I search for new connections between art and society in which co-creation always stands central. When using co-creation as a teaching strategy, I want to acknowledge that everyone is capable of being a teacher and a learner, this is why, when using co-creation as a teaching method, it should also always be student centered. When we say student-centered teaching, we mean that we see ourselves as facilitators supporting collective and self-discovery through developmentally appropriate prompts (Jahoda & Woolard, 2020 p.123).

Being an art-teacher in training, I believe it is important to balance your authority as teacher, creating a learning space where the group activity shapes the learning environment. To give a sense of a co-created teaching strategy, I would like to quote the North American philosopher John Dewey (1859-1952). Dewey's work sought to emphasize dialogical methods of learning being experimental and embodied. The following two claims in his 1934 essay *Art as Experience* resonate with me, first, art has to become integrated into everyday life. It must be accessible to all, meaning it must leave elite museums and private galleries. And secondly, that the traditions in Western philosophy separating mind and body led to descriptions of an aesthetic experience as spectatorial and contemplative, rather than active, productive, and experiential (Dewey,1934).

METHODOLOGY

During my time active at Niffo, I took part in conversations around the role of MBO level 1 care and service students in an independent artist-run project space with a social and educational function, but also analyzed our own working conditions. How can I challenge them and myself to think critically while we were cleaning, sweeping, grocery shopping etc.? This is why the nature of my research is in participatory action. Building on Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, participatory action research works through cycles of reflection, analysis and action to support those most affected by an issue in producing an analysis of its dimensions with the aim of acting upon it. Other defining characteristics of participatory action research are the dimension of co-creation and social justice.

In the introduction I mentioned that the closing of Niffo Gallery influenced the further steps taken in conducting my research. Under these new circumstances, I started using interviewing as my main method based on the following characteristics of interviewing research by Irving Seidman (1937): Being interested in others is the key to some of the basic assumptions underlying interviewing technique. It is a powerful way to gain insight into educational and other important social issues through understanding the experience of the individuals whose lives reflect those issues. As a method of inquiry, interviewing is most consistent with people's ability to make meaning through language. It affirms the importance of the individual without denigrating the possibility of community and collaboration. I'm aware of the limitations of interviewing as method compared to dialogical methods of learning and that my good intentions of being interested in these students also can come across as being a spectator of their lived experiences as a form of authority. This is why I prepared a list of questions but only used it as a mnemonic, asked open ended-questions and follow-up questions using the ladder technique, to give myself some structure as an unexperienced interviewer but keep the interview as close to a dialogue as possible. The questions dealt with themes of work, division of labor, socialization, fair opportunities and appreciation.

It eventually took me until February 2021 to make contact with some students of Albeda MBO level 1 service and care students via mentor Jamal Zaroual. He kindly scheduled time during his classes for me to meet some of his students, and have the opportunity to interview them about their internship experience's. I'm aware that this means that as an outsider I'm stepping into an environment that is already structured and shaped. Andrea Cornwall reminds me that these spaces for participation are not neutral, but are themselves shaped by power relations, which both surround and enter

them (Cornwall, 2002). This also meant that my relation to these students was one of power, despite that five students showed interest in talking with me about their interning experiences, I am aware that the result of these conversations and by that this research are influenced by the space that we were in. It is important to note that none of these students were interning in the cultural sector.

Another conversation partner in this research is Cultural Workers Unite, they are a grassroots collective of cultural workers focusing on the Rotterdam cultural sector. They consider everyone working with, or in a cultural institution or project space, a cultural worker. These conversations are action orientated, having characteristic of militant research, that it is a place where activism and academia meet (Bookchin, 2013). It foregrounds a production of knowledge that is bottom-up, instigated and conducted by those affected and struggling for transformation.

Due to the Corona limitations, of not being able accessing the Piet Zwart Institute, these conversations took place at my kitchen table while eating lasagna, and drinking wine. Silvia Federici springs to mind here: “Through my experience at home (...) I also discovered what I now call the ‘double character’ of reproductive work, as work that reproduces us and valorizes us not only in view of our integration in the labor market but also against it (Federici, 2012, p.2).” She argues that the space of the home and the work performed there has a double character—simultaneous to the invisibility of labor and power relations, it offers a space potentiality where other relationships and modes of communication can be formed.

Methods used in these action orientated conversations include:

1. *Collective analysis*
a shared and collaborative process by which meaning is given to the interview data.
2. *Critically selecting*
tools for changing practices in revaluing reproductive labor both in the arts, care sector, service sector and everyday life.

In this process of critically selecting, we tried to define the process from the collective analysis towards the toolkit, in order to instrumentalize the data. One of the guidelines in my personal beliefs are based on the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the data found in the interviews. This way I was able to select assignments that are seemingly simple, however in my believe have the ability to help students understand and overcome issues such as; differences in hierarchy, personal and professional empowerment, care, the body and the visibility of reproductive labor. This raises the question if arts assignments themselves could be seen as art? In the 1960's this idea

changed radically when artist belonging to the international Fluxus group began to produce written and painted instructions as works of art (Heijnen & Bremmer, 2020).

Artist Yoko Ono Imagined 'a Bronxville housewife saying to her guests "do adda circle to my painting before you have drink". To be found in the book *Grapefruit A book of Instructions and Drawings* by Yoko Ono (first published in 1964)(FIG. 10).

When we look at it from the perspective of education you can see that these assignments are usually localized in the grey area between the explicit and the hidden curriculum. These valuable pieces of curriculum embody both the formal demands of curricula and the norms, values and belief systems of today's art educators (Heijnen & Bremmer, 2020, p.7). Recent publications like *Wicked Art Assignments* (2020) offer an artistic and educational perspective on assignments and reveals how instructions, prompts, and briefs are part of both the arts and education (Heijnen & Bremmer, 2020, p.20).

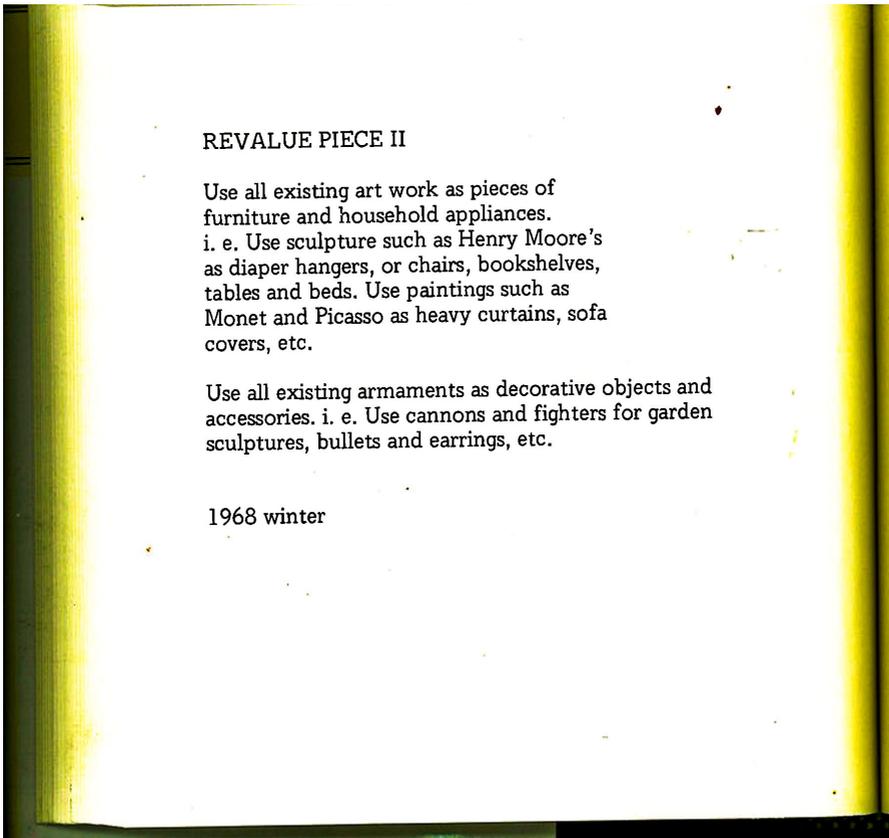


FIG 10. Copy from *Grapefruit A book of Instructions and Drawings* by Yoko Ono. (2021)

RESEARCH AREA

The study Assistant services & care / facility (dienstverlening & zorg / facilitair) is located at Albeda Startcollege Sportlaan in Rotterdam. I had visited their school building only once before, during their introduction week in September. Together with Zoë I had the opportunity to give a workshop for the students, based on getting to know each other through drawing. Now, under these new circumstances, this became my research area. Having to acknowledge that besides working with these students at Niffo, I did not yet have a clear understanding of the structure of their education. This is why I set up a meeting with their course coordinator, to learn about the 'background' of these students, their curriculum, internship requirements and the core values of Albeda.

I would like to share parts of the conversation with the course coordinator, because it reflected why it is important to revalue reproductive labor specifically with this group of students. Firstly, all of these students intern in publicly organized institutions, this is where reproductive labor is frequently carried out, such as the hospitality and cleaning sector. However, we must recognize that reproductive labor is performed in all workspaces. I think many companies are unaware about the role they could have in education, such as offering an internship for MBO level 1 students. This is because reproductive labor is widely unrecognized as being 'work', and therefore there is a shortage of MBO level 1 internship vacancies. Reproductive work could never disappear as there is, and always will be, need for it. Therefore it must be revalued. Nevertheless, it is not only about addressing the unrecognized work, but also about addressing unrecognized workers. For this reason, these students need to be revalued as interns. Every student performs around 400 hours of labor over one study year, and are treated as disposable. Such practices obviously and brutally diminish the sense of mattering as a person, of being needed to others. I believe revaluing these students will also influence their self-esteem knowing that for these students their internships are an important part of graduating and receiving their first nationally recognized diploma. Secondly, I believe that critical thinking skills are of importance for these students to revalue reproductive labor and by that themselves. One of the values of Albeda is demonstrating democratic citizenship. Which for me requires not only critical and political thinking skills, but also; caring attitudes, empathy, and commitment. To prepare students for democratic citizenship they need tools that do not focus exclusively on practicing 'reasoning tricks', nor on the cognitive activity of analyzing power structures. They rather need tools that contribute to the students' ability and willingness to participate meaningfully and critically independently in

concrete realistic social activities. Reflecting on their learning environment that is about making choices and knowing why you make them, respecting the choices of others, being able to communicate about them, and having your voice heard. In most cases, when the students understand what is expected of them, they are more likely able to carry out the thinking task which match the students interests and are meaningful for their future to participate critically in the communities and social practices of which the student is a part.

Last, through this conversation I've learned about the practical learning assignments that are part of the assessment of their internship, these assignments will be used as a conversation tool later on in this research.

Interview with course coordinator

Could you please give a short introduction about the students attending Albeda Startcollege?

“All students who come to Albeda Startcollege ‘hebben een rugzakje’. Students come from practical education or secondary school where they had to leave because of grades, behavioral problems or a combination of both. We know that all our students here have a history of problems, whether it's home related or at school, financial or a combination, we know it's there and on that relationship, finding out what it is, we put most attention, we find that most important. And then we try to put them back on track, either they go on to further education or they start working with a contract. What you see is that most students come from a certain environment, they have been brought up in certain ways that effected the lagging of their social abilities.

We also see that they are often not skilled in internships. We are now working hard to see how we can address that. We may be able to find internships, but keeping them is often the biggest challenge for the student. Then it is all about skills as being on time, keeping your appointments, call if you are a bit late and explaining why. Many students find that very normal not to do, but in the business world you just lose your internship after two times. Corona has given us an even greater social role as a school, we really are a safe base for the students, and they miss school, students get depressed, want to quit and ‘kunnen door de bomen het bos niet meer zien’. So, they are extra happy with the internships that are still there, like the gallery. Which is not an ordinary gallery but one where you can gain social skills, where you can meet people so you can get in touch, where you can see art (I think 9/10 don't even know what art is) and then they experience a whole other side of society. This is very good for them, otherwise they just stay in their safe bubble.”

What other internships should I imagine?

“Kruitvat, supermarkets but also clothing or shoe stores. And normally also the health care institutions but they are now so busy with corona so there is little time to supervise an intern, and the health care sector is a high-risk area at the moment.

I think that many companies do not know that there are MBO level 1 students who are looking for an internship. Or that many companies don't want a MBO level 1 intern, you have to be a company that knows; Okay, they are level 1 students, I have to first sit down and get to know them, make agreements, offer clarity and structure and maybe don't do that just once but maybe repeat it two or three times.”

What kind of tasks do the students have to carry out during their work placement?

“Students are given 7 assignments to complete during the internship, of which at least 3 have to be done. There is a first assessment to be completed in the first weeks to see how things are going, a second assessment and a final assessment.

During this assessment they look at the following professional criteria, being on time, working at the right pace, asking for help, planning and organizing, showing initiative, ability to work together, if they can deal with feedback and fulfilling your obligations, so actually very basic things. What you often see is that many companies think that the student will already be skilled at these criteria, but you actually see is that the student still has to develop them.

To put it bluntly, it's no big deal, but for the students it's quite tough, because it's about whether they can obtain their first official nationally recognized diploma. They don't have anything else, it's pretty tough for them, for example, students from secondary school are sometimes pretty smart but have to stop because of Behavioral problems, they often have the idea of “why am I here”, so you have to help them ‘om de knop om te zetten’ to make something of their educational trajectory, but they are so far in a phase of negativity, they have heard for a long time that “you can't do it” or “you are irritating” or “you are bad” that they start thinking that they are like that. It's our job to put that thought corridor on a different track.”

How do you see critical thinking as a skill reflected in the curriculum or work placement?

“We are an one year program, as mentioned before, the students come in with a ‘rugzakje’, of which we then have to determine how big it is and

how we are going to position our care to them, so in that year we have to get acquainted and try to get the student 'de knop omzetten' and start at a working placement, complete that successfully and then the year is already over. So, we try to work mainly on their development during their internship and social skills, that it's important to come on time, speak with 2 words, not wearing cap for example, but critical thinking is really a skill to be trained for MBO level 3 and 4 students."

I wonder to what extent there are discussions within the program about work, division of labor and the position in which these students enter a workplace?

"We do talk about this with the student, about the profession they choose. To make them realize what they chose and what that entails. For example, the hospitality industry entails irregular working hours. In the cleaning sector the wages are not so high and do you realize that you have to use a brush in the toilet, for example. Students from the care and service training often come with the basis "I am not going to wash the elderly". They have that image, but we also show them that there is more to it, such as working with a host family or child care. We do try to give them a clear picture of what is possible within the sectors."

What do you personally think is the most important thing the students develops during their internship?

"In general, I think it is important that our students become better citizens in society, whether that is work related or with a diploma and progression. But also, that they get certain tools with which they can better develop themselves to 'stevig in hun schoenen staan'. Developing their socialization skills is very important because society is getting harder, it is about receiving feedback and asking for feedback. a whole other side of society. This is very good for them, otherwise they just stay in their safe bubble."

INTERVIEWS

The interviews were conducted on a Thursday in March at Albeda College Sportlaan in Rotterdam. I introduced myself to the mentor group of Jamal Zaroual. The students knew that I would come because a week earlier Jamal tested if the students would be interested in speaking with me. The interviews were conducted in a small office room, sitting 1,5 meters apart, following the corona measurements active in the school building at that time. One by one I picked up the students out of the classroom, this was during their Dutch lesson or while making chicken curry sandwiches and appelflappen during cooking class in the specially designed school kitchen. Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes. I would start each interview with some chit-chat to suggest that it was a joyful moment, and not an interrogation. In my approach I used primarily open-ended questions. My major task was to build upon and explore the student's responses to those questions. My goal was to have the student reconstruct his or her experience within the topic of their internship. All five students showed different body language during the interviews, from holding on to their phone, sitting slumped, looking down with hands on the table to speaking with a lot of hand gestures and showing confidence. I'm aware that before the actual interviews began, I may anticipated certain results on the basis of my reading and preparation for the study. I wanted to do my best to avoid imposing meaning from one participant's interviews on the next. Therefore, I first completed all the interviews and recorded the interviews with my iPhone to then transcribe them. Next, I studied all the transcripts. In that way I tried to minimize imposing on the generative process of the interviews what I think I have learned from other participants.

THE PROCESS OF STUDYING TRANSCRIPTS

I have used two basic ways to share the interview data. First, I have developed profiles of individual students, I have found that crafting a profile or a vignette of the students' experience is an effective way of sharing interview data and opening up my interview material to analysis and interpretation. The idea comes from Seidman (1937) speaking about Studs Terkel's *Working* (1972). Although I as the interviewer can never be absent from the process, by crafting a profile in the students own words, I allow those words to reflect the students' consciousness. It is in the students' words, but it is crafted by me from what the student has said.

In Judi Marshall's, *Making Sense as a Personal Process* (1981), she acknowledges that what she can bring to the data is her sense of what is important as she reads the transcripts. She expresses confidence in being able to respond to meaningful 'chunks' of transcript. She says that

she recognizes them when she sees them and does not have to agonize over what level of semantic analysis she is doing. She affirms the role of her judgment in the process. In short, what is required in responding to interview text is no different from what is required in responding to other texts—a close reading plus judgment.

Second, I have marked individual passages, while doing this I am alert to conflict, both between people and within a person. I responded to hopes expressed and whether they are fulfilled or not. I am alert to language that indicates beginnings, middles, and ends of processes. I am sensitive to frustrations and resolutions, to indications of isolation and the expressions of collegiality and community. I'm aware of the way issues of class, ethnicity, and gender play out in individual lives, and the way hierarchy and power affect people. I did not, however, come to these transcripts looking for these. When they were there, these and other passages of interest spoke to me, and I bracket them. Working with these stories has led me to a deeper understanding and appreciation of the amazing intricacies and, yet, coherence of these students' experiences. It has also led me to a more conscious awareness of the power of the social and organizational context. This provided me with a deeper understanding of the issues, structures, processes, and policies that imbue these students' stories and has also given me a fuller appreciation of the complexities and difficulties of change. Interviewing has led me to respect these students, to relish the understanding that I gained from them, and to take pleasure in sharing their stories. I'm aware that the scope of these interviews are necessarily limited, due to the circumstances. But I'm convinced that by means of these first five conversations I can gain enough valuable insights to work through my research question.

Together with two members of Cultural Workers Unite Rotterdam, I grouped the marks in categories, and then studied the categories for thematic connections within and among the experiences of the students whom share the same structure.

The questions we kept in mind during this action orientated conversation were: What is the subject of the marked passages? Are there words or a phrase that seem to describe them, at least tentatively? Is there a word within the passage itself that suggests a category into which the passage might fit? What connective threads are there among the experiences of the participants interviewed?

In Appendix 1 you can find the profiles crafted from the data gathered via the interviews about the students' experiences

Interview 3:

I am doing an internship at Thuis op straat (TOS) Rotterdam.

In which district of Rotterdam is your internship?

Millingsbuurt Charlois.

How did you end up at your internship?

I asked my mentor if he knew of an internship position for me. He said that TOS and Albeda work together for internships. So that's how I got my internship.

Why do you like doing an internship at TOS?

I like it, I also used to live in Rotterdam. I know TOS from there because as a child I used to play with the people from TOS as well, play soccer, sports and other activating activities. Now I also do activating activities with children at the internship site, which I really enjoy doing.

Why do you like to activate children at your internship site?

I like sports, and to work together. For example, playing soccer. I like to be able to play with others like that.

What are the tasks you have to do at your internship?

First, I always have to go to an elementary school to watch the children there. Here we speak to the children for example, if something has happened, or if they are not behaving properly. After that we take a break, and then we do an ambulatory round in the neighborhood. Then we use our phones to make reports of bulky waste such as broken refrigerators. We then report this to the municipality. Furthermore, we must remember how many children and parents were in the squares, we make a note of this on paper. So when we return from our tour, we fill out a form with questions like what was the weather like, date, time and if anything special happened that needs to be reported.

seems like a strange combination

What I like best about working at TOS is when we are on square duty. Then we go out and walk around. We take a big bag with toys to the square and then with 1 to 2 colleagues we activate the children. I usually play soccer with the children, I like that. I address the children when they are cursing or arguing. But often we make teams and play tournaments with them. And during the vacations we organize activities for the children, such as bingo.

Why do you find square service the most fun task to perform?

Because many children know me on the square. Sometimes strange things happen on the square and then we as TOS employees have to take action. I think it is important that

Interview 4:

I do an internship in special elementary education. I work with children who have difficulty with learning and behavior.

How did you end up at your internship site?

It is my old elementary school. When I had to choose an internship, I immediately chose my old elementary school, they had space so yes, why not.

Why did you choose your old elementary school?

Just because it is my old elementary school, and it is also a very nice school. Personally, I just really like working with people.

What do you like about working with people?

That you can do something for someone. Helping them with something they don't understand.

What are the most enjoyable tasks on your internship?

Supervising a group of students, for example in the hallway, then I can explain everything to them. And in between we have conversations about everything they are experiencing. I have noticed that at my internship site, every student has experienced something in their life, sometimes it touches me personally to listen to it, but I also have a good time with them.

How do you take care of them and yourself at such a time?

Well I'm only 16 and that's still pretty young. And they're 13, 12 years old and they just like to talk to someone their own age. So they can always come to me. For example, if things are not going well at home, they always come to me. The most I can do is talk, I will not tell it to anyone because they come to me for a certain reason: I can't do much else for them, but I can talk to them about everything. Then at least they have someone to talk to.

What do you think about the fact that you are taking on this role?

Yes, it is an important role because I have also experienced a lot in the past. Not at home but at school. I had many people around me that I could talk to, like my mother. But some children don't have that, that they can talk to their mother or others around them. So I think it's important that they can talk to me.

How do you see this caring aspect reflected in the training Care and Service?

In training, we learn a lot about traits. When I started the training, I didn't know exactly what I wanted, but through the training I got to know myself in a different way. I now know better what my characteristics are and I am proud of that.

I don't know yet, maybe something with sports or tourism.

What do you like about being involved with people?

I like it because I can learn many new things. Hearing their stories and histories from different people. Helping them is important to me.

Do you feel that this is seen at your internship?

I do think my boss sees that I am helpful.

Sometimes I feel uncomfortable in the square, and I went to talk to my boss about that. It's nice there but there are also people who can be dangerous. Sometimes they act tough, and I was attacked at that square three years ago, that's why I don't feel safe there, but he said I should just not pay attention to that. And nothing was done about it.

How did you feel after this conversation?

I thought okay, I trust you. But if something does happen then it's my boss's fault. I know how it goes in the Netherlands, I can never feel safe here.

How could your internship place have handled this differently?

Yes I asked him if he could place me somewhere else, in another square, but he said no don't worry.

How does this feel?

I believe him that nothing will happen. I have heard that if someone attacked a TOS worker, then the attacker has a big problem. This already makes me feel more safe.

Nice, it went well, the conversation went smoothly.

wondering if interns are aware of what they do in the community

Have you ever had a conflict with your internship supervisor for that reason?

No, but I do remember the first time I went to call in sick that I was afraid, of what she was going to say.

And why were you afraid?

I don't know, sometimes when I want to cancel myself because I am sick, then I'm afraid that someone is going to say, "yes but you just have to come". I think I was more afraid of that, and I just don't like to call.

Do you feel at your internship that there is someone above you as in hierarchy, or that you are equal to each other?

No, because the internship supervisor does pretty little work. She's really someone who can sit at the computer all day. And I get all the tasks.

And how do you feel about that?

On Tuesdays I always feel like a slave. Because then it's really just work. So I get the task and then I have to do it alone. And when I'm done I have to come back and then I get another task and then I have to do it alone again. But on Fridays I work together with the boss's daughter and we do all the tasks together. So when we sweep the stables, we do it together, one starts at one side and the other at the other side. And that way you work towards each other, then I often find it more fun than when I'm put to work alone all day.

And why do you like that more?

I don't really know.

Is there sociability then and are you chatting?

Yes.

Do you also feel more appreciated then?

Yes.

What makes you think you feel more appreciated on Fridays?

Because I'm treated more like a person who is learning for her school and who helps out instead of on Tuesdays when I really feel, yes how do I explain it, a kind of slave.

How does that come about do you think?

I don't know.

FIG 11. Scan Documentation Marked Interviews

CATEGORIES

In the following two chapters I will explain my main findings based on the experiences of the students. The first category is care, which holds thematic connections with; the body and high responsibility. The second category that I will discuss is power holding thematic connections with; educational and social inequality of opportunity and self-esteem. Each category will have a short introduction that will explain how I understand the category as a theme and its sections that will function as conclusions of my main findings.

CARE, CARING, CARER

María Puig de la Bellacasa writes about care as a concrete work of maintenance, with ethical and affective implications, and as a vital politics in interdependent worlds, this is why I will write about the following three dimensions of care – labor/work, affect/affection and ethics/politics. These are not necessarily equally distributed in all relational situations, nor do they sit together without tension and contradictions, but they are held together and sometimes challenge each other in the idea of care she thinks with in her book *Matters of Care: Speculative Ethics in More Than Human Worlds*. The feminist political scientist Joan Tronto's defines care as: Everything we do to. For Toronto this includes everything that we do to maintain, continue and repair 'our world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves and our environment (Tronto, 1993). In the first place this is through maintaining their environment through cleaning the toilets, mopping the floor, throwing away boxes, putting the cups in the dishwasher, cleaning oranges or working in a window cleaning business. Secondly it is also through caring by affect, for ourselves, others and by others.

LABOR / WORK

The students have made it clear that reproductive labor is performed in all workplaces. The workplaces of the five intern students were: a fruit and vegetable factory, a special primary education school, a horse-riding school, an youth organization and a window cleaning company.

Despite the difference in type of work, varying from maintenance work and care taking of others, they showed how similar maintenance work is to care taking. This became clear, when I asked them how their tasks (performed during their internships) resembled their care and service training (given in classes at school).

Some spoke about how the care and service training mainly teaches them how to clean. Others told me how tasks like taking care of children are

also found in their curriculum care and service training. Somehow, both maintenance work and care taking work is covered within the curriculum but it depends on the student how this is interpreted.

For instance, the student clearly speaks about how her internship doesn't contribute to what she actually likes the most about her care and service training. She likes taking care of people the most, but during her internship she only gets to clean. Since doesn't want to become a cleaner, she feels like her internship is not contributing to her professional development. In my opinion cleaning an environment is also a part of taking care of people and the intern doesn't seem to that giving care also consists of cleaning. In another example, the student explains; "I don't see what I learn during care and service training, because I don't get these tasks at my internship. The cleaning that you really need to do in the healthcare service, like mopping the floor and cleaning the toilets, are also a part of my curriculum." However, as the interview progressed she spoke about how during lunchbreak all employees sit together, and made pancakes in the communal kitchen. Even though she didnt mentioned as a specific task, I do think this is one of the most obvious examples of care taking put into practice.

AFFECT / AFFECTION

How do they take care of others? Instead of focusing on the affective side of care (love and affection), or on care work purely as maintenance, staying with the unsolved tensions and relations between these dimensions helps us to keep close to the ambivalent terrains of care (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017).

After analyzing the interviews, I came to the conclusion that affection is the most reoccurring theme for these students working as interns. Below, you will find a list of quotes, coming from the interns themselves to elaborate my observation.

"I want clients to feel welcome in that place."

"Liking to work together and with people."

"Everyone should be appreciated no matter who they are."

"You shouldn't have to be afraid to express your feelings towards another person."

"I like being seen as a big brother for the children."

"I keep worrying about the importance that children feel safe on the square."

"I value the importance of being accepted."

"I know the importance of learning new things from others."

"I like helping them even if it's just by listening to their stories and histories."

That the labor of care comes very natural to them and that that they are so unconscious of the value of this care work was the first thing that stood out in the interviews.

In contrast, there was also - I summoned to even if I don't want to - expressing feeling like a slave or speaking about sometimes not feeling like doing things but just having to carry them out.

These questions reveal that affectivity – not always positive – is part of situations of care, as oppressive burden, as joy, as boredom. Staying with these tensions exposes that vital maintenance is not sufficient for a relation to involve care, but that without maintenance work, affectivity does not make it up to care and keeps it closer to moral intention, to a disposition to 'care about', without putting in the work 'to care for' (Tronto, 1993. Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017).

The next question then is how are these students cared for? Many of these students are seen as extra hands of help, however, they are also students learning for their school, an internship should first and foremost be a space that offers learning. They are learning something but whom is to benefit? The institution, the students or the 'employer'? The institution needs to value what these students offer beyond maintaining their workspace. I also question if the students themselves are able to see and value this learning practice of care. And how much of their learning is in the task orientated labor? Such as taking care of others by supervising a group of students, doing activities with children or preparing lunch for their college's. What I believe is missing in this relationship between learner / student / intern and carer / facilitator / supervisor is a level of engagement and commitment. As carers' / supervisors / facilitators must discover what the students know and what they need to know. This discovery only happens if the internship supervisors are willing to engage the students beyond a surface level.

The interviews showed me that many of the students grade their education at MBO level 1 care and service as an assistant level, they don't feel they contribute that much, as for instance a manager, due to doing smaller tasks. This effects their level of engagement. Some students express not feeling appreciated or complimented for their personal values. Where in one example, care becomes oppressive when a student is told not to worry, when expressing the feeling of unsafety. The feeling of being understood and heard could affect their level of engagement in a positive manner. Feeling comfortable to ask questions, and being able to express the feeling of being bothered by certain work situations.

Maintenance work is of great importance to the functioning of the company but also in everyday life. Instead of seeing care as something they just do, and it being a daily struggle, the students need to be aware how they are consciously contributing to their personal and professional development and future environment.

As teachers / facilitators / internship supervisors and colleagues, we can create a climate for optimal learning if we understand the level of emotional awareness and emotional intelligence. That means taking time to assess who we are teaching, creating an atmosphere of trust and commitment that must be present for genuine learning to happen. In order to reach this affective level, we need to start integrating this in our modern day classrooms so we actually practice what we preach.

Finally, there is the question; how do the students' take care of themselves? "Social reproduction is the necessary and essential labor that creates and recreates the workforce, including students, unpaid workers and employees. In order for workers to return to work each day they need the basic elements of care: food, a place to sleep, and sense of emotional well-being (Jahoda & Woolard, 2020, p277)." Besides talking about the heavy, hard, dirty labor we also discussed resting and taking care. The students take care of themselves at home by taking a shower, watching Netflix and drinking a cup of tea. However, I wonder if this resting and taking care at home outweighs the physically intense work, body cramps, constant tiredness or even illness they are confronted with at their internships. In order for them to return to school and their internships every week, they need support and sense of emotional resilience. Taking care of themselves and protecting their own productivity and enjoyment is something that shouldn't be taken lightly. For instance, the intern didn't feel appreciated, or was not able to protect themselves from a problem with a colleague, which made the intern feel out of place. One of the solutions to these problems could be, switching from company, which makes the intern feel appreciated every day. As the anti-capitalist love note states: "You are worth more than your productivity". [3] To care for yourself, you must question the obsession with speed and productivity, and trouble notions of efficient and productive time (Riyad, 2014). This is why Audre Lorde said, "Caring for myself is not self-indulgence, it is self-preservation, and that is an act of political welfare (Lorde, 2017, p.130)."

ETHICS / POLITICS

Crises such as recent Corona pandemic plainly reveal the societal value of care work. The author Beatrice Frasl writes; hence it is imperative to insist right now on better compensation for caregiving work, on fairer distribution among genders as well as a reduction in burden (...). Without social service and care work, and thereby without the unpaid and underpaid work of women, the Corona crisis will be insurmountable. The effects of the Corona crisis make this invisible work visible and drastically show its societal relevance (Frasl, 2020). Even though the Corona crisis has made care work visible again, it has also ensured that the internship seeking MBO level 1 student became invisible. Many students lost their internships because

several sectors, including the healthcare sector, no longer offered learning places. As a result, many students are unable to complete their studies. Staying with care's potential to disrupt requires engaging with situated recognitions of care's importance that operate displacements in established hierarchies of value and understanding how divergent modes of valuing care coexist and co-make each other in non-innocent ways (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017).

The first step, according to Tronto, is one that requires considerable bravery, namely, that every individual has to admit human vulnerability. We are care receivers, all. Collective vulnerability in the face of the infrastructural fragility of a system that constantly threatens to collapse might therefore be the starting point for a societal change in values in which care as an ethical principal gains entry into our thinking, our action, and into social infrastructures. Care is the practice through which we hold together our everyday, pay attention to others, our environment and ourselves, and value life as worth sustaining (Tronto, 2013).

To prepare students for this collective vulnerability requires instructional designs that contribute to students' ability and willingness to participate meaningfully and critically independently in concrete realistic social activities such as their internship. So that the students' can also include this vulnerability in their future work situations. The following example clearly shows how the students think in the ethical principles of power instead of the ethical principles of care: "Later I want to open my own business, then I want to hire interns. What I'm going to teach them is: when you are working then you clean your stuff, you keep your workplace clean, when you are finished at the end of the day you clean with a broom and the chamois."

EXPRESSIONS OF POWER

In this chapter I will explore the difficult topic of power. Lisa VeneKlasen and Valerie Miller describe four main expressions of power in their book *A New Weave of Power, People, and Politics: the Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation* (2007): *Power over*, describes a dominating type of relationship where one person or group has access to resources, can act, or make decisions, while the other person or group does not. *Power with*, describes a process of working together to build collective strength, solidarity, or mutual support. *Power to*, describes each individual's potential to enact change in the world. And *Power within*, describes a person's sense of self-worth, dignity, and recognition of their power that comes from within. Power is both dynamic and multidimensional, changing according to context, circumstance and interest. Its expressions and forms can range

from domination and resistance to collaboration and transformation. I will attempt to demystify and reveal the many faces of power that appeared in the interviews, and focus on power as political, collective and individual force.

POLITICAL

In politics, those who control resources and decision making have power over those without. When people are denied access to important resources, like jobs or internship places, power over perpetuates inequality. What makes political power even more difficult to analyze and confront is the fact that it does not always operate in visible ways. Behind the scenes, political, social, economic, and cultural forces operate to decide who gets a seat at the decision-making table and whose issues get addressed (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2007). I think that we should acknowledge that these students don't sit at the table, because the majority come from a lower class and / or migrant family background. Unfortunately this causes them to be excluded from even a slight chance to have a seat at the table. One student clearly stated in the interview, that she thinks there are less and unequal opportunities for her and other MBO level 1 students in terms of internships. Significant problems and issues are not only kept from the decision-making table, but also from the minds and consciousness, by influencing how individuals think about their place in the world. This level of power shapes people's beliefs, sense of self, and acceptance of their own superiority or inferiority (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2007). One of the students speaks about how as a child she wanted to become a nurse in the hospital, and she still wants to work towards that. But she thinks she will never have a 100% chance of becoming one. Saying; "It's possible but it's also a possibility that it's not going to happen. Because my high school education was practical education, so it wasn't Havo or something, practical education is pretty low. Because of that I have a lot of trouble learning and that is why I think it's not really possible for me to become a nurse." Some students clearly showed an influenced sense of self expressing that; "I don't think I add knowledge that is important." In addition expressing that using violence and aggression is just part of their character. I believe that part of this behavior is triggered by their feeling of powerlessness, influenced by stories of experiencing racism and embodied hierarchies.

COLLECTIVE

Power with multiplies individual talents and knowledge into the collective, based on mutual support, collaboration and solidarity (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2007). In the case of these students the collective could mean mutual support coming from and with their classmates, teachers, supervisors and

colleagues. Firstly, I would like to look at some main concepts that I believe are essential for mutual support and collaboration to take place. Secondly, to then move on to the idea of being in solidarity.

Before these students can move to power with, they need a sense of belonging, both in their internship workplaces as well as in the classroom. If you don't feel a sense of belonging, you may not feel as engaged at work or as motivated to succeed in the classroom. During the interviews students expressed feelings of not being involved or wanting to be involved deeply in their workplace.

"I don't think interns should be involved in decisions within the company, because if they want to change something in the management. I don't think I should say something about it, because I don't have a horse, I'm not there as an employee, I'm not paid, so I don't think I should say something about it. I can give my opinion but I don't feel I have something to decide at my internship."

I believe this refers to their feelings of understanding, acceptance and respect. These feelings resemble care and creates a membership to a certain community, collective, place, or individual. The interviews did show that this differs per student, elements that can add to this feeling are; interning in a family business, working with someone your own age, colleagues whom become your buddies, performing the same tasks and working together. Belonging also happens if the students get engaged beyond a surface level, this means taking time to assess who you are teaching and creating an atmosphere of trust and commitment.

One student admits that trusting people is hard, trust refers to the reliance on integrity, strength, or ability of a person or thing. I believe that the earlier mentioned elements of belonging are an important part of trust. These elements also determine who you can voice your concerns to.

Another subject that I want to address in the line of collectiveness is collaboration. This means being a co-author of the work in some way. The question is; how can you be a co-author of something you are not, or don't feel, involved in? How can you be co-author when the basis of labor division is unequal? Getting assigned a task to fulfill, to then come back, to get a new task, is a way of collaboration that only takes place for the purpose of content production, and is not discussed in terms of the organization of work.

This is why these students express feelings of being oppressed, feeling like a 'slave' rather than a co-author or a mutually supported colleague. And have difficulty naming their own role and the roles divided within the workplace. Based on the following explanation; "I don't really know what the role of my supervisor is within the company, I don't feel equal to each other because the internship supervisor does pretty little work. She's really

someone who can sit behind the computer all day, and I get all the tasks." At the same time one student speaks of always working together, resulting in an equal division of work.

One's role refers to one's position in a group or relationship to a certain task. There are formal roles, that are acknowledged and formally given by the group to certain members. For instance, the role of being an internship supervisor, or informal roles that may be unconsciously given or taken. One student speaks of her informal role as being a listening ear to others. So they can talk to her about their experiences. She took this informal role on herself, because she's been through the same things in the past.

The way that roles are negotiated relates to explicit and embodied hierarchies, which can be understood as forms of entitlement that are either consciously or unconsciously internalized.

Some students express difficulty with the embodied hierarchies of age differences, being the younger generation, but also becoming part of an already existing embodied hierarchy, which means automatically becoming the rookie of the group.

Working in solidarity is a very different kind of relating to, or helping one another, and of improving one's work and life. It is fundamentally linked to justice and ethics. It calls for standing together with other people. Talking about and not taking working conditions for granted, recognizing each other's value, not blaming the individual who can't (self-) manage or cope, and addressing actual conditions and cultures of work. I acknowledge that working in solidarity takes time and dedication that should be invested by the internship workplace and the students. It is a concept that is far from what the Western labor market looks like. That is why I would like to address the classroom as a space where conversations around these issues should be able to take place. To start with; conversations about the material conditions required to take up an internship or free labor. One student rather undergoes an internship at the Fruit factory that doesn't actually contribute to her wish of becoming a beautician, deservedly explains; "I don't think it had been better to choose another internship because I get paid here, so instead of working 400 hours for free I would rather do 400 hours of paid work. Earning and working. At least you feel like you're not doing it for nothing. Suppose, all of a sudden you want to perform another profession, then you've worked 400 hours for free because you've done an unpaid internship."

In addition, the classroom is a space to engage in dialogue about the role of gender, race, class and ability in the possibility of committing to this type of employment, and how might they also shape the work environment. To give students the opportunity to critique internship placements and report back critically on their experience can be valuable. The classroom can become a space to organize critical feedback sessions when students return

from placements so they can share information with other students who did not do the placements (Precarious Workers Brigade, 2007, p.18).

I suggest to use interviewing as tool because hearing one another's personal experience in the classroom promotes an atmosphere of cooperation and deep listening. Ultimately, the negative possibilities that can arise when teachers validate the sharing of personal experience are small compared to the positive rewards when such sharing helps create a community of learning and enhances ways of knowing (hooks, 2007).

INDIVIDUAL

Power within has to do with a person's sense of self-worth and self-knowledge; it includes an ability to recognize individual differences while respecting others. Power within is the capacity to imagine and have hope; it affirms the common human search for dignity and fulfillment (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2007).

The coordinator and many of the teachers at Albeda College have acknowledged that one of their main jobs is to work on the students' self-esteem. The reason why is that many have been criticized negatively to often in their earlier educational experiences. Esteem is the belief that you are contributing to a higher goal and that the contributions you make are recognized. One student told me that his supervisor noticed his helpful personality, but unfortunately he never received compliments regarding his personality. He did receive compliments about being on time. However for the student to feel recognized and confident in his ability he would like to receive more compliments about being active and having a pro-active attitude with the children.

It is important you experience growth, advance and achieve results. Nevertheless, it is important you get recognized for those results. Offering recognition and appreciation on a regular for the tasks the students perform can positively impact self-esteem, regardless if a student is struggling. Another student explains that feeling recognized also comes from being treated like a person who is learning for her career, instead of just doing a job.

In the book *Critical Thinking* by bell hooks psychotherapist Nathaniel Branden shares the insight that fully realized self-esteem is, "Confidence in our ability to think, confidence in our ability to cope with the basic challenges of life and confidence in our right to be successful and happy, the feeling of being worthy, deserving, entitled to assert our needs and wants, achieve our values, and enjoy the fruits of our efforts (hooks, 2007 p.122)."

With confidence also comes (en)courage(ment) needed to move from silence, to expressing speaking about your needs. The classroom and the

internship can teach these students how to express themselves to someone in a higher position. One student spoke about how she thinks it is important for everyone to know, how to express themselves, and that you shouldn't be afraid to express your feelings to another person. However, she also thinks, a lot of people are concerned by the reaction that may be triggered if they would truly express their feelings. Acknowledging that she still needs to learn how to express herself better at her internship. This is why dialog and conversation became such a vital intervention, for it not only makes room for every voice, it also presupposes that all voices can be heard (hooks, 2007 p. 45).

Becoming politically aware can help unravel self-doubt and enable to recognize their individual power. The Brazilian educator Freire spoke about popular education as a participatory process of action-reflection-action. The following description of some of the features and assumptions of participatory learning methodologies is borrowed from Lisa VeneKlasen and Valerie Miller's book *A New Weave of Power, People, and Politics, Chapter 4: Constructing Empowering Strategies*:

- Relevance is vital to motivation. Consequently, we have to question; Do these students see the relevance of reproductive work? How do they value the tasks that they are assigned to? And, how are these tasks directly related to their daily lives? If these students feel the information is relevant, they will be more likely to absorb and act on it.
- It is important that students are the focus of the educational process, not only in the classroom but also at their internship workplaces. Dialogue can promote a more equal educator / learner relationship, dialogue involves joint discovery and helps learners to gain confidence in their own ability.
- Asking questions that assist the student to examine their own situation and deepen their understanding of the problems they face, is important. I believe that interviewing as a learning tool can be valuable, and give students the opportunity to critique internship placements and report back critically on their experience.
- It is the supervisors and teachers role to educate themselves about their own privileges and the oppression that these students are subjected to. Defining power imbalances and embodied hierarchies to adjust to more equal dynamics. Co-authorship is a vital starting point for empowerment.
- Interviewing showed that all these students are different, the process is not linear, neither are participatory learning methods. There are no mechanical formulas for developing an empowering process.

- No education is natural. How one learns is linked to what is learned. These students are primarily taught how to conform. However, education can also encourage independent thinking and creative change. A learning process that validates what learners know and challenges them to examine their ideas more deeply. It can empower them to think independently while seeking information and act on their knowledge. Activating this process was my main motivation for designing the analyzing practical assignments exercise.

THE MAKING OF A RESOURCE OR TOOL

Particularly the publication *Training for Exploitation? Politicizing Employability & Reclaiming Education* by Precarious Workers Brigade, where they collected resources that can be used as tools by educators and / or students to intellectually address these issues and add a critical frame to the concerns of employability within the academy guided my thinking and actions in the making of a resource or tool.

First, I adapted a version of the Precarious Workers Brigade active listening exercise. I altered the exercise, derived from my own experiences of interviewing these students. I believe that interviewing could be a technique to stimulate intergroup dialogue, where it can deepen connections between the students as a think-pair-share activity to provide structure for listening and speaking. For this activity, I will share some of the questions that I kept in the back of my mind during the interviews with the students. I believe these questions can function as a guide or stimulation for the student that takes the role of interviewer / listener during the interviewing exercise.

Secondly, I got inspired by the playful analyzing exercise where students could annotate on an advert for an internship opportunity, out of which you could develop a more serious discussion about the kind of work / learning situation that is offered. I altered it to 'analyzing practical training assignments'. (beroepspraktijkvorming opdracht) My goal with this exercise was to start a dialogue on what they like and don't like about practicing these assignments. Use the practical training assignments designed by Albeda College as a tool for conversation to speak about the value that is given to reproductive work, that all tasks (and by that them) that they are assigned are of huge value to the functioning of a work environment.

APPROACH - ANALYZING PRACTICAL TRAINING ASSIGNMENTS

The analyzing exercise took place at Albeda College Sportlaan again, together with the same students, sitting in another small office room. Following the same routine of picking them up out of the classroom, one by one. The set time for the exercise was 30 minutes per student. In preparation of the exercise, I printed all of their practical training assignments and collected different kinds of office materials, scissors, post-its, markers, pens and tape.

Overview of practical training assignments:

- Assist with a maintenance job
- Grocery shopping for someone else
- Assisting in providing breakfast or lunch
- Serving coffee or tea
- Taking care of the laundry
- Hygienically clean refrigerator and store food
- Cleaning the washroom (toilet or bathroom)
- Assisting with an activity
- Receiving people, referring them and giving information
- Cleaning windows

Together with the student I selected the practical training assignments that would either fit best to their own interest or the practical training assignment that they perform the most during their internship. We took the selection down to one assignment after I explained to them that during this analyzing exercise, we would alter the selected practical training assignment toward their own personal liking and values (FIG. 12).

Before we started reading out loud, I pointed out to the student that whenever they would disagree, not understand or dislike what was written to make it noted, or to let me know when they did like or highly agreed with what was written. We started with reading the title, to then move to the description and explanation of the assignment. While reading I keep drawing attention to the language used, and ask questions like: Why do you think it is important for you to learn this assignment? How do you value this assignment?

And then moved to the part where they have to write a workplan, where they need to answer the following questions: What is the work order? What tools do you need? What materials do you need? Approximately how long will it take you to get the assignment done? And are there any safety requirements that you must meet?

Together with the student I analyzed these questions, and discussed the value of the questions in relation to the practice of the task.

The last part of the assignment is answering evaluation questions. What went well? What could you do better or differently next time? What did you learn from this assignment? Which grade would you give yourself, and why? Again, I analyzed, and discussed the value of the questions in relation to the practice of the task together with the student. Asking them if they think it is a good question to be asked and what is the relevance of the question. If they wanted to get rid of the question and what other questions could be asked in relevance to their internship.

For further results of this analyzing exercise see Appendix 2.

REFLECTION

I hope this exercise showed the students a way to reflect on their learning environment.

Where my goal with this exercise was not only to talk about what they like and don't like about practicing these assignments. It was also about making choices and knowing why you make them, respecting the choices of others, being able to communicate about them and first and foremost having their voice heard. Where in my participatory approach the goal was not exclusively critical thinking, but rather to participate critically, to act, by cutting, adding or crossing out parts. During the exercise the students made connections that measure the current and future situations in which the student can and will apply the knowledge and skills they have acquired.

Some students expressed difficulty in understanding the meaning of an evaluation and seeing the value of these questions and the purpose of reflecting on something so deeply connected to daily life task. Expressing that; "in this assignment you are already doing what you already know, right? So you learn nothing in this assignment. You make this assignment because you learned how to do it at your internship." Analyzing that this evaluation would be more valuable if done at the end of the internship, needing this reflection to think about the things they experience in the workplace. The evaluation questions formulated by the students that could be asked in relevance to their internship to critically reflect on their learning environment are:

- Was there anything you didn't know, how to do?
- How did you feel about following a work plan?
- Why do you think (Titel Practical Training Assignment) is important?
- Did you have a lot of contact with your colleagues?
- How was the division of work?
- How was the contact with your internship supervisor?
- How do you feel about the atmosphere in the workplace?
- Which of your personal characteristics did you apply to the assignment?
- How did you feel while doing the assignment?
- Did you go home feeling good? Why yes or why not?

The students were able to see the value of a workplan, to make sure you don't forget something. But also admitted that they never write a plan, not even in the workplace because they know all the answers to these questions by heart. One of the students questioned, why she had to make a workplan for something that was such a daily task, like cleaning the toilets?

Explaining that making a workplan is no fun, especially for something that isn't fun to do in general.

Students claim it is 'just about cleaning a space' or something so meaningless as grocery shopping. They expressed no clear consciousness about the value of these tasks, I believe this has to do with the low value given to reproductive labor in general. It as well hold a connection with the way it is taken care of within the institution, the way reproductive labor is always on the bottom of the value hierarchy .

The same student expressed: "I don't think it's really important that I learn it. But for my internship place it is important so that it is hygienic. Also, if I want to work as a nurse later on, hygiene is important. But even then, you don't use a step-by-step plan to clean a toilet." This exercise made clear that for the students it is hard to see how they contribute to a higher goal and that the contributions they make are unrecognized.

"If it is about something you like, it would be more interesting." What is missing is the relevance for the students to absorb and act on the information given. And relevance is vital for motivation. Being recognized is also about working together; "I always do it together with the person I'm working with. I think that at your internship, especially in the beginning, you shouldn't be put to work alone. I do think that when you get to a new place that there should be someone there that you can confide in." While these practical training assignments are purely focused on individually performing and completing the task.

Reflecting on these exercises made it once again clear that the role of the internship supervisors is of great importance. That it is their role to educate themselves about their own privileges and the oppression that these students are subjected to. To critically look at why these students express difficulty asking for your help and show distrust in the process of finishing their internship. Do you give good explanations? And, is the labor at your workplace equally distributed? Promoting a more equal supervisor/ intern relationship, where one of the supervisors role's is to ask questions to assist the intern to examine their own situation and deepen their understanding of the problems they face. Where this dialogue can ensure that the interns concerns are the focus of the participatory learning process of action – reflection – action.

CONCLUSION

How to revalue reproductive labor with MBO 1 care and service interns using an artistic approach? And what does it mean for them to be trained and assessed in everyday, invisible and undervalued labor?

I got the opportunity to get to know five students, each from a different background, with different internships. Using interviewing techniques, I got to know more about their internship and working environment. After analyzing this data and their practical training assignments, I came to the understanding that in order for us to revalue reproductive labor, we have to revalue the student.

These students are primarily taught how to conform. However, education can also encourage independent thinking and creative change. A learning process that validates what learners know and challenges them to examine their ideas more deeply. The Analyzing Practical Assignments exercise can empower them to think independently while seeking information and act on their knowledge. In addition, I believe that interviewing as a learning tool can be valuable, and give students the opportunity to rate internship placements and report back critically on their experience. It is important to ask questions that assist the student to examine their own situation and deepen their understanding of the problems they face.

I would have liked to do more exercises and study more assignments to create more depth when it comes to this research. This is why, together with Cultural Workers Unite Rotterdam, I composed Appendix 3, a collection of tips, tools, workshops and exercises, gathered via several art and / or social justice organizations. In my believe they have the ability to help students understand and overcome issues such as; differences in hierarchy, personal and professional empowerment, care, the body and the visibility of reproductive labor. They draw upon alternative pedagogies, critical thinking and student-centered methods designed to support change. I am positive these tools and resources can address the disconnect between practice, critical thinking and professional development.

In the near future I will present my findings including Appendix 3 to a select group of teachers at Albeda College. I sincerely hope this will be the first step to inspire and motivate these teachers to implement some of my propositions in their classrooms. Appendix 3 is a toolkit for myself to use, when hopefully Niffo Gallery re-opens. My best case scenario would be for my research to inspire lectures in charge of work placements, career development officers, educators in the arts and cultural industries, gallery

educators, vocational / professional development tutors, student unions and others interested in labor theories.

We need to recognize the way art institutions make reproductive labor disposable and with that effect the mattering and appreciation of the workers, this is why the cultural sector should stand in solidarity with the low-paid and precarious workers. Whether they are platform mediated, flex contract workers through an employment agency, specially trained museum cleaners, volunteers, interns or regular employees, their work should be seen as a political valence of revalorizing reproductive labor as art.

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APPENDIX I

THE ART OF REPRODUCTIVE LABOR

MAUD BERDEN - MEIA 2020-2021

MARGINAL NOTE

 Care, caring, carer

 Reproductive labor

 The body

 High responsibility

 Expressions of power

 Educational and social inequality of opportunity

 Self-esteem

 Paid / unpaid labor

 Socialization

 Conflict

PROFILE 1

I choose to do my internship at the horse riding school because at my previous school [secondary education] I had a lot of trouble with internships. I then often had to take internships that I did not like. I had no motivation and then I would often call in sick and things like that. [..]

These [secondary education] internship where usually in restaurants or lunch rooms and that never really stuck with me as a job that I would really like. I never really liked it, or I like cooking but I chose it more for later when I live on my own so I can at least cook, but otherwise I didn't really see it as a job that I prefer. [..]

What I like most about my internship at the horses riding school is especially working with the horses themselves, putting them outside, and pampering them. [..]

The tasks at my internship that I don't like doing as much is when you are in the arena where the horses have to ride, this arena has to be dragged even and that is quite heavy and irritating. [..]

I did not know that taking an internship at a horse riding school was a possibility because the care and service training is usually with people. [..]

But the horse riding school told me they could really use some help. [..]

I don't see what I learn at my training in Care and Service reflected in my internship at the horse riding school very much, but the cleaning that you really need to do in healthcare is also there, like mopping the floor and cleaning the toilets. [..]

Some of the task are heavier other are little chores like sweeping, mopping and filling the water for the horses. [..]

After my internship day on Tuesday I feel really tired afterwards. [..] because it is physically very heavy, it always is with horses. If you go home at the end of the day and you come home then you really want to sleep. That's how I often get home. [..]

My enjoyment in the internship is getting less and less because I have problems with my bones, they are very weak, so my body gives up very quickly. [..] It's not because I don't like it, but it's just too heavy physically. [..]

This complaint was understood at my internship [..] in our conversation she told me: it doesn't matter and told me to take good care of myself and that she would see me again the week after. [..]

After I had this conversation with my supervisor within the company. I then also had to report it to my teacher at school. [..]

I don't really know what the role is of my internship supervisor within the company. [..]

When she is working then all the others can come to her with questions.

There is a friendly relationship between everyone we get along very well.

We always have an one-hour break at noon. And then we also sit down with everyone, everyone from the employees, and then there is always time for

conversation.

They have a kitchen in there, so last time we all ate pancakes. The daughter and I made pancakes for everybody. The other time it was sandwiches, it's something different every time. [..]

As a child I wanted to become a nurse in the hospital, and I still want to work towards that. But I never have a 100% chance of becoming one. It's possible but it's also a possibility that it's not going to happen. Because my high school education was practical education, so it wasn't have or something, practical education is pretty low. And because of that I have a lot of trouble learning and because of that I think it's not really possible for me to become a nurse. [..]

As a nurse my task will be to take care of people, care and service level 1 is really as an assistant level so you don't do as much as when later on you do more by yourself.

I'm learning to be an assistant now, so not a manager. And the assistant does more of the smaller jobs than the manager anyway.

Jobs like tidying things up, cleaning and all that is also part of being a manager but it's still different. As a nurse you do more things like being busy with the people who are in the hospital and not cleaning. [..]

Everyone should be appreciated no matter who they are. But it's still different, I can't explain it that well. [..]

At my internship we work without masks at the moment because working with a mask is quite heavy and not really possible, everyone decided to not do it. Everyone could just tell what they wanted, the owners and so on, and everyone said that they didn't think it was necessary, so we never wear a mask but we actually have to. [..]

I was not there myself when the conversation about the decision happened. I would also not have liked to be there because I don't know, it's not really my thing. I only do my internship there. And I have no horse there. I don't think I should say anything about that. [..]

But I do feel heard because they did ask me when I came if I would rather work with or without a mouth mask. [..]

I don't feel involved when decisions are made at the internship but that's not up to me either because I'm only there for my internship. I don't think I need to be, or should be, involved in that kind of thing.

I don't think interns should be involved in decisions within the company because if they want to change something in the management, I don't think I should say something about it, because I don't have a horse, I'm not there as an employee, I'm not paid, so I don't think I should say something about it. I can give my opinion but I don't feel I have something to decide at my internship. [..]

I don't think I add knowledge that is important.

With the daughter of the boss I would dare to have a conversation about these topics but with the internship supervisor it is a bit more difficult because

she is a bit older. Then it is different. The daughter is more my age, so we can talk about anything. We're on the same line of thought. And my internship supervisor is a lot older and we are not on the same page. She sees things differently than I do. [..]

I never had a conflict with my internship supervisor but I do remember the first time I went to call in sick that I was afraid, of what she was going to say. [..]

I don't feel equal to each other because the internship supervisor does pretty little work. She's really someone who can sit at the computer all day. And I get all the tasks.

On Tuesdays I always feel like a slave. Because then it's really just work. So I get the task and then I have to do it alone. And when I'm done I have to come back and then I get another task and then I have to do it alone again. But on Fridays I work together with the boss's daughter and we do all the tasks together. So when we sweep the stables, we do it together, one starts at one side and the other at the other side. And that way you work towards each other, then I often find it more fun than when I'm put to work alone all day. There is sociability then and we are chatting.

I also feel more appreciated then, because I'm treated more like a person who is learning for her school and who helps out instead of on Tuesdays when I really feel, yes how do I explain it, a kind of slave.

I don't feel that I can discuss my feeling of being a "slave" at my internship because I think that's too separate to discuss. I would be afraid of the reaction I would get. [..]

I have been able to discuss my feelings with my internship supervisor at school, now I want to do something else where I will feel appreciated every day.

I don't think my internship teaches me how to express myself towards someone in a higher position. [..]

I do think it's important that everyone can do that. That you shouldn't be afraid to express your feelings to another person. But I do think that a lot of people have that. I think a lot of people are afraid of the reactions that may come back to them if they express their feelings. I've had that a lot. I still need to learn to express myself better at my internship.

PROFILE 2

I did one internship once at a beauty salon for makeup and I did an internship once at a fruit and vegetable factory, where I mostly did cleaning work.

I'm not interning in the makeup salon anymore because there were very few hours available. There was no stability.

And at the other place I got into a problem so I had to leave. I had a problem with a colleague and before it got any worse I thought I'd rather leave. Also because it's my uncle's company, I stopped with the internship so it couldn't get out of hand. [...] because the company belongs to my family, people often think that I am being favored. So usually I did the work that was less dirty and easier instead of the heavy difficult work. But I also think I was doing the easier jobs because I was younger, I was the youngest. [...]

I was there [factory] and then I went to sweep, then she [colleague] in a strange way said that I had to go to the band. Then I said again, no I had to sweep from my supervisor. Then she said again that I had to go to the band but I said no. Then she replied that I had to watch my language because she is older than me in terms of age, then I said no if you talk to me normally I will also talk to you normally, she did not. Then she said to my supervisor I'm really going to beat her, then she came at me and then I kicked her. Normally that is not allowed, but I had kicked her to defend myself. Then my supervisor took me upstairs and I had to cool down there, and they started talking to me. But I indicated at the time I'm not going to intern here anymore. When they see that you're small (new, young) they're going to pressure you, but if you don't let them, they (older college's) are going to make it a problem. So then I thought, I'd rather intern somewhere else where I'm more with my peers. [...]

They called my uncle, he's the owner. I'm supposed to be an example for the rest. [...]

If this was not a family business, I think I would have stayed calmer. For example, when you are with your father somewhere and someone wants to get into conflict with you, it is easier to go into that conflict than when you are all alone and that person is older and broader. Because now I knew that someone [father] was behind me. [...]

I have no idea how I could have handled this conversation differently with my colleague, I think this is in my character. [...]

Maybe I could have handled this conflict differently by going to my supervisor, instead of responding to the colleague myself but it was really sudden. This conversation with my supervisor would not have been difficult because my supervisor is like family they also came to my house sometimes. So we have a good relationship. [...]

There [at the factory] was no hierarchy in my opinion, everyone had an equal position. They wanted us to be like a big family with each other. [...] at

work there wasn't much discipline because everyone was like a family. I describe the word discipline, that one person really determines what happens, rather than everybody in the team determining it themselves. Because if one person determines what happens than everything is going more structured. But if everybody in the team determines themselves then everyone goes in a different direction. Then it can also become unorganized. [..]

The task I do enjoy doing the most are sweeping and pump truck because that is the easiest. Because if you have to work on the belt you also get all your clothes dirty, mold and things like that, so nobody likes that. [..]

The tasks that fit in with my studies in Care and Service are cleaning, throwing away boxes, cleaning oranges and preparing lunch. [..]

The guidance I received in the fruit factory was for example, before we got to work I always had to make breakfast, but I can't cook so I always got help from someone. And then after eating I had to wash the dishes. And then after that I had to go downstairs and then I had to sweep. For example, at the beginning of my internship I didn't know how to use the pump truck, but they showed me how. I also had to throw away boxes, for example, it wasn't very difficult but it wasn't very easy either, at first I didn't know how to do it and now I do. It's very easy actually that's why. [..]

I had to prepare breakfast, for all my colleagues. [..]

At first I said "how am I going to cook, I can't do that". Then they said that someone would accompany me who can cook, and then we did it together. Then she [colleague] went to help me. [..]

Everyone goes out to eat together, and then we could chat about vacations, daily life and what someone has experienced. They were nice conversations. [..]

If you have a choice you'd rather choose the clean work than the dirty work. [..]

I was already working there [in the factory] as a side-job. I liked my own work [The factory compared to the beauty salon] the most, because I just got paid there. I got the salary per week. They were very flexible. I could come when I wanted, even after school. I could determine my own working hours. [..]

But it is not the work that I would like to do later on because I want to become a beautician.

I want to become a beautician because I like to clean and take care of other people's faces. [..]

I don't have a problem with having contact with customers, I like interacting with people.

I also like to see that they feel welcome in that place.

I think that is important because then they [customers] are usually warm-blooded, they talk about their lives. [..]

What I like most about my Care and Service training is that you have a lot of contact with clients and people. You get to take care of people all day and

then you see them leave the salon with a smile. [..]

I don't see my internship at the fruit factory contributing to that because It's only cleaning work and I don't want to become a cleaner so nothing really. But I don't think it had been better to choose another internship because I got paid here, so instead of working 400 hours for free I would rather do 400 hours of paid work. Earning and working. At least you feel like you're not doing it for nothing. Suppose all of a sudden you want to perform another profession, then you've worked 400 hours for free because you've done an unpaid internship. [..]

I actually think that everyone should receive a certain amount of money for their internship. Because we come there to learn but we also do work at that time, we don't do nothing there, that's why.

PROFILE 3

I am doing an internship at a youth foundation in Rotterdam, Millingsbuurt Charlois. [..]

I also used to live in Rotterdam. [..] I do activating activities with children at the internship site, which I really enjoy doing. [..]

I like sports, and to work together. For example, playing soccer. I like to be able to play with others like that. [..]

First, I always have to go to an elementary school to watch the children there. Here we speak to the children for example, if something has happened, or if they are not behaving properly. After that we take a break, and then we do an ambulatory round in the neighborhood. Then we use our phones to make reports of bulky waste such as broken refrigerators. We then report this to the municipality. Furthermore, we must remember how many children and parents were in the squares, we make a note of this on paper. So when we return from our tour, we fill out a form with questions like what was the weather like, date, time and if anything special happened that needs to be reported. [..] we activate the children. I usually play soccer with the children, I like that. I address the children when they are cursing or arguing. But often we make teams and play tournaments with them. And during the vacations we organize activities for the children, such as bingo. [..]

I find square service the most fun task to perform because many children know me on the square. Sometimes strange things happen on the square and then we have to take action. I think it is important that children feel safe on the square. And above all to have fun. But the children of the square are sweet, I think they are sweet. They see me as a bigger brother. I always join them. [..]

I think it's very sweet of them to see me as their big brother. It is nice and cozy that I am accepted by them. [..]

I think it is important to be accepted in the square, because I don't like the idea that I would come to work there and be unknown to them, just watching and not participating and remaining unknown to the children. I just want them to accept and appreciate me. [..]

I don't like filling out the form at the end of the day. I find that boring sometimes and they are boring and stupid questions. Examples of the questions are; what is the weather like? What all I've seen that needs to be reported, like a fight or a drunk man. [..]

I see the tasks I do during my internship like taking care of children, working with children all day long, reflected in the training in Care & Service. I have to pay attention, I learn how to deal with children during my internship. [..]

Every day when I come to the square the children greet me. They really want to play soccer with me. Yes, every day is very nice. [..]

I don't see any difference between the interns and the regular employees.

And we have a boss, who tells us what to do. They [the regular employees] are about the same age, and some of them are even younger than the interns. I don't see any difference between the regular staff and the interns because we perform the same work, and we always work together. [..]

I do have a good relationship with my colleagues, we also chat a lot during my internship. When we are in a big group we also laugh with each other. [..]

I can very often talk with the boss. He also jokes with us, he is kind and patient. But if you make many mistakes in a row and he doesn't see any improvement then he can also be strict.

I don't find conversations with my supervisor difficult, I have to talk about these things [difficulties], I have to report everything that happens. [..]

I only sometimes feel appreciated at my internship because I don't get that many compliments. But I do my best, sometimes I forget things. I do get feedback often but not compliments, I would like to get compliments more often.

The compliments I do get are that I always come on time. I live far away, I live in Ridderkerk.

The things I would like to receive compliments on more often are that I am active and sportive with the children. [..]

What I like about being involved with people is because I can learn many new things. Hearing their stories and histories from different people. Helping them is important to me. [..]

I do think my boss sees that I am helpful.

Sometimes I feel uncomfortable in the square, and I went to talk to my boss about that. It's nice there but there are also people who can be dangerous. Sometimes they act tough, and I was attacked at that square three years ago, that's why I don't feel safe there, but he said I should just not pay attention to that. And nothing was done about it.

I thought okay, I trust you. But if something does happen then it's my boss's fault. I know how it goes in the Netherlands, I can never feel safe here.

I asked him if he could place me somewhere else, in another square, but he said no don't worry.

I believe him that nothing will happen. I have heard that if someone attacks a youth worker, then the attacker has a big problem. This already makes me feel more safe.

PROFILE 4

I do an internship in special elementary education. I work with children who have difficulty with learning and behavior. It is my old elementary school. When I had to choose an internship, I immediately chose my old elementary school, they had space so yes, why not.

[..] and it is also a very nice school. Personally, I just really like working with people.

What I like about working with people is that you can do something for someone. Helping them with something they don't understand. [..]

The most enjoyable tasks on my internship are supervising a group of students, for example in the hallway, then I can explain everything to them. And in between we have conversations about everything they are experiencing. I have noticed that at my internship site, every student has experienced something in their life, sometimes it touches me personally to listen to it, but I also have a good time with them. [..]

I'm only 16 and that's still pretty young. And they're 13, 12 years old and they just like to talk to someone their own age. So they can always come to me. For example, if things are not going well at home, they always come to me. The most I can do is talk, I will not tell it to anyone because they come to me for a certain reason. I can't do much else for them, but I can talk to them about everything. Then at least they have someone to talk to. [..]

It is an important role because I have also experienced a lot in the past. Not at home but at school. I had many people around me that I could talk to, like my mother. But some children don't have that, that they can talk to their mother or others around them. So I think it's important that they can talk to me. [..]

Since I started the training Care and Service [..] I now know better what my characteristics are and I am proud of that. [..] What I do not like is that now I find it difficult that I have not yet received assignments to carry out during my internship. [..]

I'm glad I have a good relationship with my supervisor [..] I like to keep the internship and personal life separate. I go to do the internship and learn, not to talk about other things. [..]

Sometimes I don't feel like doing things but I just have to carry them out. I am doing my internship to help them [the special elementary school], that is also what is expected of me so I just do it. [..]

At the end of my internship day I feel tired, but I am always tired. When the students have left I always sweep the floor and put the cups in the dishwasher. That's standard, after that I'm exhausted. [..]

I don't think there are equal opportunities for MBO1 students in terms of internships. I think the opportunities are less.

I think the fact that you have to do so many hours of work placement is just part of it, I come to school to learn, and internship is part of it.

PROFILE 5

I am in the window cleaning business. We are not only window washers, but we also do façade cleaning, for example. With construction support, we go and clean schools or they ask us to do mopping. But we also do municipal buildings, like the police stations. You name it, anything that has to do with cleaning. The company is situated here in Rotterdam North. My internship days are on Tuesday and Friday and I work there the other days as well. [...] My boss is also my internship supervisor, and those hours of internship are at the end of the month just added in terms of salary. [...]

You are often divided into teams and together you ensure that you work rock hard. [...]

Ladders are no longer allowed, or maybe maximum 1 to 2 meters high, because of the Health and Safety Act. We have aluminum ladders but also wooden ladders. [...] We then have a schedule, you are scheduled on Zuidplein, the schedule says that you must finish it within an x amount days. If it has to be finished on the last day then it really has to be finished. This, that has to be done, done.

It's not easy, it's really hard work. If you have such a stick, and it's still folded down then you think oh this is okay, but when you unfold it, all the way up then you think oh shit this is heavy. And especially on high points, if you stand like this (keep arms stretched up) then you have trouble here (points to shoulders) because you must do this (makes long movements with his arms, from stretched back down). And then you have to look up with your head and then you have cramps and then you have to make that movement. You do put yourself in dangerous situations, sometimes you have to stand on the side of the road, for example. [...]

Some guys don't really do much, sometimes they don't feel like it anymore. But some buddies and me, we bang. We finish a building within a day if we have to. [...]

Well sometimes I have trouble with the chamois, if I have to do this (makes swinging movement from left to right with arm) my hand stroke, because we must ensure that it is done line free. This is checked by the boss. If I can't do it I ask for help, "I don't understand this and this, can you help me?" [...] We also have fun, sometimes we have fun in between and then we go back to serious work. When we have a break we have fun, we laugh a lot. At least when I'm with them, I'm not really a talkative person but I'm a little quieter, but I do listen in.

Because I don't know everyone really well [...] we do talk, then we listen to music and he'll rap [colleague]. Everybody is very different, everybody has their own thing. There is a certain group where everyone already knows each very well, when I came to that group, I became the rookie. When you see these colleagues, they are often not doing anything. I always have to do more, and the heavier work because of that. [...] Then I am asked to help

someone but then I think: I am already doing this [a cleaning task], why do I have to come to you now? I do want to open my mouth about this but then I already think: I better don't say anything about it, because that can end up in a quarrel. Because I don't like being called out for help continuously. [..]

With a colleague I sometimes talk about it, that it bothers me that I am called continuously. Let me do one task first, and when I am finished I will come and help the other. But he also says that some colleagues are just a bit lazy. [..]

I could talk to my boss about this as well, then I just ask him for a talk because it bothers me. Then I ask if I can talk to him alone for a minute, then he'll say, of course boy. Then we go to the office. Some things you just have to discuss one on one. [..]

The other day, when I was working hard, my things were stolen from the bus. At that moment we were cleaning a nursery at Afrikaanderplein. [..] everyone there [at the business] started laughing about it, a little defiantly. At that moment I was of course not happy, and I said to everyone: don't do it, it's not funny, because if it had happened to you, you would have gone crazy too. [..] They don't know me very well yet, they don't know what kind of boy I am, because I can also be aggressive. [..]

There is one person with whom I can talk well, but lately I don't feel like it. I don't talk about the situation I'm going through now. I was picked up by the police the other day. [..] I did change after that, after being there for such a while. [..] Trusting people is just hard for me now.

At the internship, everyone just has their own group that they interact with. They just give me a task, they explain how to do it, I have to do it, and then I come back and get a new task. On the one hand, if I am on my own and they give me a task, I don't mind it. I also learn by watching others. [..]

I would like to learn social skills, but not too much. It has to be in balance. I'm not going to show my feelings to everyone. The sector of window washers are not always good people, the mafia is there too, the drugs everything you can think of. Do you think my colleagues are all decent guys? They're not. They all drink, they all blow, every one of them. That's why I don't talk to them, because they are not examples to talk to. With the boss himself I can talk. [..]

It is a work placement, it is recognized, that is checked. He [the company] also has regular work throughout the year, that is why I think it is a fine internship place.

I would not like to do this work later on, this is temporary. Because next school year I have chosen to study engineering, that's also what I did before. I want to go back to work in the garage.

I had chosen to study Care and Service for this school year because I had listened to someone, I think I should never have done that. I was in construction before this. There I had some arguments and altercations with teachers. One of them was racist, I don't like that, then I'm the wrong person

to work with. If you start irritating me I won't be calm anymore. That is why I always try to indicate my limits. The same goes for when I'm at my internships.

I also want to go back to the garage because the company belongs to my uncle.

At the garage is where I find my peace of mind, cars are my favorite thing. I like tinkering, I like to be busy all day. [...] But otherwise I go and clean, sweep, polish the windows or stack the tires.

At the Care and Service studies I mainly learned cleaning, I can take with me to my next studies that I make sure my garage stays clean. It has to be clean every day. Later I want to open my own business, then I want to hire interns. What I'm going to teach them is: when you're working, you clean your stuff, you keep your workplace clean, when you're finished at the end of the day you take the broom and the chamois.

In my family there are also a number of people that work in the care sector. My oldest sister has done a lot of care work, my mother worked for a cleaning company and so has my other aunt. It's not unknown in our house, we love to clean.

APPENDIX II

THE ART OF REPRODUCTIVE LABOR

MAUD BERDEN - MEIA 2020-2021



Werkplan

<p>Wat is je werkvolgorde? Schrijf in stappen op wat je allemaal achter elkaar gaat doen om de opdracht te doen.</p>	<p>ik schrijf nooit een werkplan</p>
<p>Welke hulpmiddelen heb je nodig?</p>	<p>ik weet het wel!</p>
<p>Welke materialen heb je nodig?</p>	<p>ik weet het wel!</p>
<p>Hoe lang zal je ongeveer over de opdracht doen (uitvoering én afronding)?</p>	<p>ik weet het wel!</p>
<p>Zijn er veiligheidseisen waar je aan moet voldoen?</p>	<p>ik weet het wel!</p>

I never do that, not even in the work-place. But you do it so you don't forget anything. I know all the answers to these questions by heart. A plan like that just confuses me.

UITVOERING

- Werk volgens je werkvolgorde (je werkplan).
- Werk veilig (en milieubewust).
- Als je een probleem hebt, vraag dan je begeleider om uitleg of hulp.
- Laat je werk door je begeleider controleren.

AFRONDING

- Maak gebruikte hulpmiddelen (en materialen en middelen) schoon.
- ~~Scheid de afval van het restmateriaal en het afval.~~
- Ruim alle gebruikte hulpmiddelen, materialen en middelen op de juiste manier op.
- Voer eventueel afval af. *weggeven dins.*
- Check of je je werkplek netjes hebt achtergelaten.
- Meld je af bij je begeleider, nadat je klaar bent met de opdracht.

Werkplan

<p>Wat is je werkvolgorde? Schrijf in stappen op wat je allemaal achter elkaar gaat doen om de opdracht te doen.</p>	
<p>Welke hulpmiddelen heb je nodig?</p>	
<p>Welke materialen heb je nodig?</p>	<p style="font-size: 2em; color: magenta;">VRAAG</p>

Work plan could also contain more options, because not every day is the same. And it also differs with whom you do the activity.

UITVOERING

- Werk volgens je werkvolgorde (je werkplan).
- ~~Werk veilig~~ (en milieubewust).
- ~~Als je een probleem hebt, vraag dan je begeleider om uitleg of hulp.~~
- Laat je werk door je begeleider controleren.

AFRONDING

- Maak gebruikte hulpmiddelen (en materialen en middelen) schoon.
- ~~Scheid eventueel het restmateriaal en het afval.~~
- Ruim alle gebruikte hulpmiddelen, materialen en middelen op de juiste manier op.
- ~~Verwerk eventueel afval af.~~ GOOI AFVAL WEG
- Check of je je werkplek netjes hebt achtergelaten.
- Meld je af bij je begeleider, nadat je klaar bent met de opdracht.

EVALUATIE

Wat ging goed (denk aan de voorbereiding, uitvoering én afronding)?

ligt aan de opdracht.

Again this depends on the activity you are doing.

Wat kan je de volgende keer verbeteren of anders doen (denk aan de voorbereiding, uitvoering én afronding)?

Wat heb je van deze opdracht geleerd?

Over de gehele stage periode.

What did you learn from practicing this assignment throughout the internship period?

Welk cijfer zou je jezelf geven? Waarom geef je jezelf dit cijfer?

This is a difficult question because I have to give myself a grade.

Welke van je persoonlijke eigenschappen heb je toegepast in de opdracht?

EVALUATIE

Wat ging goed (denk aan de voorbereiding, uitvoering én afronding)?

Evaluation - evaluating and growing
Reflect - looking at yourself

Wat kan je de volgende keer verbeteren of anders doen (denk aan de voorbereiding, uitvoering én afronding)?

Wat heb je van deze opdracht geleerd?

Just sit down with you and discuss it.

hoe voelde
je je tijdens
het uitvoeren
van de opdracht

Ging je met
een goed
gevoel naar
Huis?

ik wil Rustig zitten en dit Bespreken!!

EVALUATIE

Wat ging goed (denk aan de voorbereiding, uitvoering én afronding)?

Wat kan je de volgende keer verbeteren of anders doen (denk aan de voorbereiding, uitvoering én afronding)?

There is always room for improvement.

Waarom vind je het Belangrijk?

Was er iets wat je niet wist Hoe je het moet Doen?

EVALUATIE

Wat ging goed (denk aan de voorbereiding, uitvoering én afronding)? *tijdens het uitvoeren van de opdracht?*

I never follow a step-by-step plan, but from school you have to do that now for this assignment. So then they should also ask how we felt about following a step-by-step plan.

Hoe vond je het om een stappenplan te volgen?



EVALUATIE

Wat vind je leuk aan Boodschappen Doen?

Wat vind je niet leuk AAN Boodschappen Doen?

Wat heb je van deze opdracht geleerd?

Just everything, because grocery shopping is not difficult.

Hoe ging het contact met je stage Begeleider?