

**Education about the Dark Pages of Dutch History: An Analysis of Secondary Education
Learning Materials**

Laura Felicia Baseler

S1711695

Ben Arps

MA Thesis

4 January 2020

Southeast Asian Studies Leiden University

Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	3
2. Methodology	4
2.1 Secondary Sources	4
2.2 Analysis of Dutch History Learning Materials	4
2.3. Questionnaire Research	5
3. Dutch History Education and Current Public and Academic Debates	6
3.1 Dutch History Education and Its Importance.....	6
3.2 Public Debates	6
3.3 Academic Debates	8
4. Primary Research Part One: Analysis of Dutch History Learning Materials.	10
4.1 Qualitative Analysis of Primary Sources	10
4.1.1 Memo	11
4.1.2 Feniks	17
4.1.3 Geschiedeniswerkplaats	21
4.2 Conclusions.....	27
5. Primary Research Part Two: Questionnaire Results and Analysis	31
5.1 Sub-question 1.	31
5.2 Sub-question 2.	33
5.3 Sub-question 3.	37
6. Conclusion	41
7. Bibliography	42
8. Appendices.....	46
8.1 An Overview of the Analysed Learning Materials	46
8.2 The Questionnaire	50

1. Introduction

In my BA thesis, I did an analysis on the representations of colonial history in Dutch and Indonesian secondary education learning materials. From that research I concluded that the materials from both countries all had their issues. Yet, I found the Dutch materials to be even more problematic than the Indonesian ones. In the Dutch materials that I analysed, the amount of attention to Dutch colonial history was very limited. Furthermore, the materials contained Eurocentric narratives and there were some issues concerning language use as well. I thought that it would be interesting to research the issue further for my MA thesis. So, for this thesis, I have done a deeper and more thorough exploration on how Dutch learning materials depict Dutch colonial history. I have done this by analysing more textbooks (to get a more complete insight) and also by looking into what the consequences are of the representations on the way that students think about Dutch colonial history. For this thesis, I have tried to answer the following research question:

What kind of awareness do Dutch history learning materials try to induce in high school students about colonialism, and what are the outcomes?

In recent years (late 2010s), history education has often been a topic of discussion and debate in the Netherlands. Many have argued that the shadow sides of Dutch history are not sufficiently brought to attention in history education. There also has been much discussion about the “Canon of Dutch History”, which is a learning tool for Dutch high school students that is supposed to help them learn about Dutch national history. It came under increasing criticism in recent years due to its lack of inclusion of women and people of colour. Even the UN has weighed in on the issue. In 2019, UN rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, Tendayi Achiume, stated in her report on the Netherlands that far more needs to be done to educate students about the histories of colonialism and slavery. Last year (2020), the Black Lives Matter movement has sparked discussions about the representations of slavery and colonialism in history education as well.

This thesis consists of three main parts. I will start by introducing my methodology. Then, in the first part, I will discuss Dutch history education, the current public debates and academic debates on Dutch colonial history in the Netherlands. The second part of the thesis will be a learning materials analysis, in which several textbooks will be discussed. The final part of the thesis is an analysis of a questionnaire that I have conducted.

2. Methodology

2.1 Secondary Sources

For this thesis I have used both primary as well as secondary sources. The secondary sources that I have used for writing this thesis are mainly books, journal articles and newspaper articles. I have used these secondary sources to explore the current public and academic debates on Dutch colonial history in the Netherlands.

2.2 Analysis of Dutch History Learning Materials

The majority of this thesis consists of my own primary research. This primary research has two parts. The first part is an analysis of Dutch high school history learning materials. For my BA thesis, I analysed only two secondary education textbooks. The analysis I did then gave an insight as to how colonial history is represented in Dutch history learning materials, but the study was still quite limited. So, for this MA thesis, I have explored it further by analysing more history textbooks. This has given me a much more complete insight as to how colonial history is represented in Dutch learning materials. For the analysis, I have selected history textbooks from the three major publishers for high school history learning materials in the Netherlands. Those being: Malmberg Publishers, Thiememeulenhof and Noordhoff. The books that I have selected were used in high schools in the years between 2006 and 2016. During the learning materials analysis, I have also looked at how the representations changed throughout the years. Through qualitative analysis, I have critically analysed the learning materials further to see how colonial history is discussed/represented in them. For the analysis, I have mostly looked at the following things:

- What kind of language use is employed by the authors when Dutch colonial history is discussed in the textbooks?
- Do the materials contain a Eurocentric narrative? Or do they include many different perspectives as well? From what perspective(s) is the history told?
- Are descriptions of colonial history superficial or do they go into depth? Are there many missing pieces or are the materials successful in creating a complete picture of the history?
- Do the learning materials explore/engage in the academic/public debates in regard to Dutch colonial history and how it is processed in the variety of materials.

2.3. Questionnaire Research

For this thesis, I have also conducted a questionnaire consisting of 20 questions to find out what the outcomes are of the way that Dutch colonial history is represented in the learning materials. The questionnaire was conducted in three different classes at two different schools (RSG 't Rijks and Studiekring Roosendaal). In total, 40 students participated, who all used the learning method *Geschiedeniswerkplaats*. The respondents were in their last year of high school and were either on the academic level of havo or vwo. For this questionnaire research, I have explored three different sub-questions. The first sub-question is: “has the lack of attention to Dutch colonial history in the learning materials also led to a lack of knowledge?” On the basis of a few questions, I have tried to assess what the high school students know about colonial history and what they do not know. Through the use of seven questions, I have tried to find out how extensive their knowledge on Dutch colonial history is. The second sub-question is the following: “What opinions and attitudes do high school students hold on colonial history?” This second sub-question is less about knowledge, instead, it is more about how high school students view the colonial history. How do they feel about the events and the historic figures of the history? Finally, the third sub-question is: “What opinions do high school students hold on current issues about colonialism in the Netherlands?” On the basis of seven questions, I have also tried to gauge what attitudes and opinions the high school students hold about present-day issues about colonial history in the Netherlands, where colonial history remains a much-debated topic. There have been debates about history education, the statues and many more. I thought that for this questionnaire, it would be interesting as well to explore how the students feel about these issues. Are they aware of these discussions existing, and if they are, how do they feel about them?

3. Dutch History Education and Current Public and Academic Debates

3.1 Dutch History Education and Its Importance

In the Netherlands, there are several publishers that produce history textbooks for secondary schools. Malmberg Publishers, Thiememeulenhof and Noordhoff are the main publishing companies. Still, the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science has a large influence on the contents of history learning materials (De Correspondent 2017). Every few years, the Ministry puts together a commission of historians that is to review the contents of the learning materials and give out advice about it. Once every few years, new guidelines are made up and new learning objectives are communicated to the publishers, who are then required to make changes in the materials in accordance with the new guidelines and learning objectives (De Correspondent 2017). The current learning materials are still largely based on the advice given by the Commission de Rooy in 2001. This commission gave out the advice that history should be taught chronologically and should also be divided into ten different historical periods. This was according to them the best way for students to get a clear overview of history. The “Ten Historical Periods” framework has been applied to Dutch history education from 2007 onwards and is the foundation for many history textbooks. The books that I have used for the learning materials analysis all feature the framework as well.

From my BA thesis, I learned that learning materials are crucial in shaping the way young people think about and view their own national history (Weiner 2016, 450). The contents of both primary as well as secondary school learning materials can impact and influence generations of students (Weiner 2014, 2). The historical narratives in history learning materials therefore do have great significance. I also learned that Eurocentric narratives can impede the development of a nuanced and broad understandings of the past (van Nieuwenhuysse 2017, 9).

3.2 Public Debates

In recent years, there has been much discussion about the “Canon of Dutch History”. The Canon of Dutch history was first introduced in 2006 at the request of the Dutch Ministry of Education (de Vos 2009, 111). The idea for the Canon was born out of the belief that Dutch youth had too little knowledge of their own national history (van Oostrom 2007, 19-20). The Canon is meant for students in their last years of primary school and students in their first years of secondary education. It features fifty persons and objects that symbolise the major aspects

and milestones of Dutch history (de Vos 2009, 115-116). From the start, most public reactions to the Canon were quite negative. Piet de Rooy, the chairman of the Commission that designed the Ten-Periods framework, compared the Canon to a bag of potatoes. He argued that it lacked cohesion and that there was not enough attention for other cultures. These points of criticism by de Rooy were widely shared. Still, the most common criticism, however, was that the Canon was old-fashioned, Eurocentric and too nationalistic (de Vos 2009, 115-116). Those criticisms of the Canon gained attention in the media as well; almost all major news outlets reported on the issue. The debates ultimately led to a revision of it in June 2020 and as a result, more women and people of colour were included. An example is the inclusion of Anton de Krom, who was a Surinamese resistance fighter, activist and anti-colonialist author. Apart from the History Canon, the Ten-Periods framework has also been criticised for its alleged “nationalist bias and nationalist agenda” (de Vos 2009, 118). However, no changes have been made to the framework so far and it still remains the foundation for many history textbooks.

Last year, the Black Lives Matter movement led to protests in the Netherlands and also sparked many debates about Dutch history of slavery and colonialism. Among other things, the movement has sparked discussions about: the need for apologies from the Dutch government towards the peoples that have been exploited by the Netherlands in the past; discussions about whether or not statues of controversial historical figures such as Jan Pieterszoon Coen should be removed; the movement has also lit up debates about the representations of slavery and colonialism in history education. Many have claimed that such topics receive too little attention in history education. Petitions were also started last year that argued for more attention to slavery, colonialism and racism in education. One of those petitions has been signed over 60.000 times. These debates have continued until today.

Even the UN has weighed in on the issue. In 2019, UN rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, Tendayi Achiume, visited the Netherlands. In her final report on racism and discrimination in the Netherlands, she expressed that Dutch education should pay more attention to the country's colonial past and slavery, and the consequences these still have today (Achiume, 2019). According to Achiume, it is urgent that a more complete picture of Dutch history is provided. She stated in her report:

“Education on the history and legacy of slavery and colonialism [...] is urgent in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Education is absolutely central to combatting discrimination and countering intolerance, and a broad range of educational measures is required in the Netherlands. [...] far more needs to be done to educate all Dutch people both about the histories of slavery and

colonialism as histories of systematic racial subordination, including and especially of the peoples of former Dutch colonies, and those peoples enslaved and traded by the Dutch. This education must also encompass a fuller accounting of the fundamental contributions that racial and ethnic minorities made, both during and after the colonial period, to consolidating Dutch national prosperity.” (Achieme, 2019).

In the report, Achieme did commend the Netherlands for the steps that have been made so far, but according to her, efforts should be increased and the government should show “even greater leadership where these efforts are concerned.” (Achieme, 2019). The report by UN Rapporteur Achieme gained attention in the media as well.

3.3 Academic Debates

There has not been much academic debate or research about the representations of colonial history and slavery in Dutch history education. Yet, an interesting study has been done by Prof. Melissa F. Weiner about Eurocentrism in Dutch learning materials. In her work “Colonized Curriculum: Racializing Discourses of Africa and Africans in Dutch Primary School History Textbooks”, Weiner argued upon analysis of several history textbooks that the materials all featured a Eurocentric narrative that downplays and excludes “the voices, experiences, cultures, and histories of dominated groups” (Weiner 2016, 451). In her work, Weiner argued that Eurocentrism and the limited attention to the topic of slavery perpetuate Dutch social forgetting of slavery and likely contribute to the erasure of the subject from the Dutch national narrative (Weiner 2014, 1-13). Despite the fact that Weiner focuses her research on the representations of Africa and African slave trade, and despite the fact that Dutch-Indonesian colonial history is not explored in depth by Weiner, her arguments about Eurocentrism in Dutch learning materials still remain valuable.

Reggie Baay, a writer and expert in colonial and postcolonial literature and history, has also commented on the problems in Dutch history education in his book *Daar werd wat gruwelijks verricht. Slavernij in Nederlands-Indië*. In the book, Baay explored the topic of slavery in the Dutch East Indies, but also commented on the issues in Dutch history education. In one of the chapters, Baay expressed disapproval about the fact that in Dutch history education, discussions about slavery by the Dutch are always limited to the trans-Atlantic slave trade and slavery in the West, and never explore the slavery in the Dutch East Indies, despite

the fact that it was also very common there (Baay 2015, 12-13). He also brought up the History Canon. According to Baay, the window or chapter called “Slavery. Human Trafficking and Forced Labour” only exclusively discusses slavery in the West but does not discuss the slavery by the Dutch in the East. According to Baay, “the fact that our country also has a history of slavery spanning several centuries in ‘the other former colony’, the former Dutch East Indies, remains overlooked” (Baay 2015, 12-13).

In his article, “Colonial memory and forgetting in the Netherlands and Indonesia”, Paul Bijl, a researcher at KITLV (the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies), explores the reasons why matters such as slavery, colonialism and colonial violence are so often disregarded and overlooked in the Netherlands. According to Bijl, the problem is not forgetting, but cultural aphasia which is “a difficulty speaking, an inability to discuss and integrate the colonial past into the national narrative” (Bijl 2016, 449). Bijl states that for the Dutch, colonialism is not memorable, not easy to remember. According to Bijl, matters that are deemed memorable are often much more present in history education than those matters that are not. According to Bijl, elements from the Dutch past that have, in fact, proven to be memorable, are for example: “the images of the Dutch as resilient and independent (e.g. against the Spanish in the Eighty Years War, 1568–1648), as victimized (by the Germans in World War II, and in more recent times by Muslim immigrants) and as tolerant and leading in international human rights affairs (e.g. as founders of the European Union and hosts of the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice in The Hague)”. Bijl remarks that matters such as those are strongly present in Dutch education. (Bijl 2012, 450). He also states that “Remembering the dead of Dutch colonial violence, by contrast, also implies remembering Dutch perpetratorship, and that historical subject position is hardly available.” (Bijl 2012, 450).

4. Primary Research Part One: Analysis of Dutch History Learning Materials.

4.1 Qualitative Analysis of Primary Sources

For the analysis, I have selected and used the following materials:

- *Memo Geschiedenis Bovenbouw havo leer/opdrachtenboek* from 2016 by Malmberg Publishers
- *Memo Geschiedenis Bovenbouw vwo leer/opdrachtenboek* from 2016 by Malmberg Publishers
- *Memo Geschiedenis voor de tweede fase Handboek vwo* from 2008 by Malmberg Publishers
- *Feniks Geschiedenis voor de bovenbouw havo Overzicht van de geschiedenis* from 2012 by ThiemeMeulenhoff
- *Feniks Geschiedenis voor de tweede fase vwo Overzicht van de geschiedenis* from 2007 by ThiemeMeulenhoff
- *Geschiedeniswerkplaats Geschiedenis Tweede Fase havo Handboek historisch overzicht* from 2006 by Noordhoff
- *Geschiedeniswerkplaats Geschiedenis Tweede Fase vwo Handboek historisch overzicht* from 2006 by Noordhoff
- *Geschiedeniswerkplaats Geschiedenis Tweede Fase vwo Handboek historisch overzicht* from 2012 by Noordhoff

I have analysed havo textbooks as well as vwo textbooks. In Dutch secondary education, havo refers to senior general secondary education and vwo refers to pre-university education.

As I mentioned in the methodology, I have looked at the following things:

- Are descriptions of colonial history short and superficial or do they go into depth? Are all the sides of the history explored, or only the positive sides?
- Do the materials contain a Eurocentric narrative? From what perspective(s) is the history told?
- What kind of language use is employed by the authors when Dutch colonial history is discussed?
- Do the learning materials explore/engage in the academic/public debates in regard to Dutch colonial history?

4.1.1 Memo by Malmberg Publishers

Memo Geschiedenis Bovenbouw havo leer/opdrachtenboek (2016)

The amount of attention that the authors of this textbook pay to Dutch colonial history is limited and quite often, the negative parts of the history are left out. This is also the case in chapter 4.3 (International Trade). The chapter discusses worldwide trade capitalism, but a majority of the chapter focuses on the economic growth of the Dutch Republic in the 17th century. There is a paragraph titled “VOC and WIC” in which both organisations are briefly discussed. The authors talk about the VOC in a very positive way and praise the organisation for its achievements. They call it an “extraordinary trade company” and use words such as “exceptional” and “special” when referring to the VOC. Still, the negative sides of the trade company are discussed. The authors do not talk about the violence that the VOC committed in the East, nor do they discuss the fact that the VOC participated in slave trade (Baay 2015, 60). The chapter does include an image of a Dutch merchant posing with a black slave on the background. The description of the image reads: “In the 17th and 18th century the WIC traded people from Africa and the VOC also used slaves” (de Bruijn et al. 2016a, 104). So, it is at least acknowledged that the VOC kept slaves, but it is a shame that other topics such as the violence and slave trade by the VOC are overlooked.



Figure 1. Johan de la Faille with a black servant.

Chapter 4.1

Dutch colonial history also is not paid much attention in chapter 7.3 (Modern Imperialism). In the chapter, the authors mostly talk about modern imperialism and colonialism in a general way, but they rarely talk about what things were like in the Dutch East Indies specifically. The authors explore the reasons behind imperialism and discuss the general effects that it had on the colonies in Asia and Africa. However, the Dutch East Indies are only mentioned a few times in the chapter. In total, only seven sentences discuss Dutch colonial history in the chapter. It is a stark difference when one compares it to the amount of text about colonialism in Congo in the same chapter. While only a few sentences discuss the Indies, there is an extensive and detailed one-page case study about Belgian Congo, where the authors explore in detail the oppression and exploitation of the Congolese by King Leopold II and his regime. The chapter pays more attention to Belgian Congo than to the colonial history of the Netherlands itself. In the chapter, there is also a stark contrast between the image depicting several Congolese (child) slaves with their hands cut off and the relatively much nicer picture of a Dutch cultivator and his Indonesian staff posing on dredger in the Dutch East Indies. The chapter gives the impression that Dutch colonialism really was not so bad. The authors barely discuss the history and when it is discussed, the negative sides are not explored. On top of that, the detailed discussion about the exploitation of Congo and the juxtaposition of the images also make the Dutch seem much less awful in comparison. It is difficult to say if this was done deliberately or not, but the effect remains the same.



Figure 2: Congolese child slaves. Chapter 7.3



Figure 3: A Dutch cultivator and his Indonesian staff posing on a dredger in Deli. Chapter 7.3

In chapter 10.4 (Nationalism in the Colonies), there is a one-page case study about Ho Chi Minh and nationalism in Vietnam. After that, the text explores the emergence of nationalism in the British East Indies, in the Dutch East Indies, and a few general reasons behind the emergence of anti-colonialism in Asia. For some reason, there is also a whole page discussing the ethical policy and the efforts made by the Dutch to educate the Indonesian population. It is heavily implied in this section that this education was a big factor for the emergence of nationalism in the Dutch East Indies. Yet, the other reasons for the emergence of nationalism in the Indies are not further explored, such as the economic exploitation or the racial discrimination by the Dutch. The textbook also contains little information about Indonesian independence. In chapter 11.3 (North and South), the decolonisation of the Asian and African continents is discussed. It starts, again, with a one-page case study about Congo's independence struggle. The Indonesian independence is discussed in a mere six sentences in the main text. It seems that the authors of the textbook felt more comfortable discussing the colonial history of other countries, but less their own.

Still, the attempts that the textbook makes to create historical awareness about Dutch colonial history are commendable. For instance, the authors discuss the controversial statue of Jan Pieterszoon Coen in the city of Hoorn and explore the reasons why some people (mostly the Moluccan Dutch) want the statue taken down. It is explained that there has been a shift in the way of thinking about Coen and his statues. The authors also briefly discuss the violence he committed on behalf of the VOC. As an example, the massacre on the Banda Islands in 1621 is talked about. Yet, while it is good that this discussion about the statues is included, the way that the authors discuss the Banda Islands massacre is questionable. One of the sentences reads: "When Coen noticed that the inhabitants also did business with others, he caused a massacre in 1621 in which thousands were killed." (de Bruijn et al. 2016a, 105). The way that this is phrased does not really do justice on what really happened, because it was basically a genocide since 14.000 of the 15.000 inhabitants of the Banda Islands were killed. Yet, these exact numbers are not mentioned, neither is it acknowledged that the population of Banda was almost completely eradicated by Coen and his army.

Later in the book, there is also a discussion about the shift in social perception about the police actions of 1947 and 1948. Multiple Dutch perspectives are explored: one text source describes the experience of veteran Joop Hueting, where he admits taking part in war crimes. Another source is an excerpt of the "Excessennota", in which a Dutch government official states that "the government maintains its standpoint that the armed forces as a whole behaved in a correct manner while in Indonesia." (de Bruijn et al. 2016a, 259). Lastly, a photo depicting

three Indonesian nationalists facing a firing squad is also included, accompanied by a statement by a Dutch journalist discussing the picture.



Figure 4: Indonesian nationalists during the war. Chapter 11.3

He explains: “The surfaced photos remind us that it really was a war. We were always told that they were police actions, [...] The photos help clarify once and for all that it was in fact the last great war fought by the Netherlands. [...] They succeeded in covering it up for 65 years, but now, in 2012, we can see what really happened.” (de Bruijn et al. 2016a, 259). It is good that the textbook explores this; by bringing attention to these different perspectives, the textbook successfully shows how the perceptions changed throughout the years and it might create more historical awareness.

Memo Geschiedenis Bovenbouw vwo leer/opdrachtenboek (2016)

This vwo version is very similar to the havo textbook from the same year. The information on Dutch colonial history is also limited. Still, in some cases, the authors do go more into detail compared to the havo textbook. For instance, in chapter 6.1 (International Trade), the violent sides of the VOC are explored a little more. In this textbook, the authors do explain that the VOC also had the right to wage wars and it is said that it “often reached its goals by using violence.” (de Bruijn et al. 2016b, 170). As an example of violence by the VOC, the authors discuss Jakarta and how Jan Pieterszoon Coen burnt the city to the ground in order to establish a VOC headquarters.

Chapter 9.3 (Modern Imperialism) is mostly the same as the havo textbook; again, imperialism is discussed in a very general way, there is an extensive case study about Congo, while only a few sentences discuss the Indies. The images are slightly different in this vwo version. While the image of Belgian Congo is the same, the image of the Indies is different; instead of the dredger, an image is included of an Indonesian local ruler and his villagers meeting with a Dutch administrative officer about the deliverance of products.



Figure 5: Congolese child slaves.
Chapter 9.3



Figure 6: Javanese villagers and a Dutch administrative officer (circa 1900).
Chapter 9.3

There is a difference, however, in chapter 12.2 (The German Occupation). While the havo textbook only explored the German occupation of the Netherlands itself, this vwo version also pays attention to the consequences of World War II on Asia and the Dutch East Indies. It is explained that life changed drastically in the colony during the Japanese occupation. It is mentioned that many Europeans were put in detention camps and died. However, the authors also talk about the Indonesian casualties of the occupation: “The number of war victims of the Indonesian population is not exactly known, but there were a several hundreds of thousands.” (de Bruijn et al. 2016b, 318). Unfortunately, the textbook does not provide any additional information about the Indonesian independence. The discussion about that is again, very brief and concise. Again, there are one-page case studies about Ho Chi Minh, the ethical policy and Congo’s struggle for independence. Yet, the Indonesian decolonisation is discussed in only five sentences in total.

Still, just like the havo textbook, efforts were made to create historical awareness. This textbook also contains the discussion about the changes in social perception about the police actions. However, this textbook unfortunately does not include the discussion about the statues of Jan Pieterszoon Coen. Instead, this vwo version explores a travel report by Dutch merchant Willem Lodewycksz in which he describes his first trade contacts with a Javanese ruler. Like its havo version, the textbook features a Eurocentric narrative. The impacts of imperialism are not really explored. The authors rarely explore the effects of Dutch colonial rule on the Indonesian population, nor do they explore the Indonesian independence movement and how and why it emerged. Furthermore, both *Memo* textbooks use a large number of Dutch sources: from journalists to veterans, painters, military officers, merchants and photographers. Yet, Indonesian perspectives are very rare. One would also think that this vwo version would explore the topic of Dutch colonial history more in depth (since the book is intended for students of a higher academic level and it contains 100 more pages), yet, this version of the book does not contain much more information on Dutch colonial history.

Memo Geschiedenis voor de tweede fase Handboek vwo (2008)

In chapter 6.2 (Republic of Entrepreneurs), the authors discuss the emergence of trade capitalism and the VOC. In the chapter, only the positive sides of the VOC are discussed. The authors explore at length how the VOC developed and became the first multinational in the world. It is said that it was a great source of wealth for the Dutch Republic. Yet, the negative parts of the history are completely ignored. For instance, the text reads: “He founded Batavia, from which he was able to control the entire archipelago.” (Berents et al. 2008, 146-147). But nothing is said about the violence that was committed in order to establish the VOC headquarters in Batavia, or about the violence in other parts of Indonesia.

In chapter 8.3 (Tensions between the Superpowers), the authors explore the topic of modern imperialism. In this chapter, a substantial amount of attention is dedicated to Dutch colonial history. One page discusses the Dutch East Indies specifically. Among other things, the increased colonial expansion and the Dutch cultivation system are discussed. One sentence mentions that Javanese local rulers often did revolt against the increased colonial control, yet these conflicts are not explored. But there is a detailed discussion about the cultivation system. It is said that it brought the Netherlands wealth, but it also mentioned that it led to a famine in 1849-1850. Yet, the authors do not mention the fact that famines and food shortages were a common, often annually recurring aspect of life in the Dutch East Indies (Tetteroo 2014, 25).

After bringing up the famine, the authors continue by saying: “Yet, not everything was so bad. The construction of roads led to increased connectivity. Careful beginnings were also made with healthcare.” (Berents et al. 2008, 225). So, when something negative is mentioned, it is immediately followed up by something more positive. After this, the authors do explore the fact that even in the 19th century, there was already criticism in the Netherlands about the cultivation system. The text reads: “The criticism came mostly from the liberals. The cultivation system exploited the Javanese.” (Berents et al. 2008, 225). There is even a short discussion about Multatuli and his beliefs views on colonialism. It is good that the textbook brings these matters to attention.

Still, the textbook does contain a Eurocentric narrative. There is little attention for Indonesian voices, experiences and histories. The Eurocentrism is most clear in the discussion about the period 1942-1949 in chapter 12.1 (The Netherlands and the Angry Outside World). When the Japanese occupation is discussed in the chapter, the authors only explore how that affected the Dutch living in the Indies, but not so much other population groups. The authors state that: “The Dutch were killed or put in detention camps” and “Thousands of Dutch young women and girls were sent to army brothels as comfort women.” (Berents et al. 2008, 321). Yet, the authors fail to mention the fact that some Indonesians and many Indo-Europeans were also put in camps, neither do they talk about the fact that between 1942 and 1945, approximately 20.000 young Indonesian girls and women were also forced to serve as comfort women (Tanaka 2002, 82). The Indonesian “Pemoeda’s” are also put in a negative light: according to the textbook, after the capitulation of Japan, the Dutch were forced to remain in the detention camps since the Pemoeda’s supposedly made the situation very unsafe for them. There is some discussion about the diplomatic negotiations between the Netherlands and Indonesia, and the police actions. It is said that: “Like all other guerrilla wars, it became a dirty war, in which both sides did not adhere to international law of war.” (Berents et al. 2008, 321).

4.1.2 Feniks by ThiemeMeulenhoff

Feniks Geschiedenis voor de tweede fase vwo Overzicht van de geschiedenis (2007)

The way that the VOC is discussed in this textbook is much more balanced compared to the discussions of it in the *Memo* textbooks. In chapter 6.1 (Along the Coasts and through the Oceans), there is some discussion about trade capitalism and the VOC, but the chapter also explores the more violent sides of the trade company. The authors of this textbook really do

not shy away from the topic; they discuss in detail how the VOC did everything in its power to gain trade monopolies and control the production of spices in the Moluccas. The text reads: “The policy pursued by the VOC on the Moluccas was trade capitalism in its most extreme form. The substantial profits came at the cost of immense human suffering.” It is also stated that: “The VOC was its most brutal against the inhabitants of the Banda Islands in the South Moluccas. [...] In 1621, the VOC let Jan Pieterszoon Coen [...] subject Banda to 1200 Dutch soldiers. The population was almost completely slaughtered. A few hundreds of Bandanese were forced to work as slaves and teach the VOC officers on how to cultivate and care for nutmeg trees.” (de Kreek et al. 2007, 163-164). This textbook really does a great job discussing all sides of VOC history.

The next chapters about Dutch colonial history, however, are more disappointing. For instance, in chapter 8.2 (Modern Imperialism), there is no mention at all about the Dutch East Indies. The authors just talk about modern imperialism in a general way and discuss the reasons of the European countries for modern imperialism. There is some discussion about imperialism by the French, the English and the Belgians. Another image of Congolese slaves without hands is included. However, there is no image or any information at all in the chapter about Indies.

In chapter 9.8 (Forms of Resistance against West European Imperialism), there is a strong focus on the Dutch East Indies. Yet, the way that the history is told in the chapter is actually quite problematic. The Japanese occupation is explored as well as Indonesian nationalism, yet a majority of the text is about the Japanese occupation. In the chapter, the Japanese are painted in a very negative light. According to the textbook, they made the Indonesians many false promises and used their “propaganda machine” on them. They promised the nationalists their support for independence, while at the same time, they exploited Indonesia and “preyed on its minerals”. The text reads: “The Japanese had a great need for raw materials and labour. During their occupation they exerted heavy pressure on the indigenous population.” (de Kreek et al. 2007, 290). It is also said that the occupation led to famines. The text then reads: “Especially tragic was the fate of the millions indigenous (forced) labourers that the Japanese put to work. [...] The Japanese had the Romoesja’s work to the bone and as a result, many of them would not survive the war.” (de Kreek et al. 2007, 290). The authors make it quite clear in the text that they disapprove of the actions of the Japanese. Yet, I think it is quite hypocritical of them to so strongly condemn the Japanese for exploiting Indonesia for labour, minerals and raw materials in this chapter, while they did not even discuss or mention the fact that the Dutch did something very similar for centuries. After all, the Dutch also exploited the Indies for labour, raw materials and spices. The cultivation system also

exerted a great amount of pressure on the indigenous population and also led to hunger and famines. Yet, this is not discussed anywhere in the textbook. In chapter 10.2 (Retreat of the Western Powers), the discussion about Indonesian independence is also very limited.

Feniks Geschiedenis voor de bovenbouw havo Overzicht van de geschiedenis (2012)

In this more recent *Feniks* textbook, the discussion of the VOC is again quite balanced. In chapter 6.1 (Rich as a Result of Overseas Trade), the authors do take time to explore the violence by the VOC in a section called “If necessary with an iron fist”. It is discussed that the VOC used violence if the interests of the company were being threatened. What occurred at the Banda Islands is used as an example of VOC violence.

The next chapters which are dedicated to colonial history, are again, much more disappointing. For instance, in chapter 8.2 (Modern Imperialism), there is again, no discussion at all about Dutch colonialism/imperialism. The authors talk about modern imperialism in a general way and discuss the reasons behind modern imperialism. Yet, the chapter does include two images relating to the Dutch East Indies. The first is an image of Indonesian workers at the entrance of the Ombilin Coal Mine in Sumatra (circa 1900) and the second is a photo of a cargo train in Central-Java transporting teak wood (also circa 1900).



Figure 7: The Ombilin Coal Mine. Chapter 8.2



Figure 8: Cargo train in Central-Java. Chapter 8.2

Apart from the two images, the Indies are simply not explored in the chapter. However, there is a one-page sub-chapter about Belgian Congo, titled: “The exploitation of Congo”, in which the authors lengthily explore Belgian colonial history and again, an image of Congolese slaves without hands is included. The description of the image reads that the Belgians were “extremely cruel” and that they harshly punished the slaves if they delivered too little rubber.



Figure 9: Congolese Slaves. Chapter 8.2

The information about the Indonesian struggle for independence is almost just as limited. In chapter 10.2 (The Colonies become Independent), the authors discuss the decolonisation of India and Pakistan (one page), the decolonisation of North Africa (half a page), Vietnam (two pages), the Angolan Civil War (half a page), and the Apartheid in South Africa (one page). Yet, there is no information at all about the Indonesian independence in the chapter, which is very strange. Indonesian independence is briefly discussed two chapters later, in chapter 10.4 (From a Segregated to a Multicoloured Society). Here, the authors summarise the most key events regarding Indonesia's independence: the capitulation of Japan, the declaration of independence by Soekarno and the police actions. However, the text is not actually about Indonesia or its road to independence; the chapter is about how the Netherlands shifted from a segregated to a multicoloured society after World War II due to the arrival of many migrants from different places in the world (such as Indonesia, Turkey, Morocco, Suriname etc.). Indonesia becoming independent is only brought up to provide context/background information in order to explain why there was a sudden influx of Indos and South-Mollucans to the Netherlands. Yet, the lack of attention to Indonesian decolonisation is not the only issue, because language use is as well. The following is said about the police actions: "Thousands of Dutch and Indonesians were killed in the military confrontations." (Boonstra et al. 2012, 289). In those years, around 5.000 Dutch were killed, but the number of Indonesian casualties was significantly higher: it is estimated that at least 160.000 Indonesians were killed, both soldiers as well as civilians. Saying that "thousands of Dutch and Indonesian were killed" trivialises the significant losses on the Indonesian side during the war for independence, and the sentence also implies that the number of casualties was somewhat equal on both sides, even though it clearly was not.

4.1.3 *Geschiedeniswerkplaats by Noordhoff*

Geschiedeniswerkplaats Geschiedenis Tweede Fase havo Handboek historisch overzicht (2006)

Chapter 6.1 (A World Economy) explores in detail the many challenges of setting sail to the East and the development of the VOC into a successful trade organisation. The VOC is discussed in a very positive way. The authors of the textbook really seem to admire the organisation. In the chapter, it is discussed in detail how successful the VOC was and how it had an extensive trade network in Asia. It is said that many European countries tried to follow the Netherlands' lead, but: "with 200 ships and tens of thousands of employees the VOC was the largest and richest of all." Yet, the text leaves out many other aspects of the history. For instance, one sentence reads: "The VOC forced the Mollucans to deliver their spices only to them." (Verkuil et al. 2008a, 87). The authors say this, but do not offer any further information on how exactly the VOC "forced" the Moluccans. There is a short section that discusses Jan Pieterszoon Coen burning down Jakarta to establish a VOC headquarters. However, the authors do not mention that events like that occurred in many other parts of the archipelago as well. The chapter makes it seem like violence by the VOC only occurred that one time.

In chapter 8.6 (Modern Imperialism), there is some discussion about modern imperialism in general, but there is also discussion about Belgian Congo as well as the Dutch East Indies. Yet, the section about the Indies is very short, and contains little information. It is said that for a long time, the Dutch only controlled small parts of the Indies and it was only around 1900 that the Dutch started to get the whole Indonesian archipelago under their control. According to the authors, this led to "an impressive economic expansion, especially on Sumatera and Borneo. The Dutch East Indies gained a prominent position on the world market." (Verkuil et al. 2008a, 130). The text then continues to explain which products were important and discuss that Sumatera became a great source for oil. The discussion about Belgian Congo is very different. It is said that the "money-hungry" King Leopold II was "jealous of the profits the Netherlands made in Java." According to the book, he took Congo because he wanted something similar and he "exploited Congo for all that it was worth." (Verkuil et al. 2008a, 130). It is also explored how his rule affected the Congolese population; it is said that the violence (cutting of hands), the famines, the diseases led to the deaths of 10 million of the 20 million inhabitants. I find it quite peculiar that when another countries' colonial history is discussed, the authors do suddenly explore how it affected the indigenous population, but this is not done when it comes

to their own colonial history. The language use is also suddenly much more negative. Furthermore, like many of the previously discussed textbooks, this chapter on modern imperialism also includes two contrasting images of the Dutch East Indies and Belgian Congo. The photo of the Indies shows two Dutch and a few Indonesian workers at an oil derrick. The scene looks quite pleasant as the workers are all standing posing for the picture together. One of the Dutch workers also seems to be wearing work clothes. The image from Congo, however, shows a very different dynamic; one of the Belgian overseers is lounging in a hammock while the other is sitting comfortably in a carriage while the Congolese slaves are carrying them. The images give the impression that the Dutch were not afraid to get their hands dirty, unlike the Belgians.

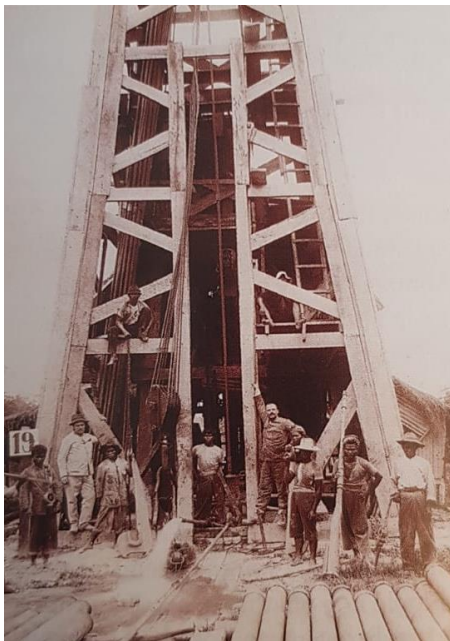


Figure 10: An oil derrick in Aceh (1915).
Chapter 8.6



Figure 11: Sugar Cane Plantation in Congo (early 20th century). Chapter 8.6

Chapter 10.1 (Decolonisation) in particular is told from a one-sided western perspective. In the chapter, the authors discuss the decolonisation of India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Vietnam and the African continent. The developments in Indonesia after the Japanese capitulation are discussed and it is mentioned that after the declaration of independence on 17 August 1945, there was much of violence and chaos in Indonesia. It is stated that: “Unhinged masses took possession of the streets. 3.500 Dutch were killed in an orgy of violence.” (Verkuil et al. 2008a, 162-163). A few sentences later, the conflict in the years of 1946-1949 and the police actions are discussed: “In the years 1946-1949, 4.700 Dutch soldiers were killed in

Indonesia.” (Verkuil et al. 2008a, 163). It is a very one-sided narrative; calling the Indonesians “unhinged”, saying that 3.500 Dutch were killed in “an orgy of violence”, and later again mentioning the number of Dutch casualties from the police actions. The authors do not take into account the Indonesian experience of the events at all, neither do they mention large number of Indonesians casualties of the conflict in the years 1945-1949. The same thing happens when the conflict in Indochina is discussed. The text reads: “At the end of 1953, there were 150.000 casualties on the side of the French.” (Verkuil et al. 2008a, 163). It seems like to the authors of this textbook only the European casualties were worth mentioning. There is also no mention in the chapter about the excesses of violence by the Dutch military that took place in Indonesia in between 1945-1949.

There is also a large difference between the language use in the discussions of actions by the Dutch and the language use when actions of other countries are discussed. When it concerns the Dutch, the language use is mostly neutral and non-judgemental. Negative words are not used, only positive ones. The authors were sounded very positive about the VOC, and in the chapter about modern imperialism, they even called the Dutch economic expansion in the colony “impressive.” Yet, when it is other countries that did something questionable, the authors do not hesitate to call them out on it. For instance, King Leopold II was “jealous”, “money-hungry” and exploitative. The Japanese were “ruthless” and the Indonesians were “unhinged”. And when the French-Algerian war is discussed the authors say: “For eight years, the French fought a dirty war in which they, for instance, tortured prisoners with electric shocks to the nipples and genitals.” (Verkuil et al. 2008a, 163). However, what happened in Indonesia is still referred to as “police actions”, while that could also be referred to as a dirty war.

Geschiedeniswerkplaats Geschiedenis Tweede Fase vwo Handboek historisch overzicht (2006)

This vwo version is more elaborate when it comes to its discussions of Dutch colonial history compared to the havo version. For example, in chapter 6.1 (A World Economy), the violent side of the VOC is explored a little more. The authors do not only discuss Jan Pieterszoon Coen’s actions in Jakarta, but they also discuss what happened at the Banda Islands: “The VOC forced the Mollucans to deliver their spices only to them. The VOC was not afraid to use violence in order to enforce trade monopolies. The population of the little Island of Banda was deported and eradicated.” (Verkuil et al. 2008b, 96-97). Yet, while the VOC discussion is more elaborate in this textbook, they could have done more. The chapter is two pages long, and other aspects about the VOC are discussed to the smallest detail: the

reasons why sailing to the Indies was so challenging, the reasons why the Dutch wanted to sail East, how the VOC was founded, the reasons why it was founded, how it developed into a successful trade organisation. These things are all discussed elaborately, while the violence of the VOC is discussed as briefly and concisely as possible. Furthermore, like the havo version, the chapter includes an image of a painting by Albert Cuyper depicting a VOC chief merchant with his wife and a Javanese slave, with Batavia on the background. In the image, a Javanese slave is depicted, however, in the main text, there is no discussion about the slave trade or forced labour by the VOC.



Figure 12: A VOC merchant with his wife and a Javanese slave. Chapter 8.6

In chapter 8.6 (Modern Imperialism), the text is almost completely the same as the text in the havo version, but some extra sentences are added here and there. For instance, in this two textbook, the issue of racial discrimination by the European powers in the colonies is explored. Another addition is the discussion of the cultivation system. Yet, while this is discussed, the authors do not talk about any of the negative consequences that the cultivation system had on the indigenous population. The authors only talk about how it led to economic development and a prominent market position. Yet, they fail to mention the fact that it also led to widespread forced labour and many famines. The chapter contains the same images as the havo version (the oil derrick and sugar cane plantation). The book also has the same issues regarding language use.

Geschiedeniswerkplaats Geschiedenis Tweede Fase vwo Handboek historisch overzicht (2012)

In this more recent version of the *Geschiedeniswerkplaats* learning method, the authors do take more time to discuss the shadow sides of the VOC. In chapter 6.1 (A World Economy), the authors explain how it developed into a large multinational with an extensive trade network in Asia. However, the more negative sides of VOC history are explored as well. In a section called “Batavia and Banda”, the authors discuss the violence that occurred in both places. About Banda, the text reads: “To make clear that the VOC was not to be trifled with, Coen and a small army set sail to the Banda Islands, the only place in the world where nutmeg was cultivated, and caused a bloodbath. Of the 15.000 islanders, 14.000 were either murdered or deported.” (van der Geugten et al. 2012, 92). The chapter contains an image of a painting by Jacob Coeman depicting Pieter Cnoll (director general of the VOC) with his wife, daughters and “Javanese servants”. According to the description, the Javanese man and woman in the painting were servants, but the description conveniently leaves out the fact that they were also slaves. The painting by Coeman belongs to the Rijksmuseum, and it is stated on their website: “This portrait shows the wealth in which they lived. [...] On the background are two of the 50 people that they enslaved.” It is quite misleading for the authors to state that the man and woman were only servants. Instead of being honest and acknowledge that they were slaves, they opted to use the word “servants” to make the scene seem more innocent.



Figure 13: Pieter Cnoll with his wife, daughters and Javanese servants. Chapter 6.1

Still, something more positive about the chapter is the section called “A discussion: Coen on a pedestal?” which discusses Jan Pieterszoon Coen’s statue in his birthplace of Hoorn. The text explains that when the statue was first placed in 1893, many saw Coen as a national hero. Yet, it is also said that even at that time, there already was criticism about the statue: “Not everyone

thought about it that way. Critics thought right away that it was a disgrace that ‘the Butcher of Banda’, as they called Coen, received a statue.” (van der Geugten et al. 2012, 92). It is also discussed that the discussions flared up again in 2011.

The text in chapter 8.6 (Modern Imperialism) is largely the same as the text in the vwo version from 2006. The cultivation system is discussed, but again, no negative consequences of the system are explored. Again, the authors only discuss how it led to “impressive economic development” and “a prominent position on the world market”. Yet, a difference is that in this version of the textbook, there is a discussion about the Aceh War. The text reads: “At the same time, Dutch governance was expanded. All islands were subjugated. In Aceh, a war was needed for that. The colonial army fought a bloody guerrilla war from 1873 for more than 30 years against the Islamic warriors.” [...] “But on other islands, just threatening with violence was sufficient. Rulers that cooperated were allowed to stay in power, but from then on, they would be executors of Dutch policy.” (van der Geugten et al. 2012, 142). While it is good that the textbook brings attention to the war, I would not exactly agree with the statement that Aceh was the only place where resistance occurred. Aceh was certainly not the only place in the Indies where the Dutch faced resistance against colonial rule in the 19th century. According to the textbook, in other areas just threatening with violence was enough to make those regions submit, but that is incorrect. For instance, there was the famous Diponegoro War (or Java War); the Banjarmasin War in Kalimantan; the Padri War (or Minangkabau War) in West Sumatra; the Batak War of 1878; The Pattimura Revolt of 1817; the Tondano War in North Sulawesi; and also the Balinese War (or Perang Puputan) (Sardiman 2014, 90-130). These wars and revolts perhaps might not have lasted as long as the Aceh War, however, that does not take away from the fact that they did occur. It is misleading for the authors to state that the threat of violence was enough to make those areas submit. The text about Belgian Congo is word for word the same as the havo and vwo versions from the year 2006. The language use is also the same. This textbook contains the same images as the two previously discussed *Geschiedeniswerkplaats* books (the oil derrick and sugar cane plantation).

Chapter 9.5 (Resistance against Imperialism) discusses the emergence of nationalism in Asia. According to the authors, the main cause for that was the European education that taught the people in the colonies about values such as freedom and equality. Yet, the deeper causes for anticolonialism (oppression, economic exploitation, racial discrimination, the limited say in governance) are not brought to attention. The authors do explore nationalism in the Dutch East Indies and British East Indies respectively.

Chapter 10.1 (Decolonisation) discusses the decolonisation of India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Vietnam. According to the text, the Netherlands and France were not prepared to give up their colonies like England was. In the section about Indonesia, the Japanese capitulation and the declaration of independence by Sukarno are discussed. Then it is stated that: “The Netherlands tried to restore order and at the same time it started diplomatic negotiations with the Indonesian leaders. But it failed due to unwillingness on both sides. The Netherlands then chose for violence.” (van der Geugten et al. 2012, 178). When the police actions are discussed, the authors of this textbook do bring attention to the fact that excessive military violence by the Dutch military did sometimes occur. As an example, the Javanese village of Rawagede is discussed: “The Dutch troops sometimes reacted with excessive violence, like in the Javanese village of Rawagede. On 9 December 1947, they attacked because they believed that armed guerrilla warriors were hiding there. They found nothing, but they still shot the male inhabitants after the interrogation.” van der Geugten et al. 2012, 178). The discussion about Indonesian independence is much better in this newer version.

4.2 Conclusions

The Issues with the Older Textbooks

From the learning materials analysis, it can be concluded that some improvements have been made when it comes to the representations of Dutch colonial history in the learning materials. The newer textbooks that I analysed are less problematic compared to the older ones. The issues with the older textbooks mainly being the Eurocentric and one-sided narratives, the biased language use, and the fact that they do not make attempts to engage in public debates or create historical awareness. I also think that the materials pay too little attention to the topic of Dutch colonialism in general. The information about it is very limited in the analysed textbooks and descriptions are often short, superficial and do not explore the negative sides of the history.

Improvements of the Newer Textbooks

An improvement of the newer editions of the textbooks is that most of them do make some efforts to create historical awareness and engage in current debates about colonial history. For instance, the controversy about the statues of Jan Pieterszoon Coen is addressed in both the

Memo havo and *Memo vwo* textbooks from 2016 as well as the *Geschiedeniswerkplaats vwo* textbook from 2012. In the materials, it is explained why some people want the statues taken down. It is good that those perspectives are explored. Both *Memo* books also include a one-page discussion about the changes in social perception about the police actions, in which the authors, with the help of several different sources, inform the reader about the severity of the police actions. It is made clear that in reality, it was a war in which war crimes by Dutch soldiers also sometimes occurred. It is commendable that the newer textbooks do feature discussions such as these. It could give the reader a more complete and broader understanding of the colonial past.

The discussions about Dutch colonial history are also more balanced; the newer textbooks do a better job discussing all sides of the history. For example, all of the newer textbooks acknowledge and discuss the violent side of the VOC. Some explore the incident at the Banda Islands, some discuss what happened in Jakarta and some talk about both. The two newer *Memo* textbooks even acknowledge that the VOC kept slaves. Furthermore, most of the newer textbooks also discuss the excessive violence by the Dutch military that occurred in the period 1945-1949. None of the older textbooks mentioned anything about that, so this is definitely an improvement. The narratives in the newer textbooks are also less Eurocentric. It is clear that for the newer editions, more efforts were made by the authors to include perspectives and experiences of other peoples. The *Memo* textbooks from 2016 for instance, do discuss in length the impacts of modern imperialism on the people in the colonies in Asia and Africa. The books also include multiple case studies which explore the experiences of the colonised. The *Geschiedeniswerkplaats* book from 2012 and the *Feniks* textbook from 2012 are also more inclusive compared to their older versions. Language use is also less of an issue in the newer textbooks.

The Issues of the Newer Textbooks

Yet, there are still some issues that can be recognised regarding the newer textbooks. First of all, the amount of attention to the topic of Dutch colonial history remains very limited in the newer textbooks. Parts that discuss that history are often short, superficial, and contain little information. The chapters on modern imperialism in both *Memo* textbooks from 2016 as well as the *Feniks* textbook from 2012 are an example of this. In all three textbooks, the authors discuss European imperialism in a general way, but do not or rarely explore the Dutch East Indies specifically. Yet, they do explore the colonial history of other European countries. The

textbooks pay in particular much attention to Belgian Congo. The *Geschiedeniswerkplaats* textbook from 2012 does have a separate section dedicated to colonialism in the Dutch East Indies in its chapter on modern imperialism, however, the section is short and contains little information. The topic of Indonesian nationalism also gains little attention in the newer textbooks. In the *Feniks* textbook, it is not discussed at all. The two *Memo* textbooks discuss it very briefly, while they do contain a one-page case study about the ethical policy. The *Geschiedeniswerkplaats* textbook does a somewhat better job explaining the emergence and development of nationalism in Indonesia. Yet, most notable is the severe lack of attention in the textbooks to the subject of Indonesian decolonisation. In the *Memo* textbooks, the Indonesian struggle for independence is discussed in five sentences (the havo version) and in six sentences (the vwo version) respectively, which is not much. Especially, when compared to the one-page case studies in both books about the Congolese decolonisation. The 2012 *Feniks* textbook is even worse, since the textbook does not even mention Indonesia once in chapter 10.2 “The Colonies become Independent”. I find it quite absurd how the authors in detail explain the decolonisation of India and Pakistan (one page), North Africa (half a page), Vietnam (two pages), the civil war in Angola (half a page) and the Apartheid in South Africa (one page), while remaining completely silent on Indonesia. The *Geschiedeniswerkplaats* textbook from 2012 does a more adequate job discussing Indonesian decolonisation.

Furthermore, the four textbooks also contain juxtaposing images of Belgian Congo and the Dutch East Indies in order to make Dutch colonialism look better in comparison. In the chapters on modern imperialism, the two *Memo* textbooks and the *Feniks* textbook all feature images of Congolese slaves without hands. The *Geschiedeniswerkplaats* textbook includes an image of the sugar cane plantation where the Belgian officials are being carried by their Congolese slaves. In all four cases, the images are preceded by or followed up by a relatively much more pleasant-looking picture from the Dutch East Indies. Examples of such images are the cargo train, the dredger and the oil-derrick. Undoubtedly, many terrible things also happened in the Dutch colony (for example, violence, forced labour and slavery) and photographic evidence of that surely exists, but such incriminating images of the Dutch are never included in the books. The images that they contain of the Indies always look quite harmless. The horrors of Dutch colonial history are never shown, yet that apparently is not a problem when it concerns the dark sides of the colonial past of other countries.

Lastly, while the language use in the newer textbooks is less problematic, there are still a few issues regarding language use and the ways of phrasing by the authors in the newer textbooks. In some cases, the descriptions and language are vague and misleading. An example

is this sentence from one of the more recent *Memo* textbooks: “When Coen noticed that the inhabitants also did business with others, he caused a massacre in 1621 in which thousands were killed.” (Bruijn et al. 2016, 105). Also, the following sentence from the newer *Feniks* textbook: “Thousands of Dutch and Indonesians were killed in the military confrontations.” (Boonstra et al. 2012, 289). In both cases, the word “thousands” trivialises how severe the events actually were. In the case of the Banda Islands, 14.000 of the 15.000 inhabitants were slaughtered. And in during the “military confrontations” in the period 1945-1949 around 160.000 or more Indonesians were killed. In both cases, the word “thousands” really minimises what actually happened. In *Geschiedeniswerkplaats*, it is also misleading how the authors referred to the slaves in the painting by Jacob Jansz. Coeman as “servants.” In all four books, the authors sometimes use vague or misleading language to make the history seem less awful than it actually was.

5. Primary Research Part Two: Questionnaire Results and Analysis

For this thesis, I have also conducted a questionnaire consisting of 20 questions to find out what the outcomes are of the way that Dutch colonial history is represented in the learning materials. In total, 40 students participated, who all used the learning method *Geschiedeniswerkplaats*. As I discussed in the methodology, I have explored three different sub-questions:

1. Has the lack of attention to Dutch colonial history in the learning materials also led to a lack of knowledge?
2. What opinions and attitudes do high school students hold on colonial history?
3. What opinions do high school students hold on current issues around colonialism in the Netherlands?"

Yet, the very first question in the questionnaire asked the respondents where they get their knowledge on Dutch colonial history from. Because, besides school and learning materials, there are also many other sources from which they could learn about the history. For example: movies, television, literature, social media or even family and friends. The results of the question show that a majority of the students has gained knowledge about Dutch colonial history from other sources besides school. While 16 respondents (40%) answered they only learned about the history at school, 24 respondents (60%) also listed other sources. 21 of them mentioned television and film; sources like the news, het Klokhuis (an informative television programme for children produced by NOS) and documentaries were brought up. Nine of the 24 mentioned social media, four listed family members and two respondents also listed literature.

5.1 Sub-question 1. Has the lack of attention to Dutch colonial history in the learning materials also led to a lack of knowledge?

Question 2: Wat happened at the Banda Islands in 1621? If you don't know, skip this question.

- 37 respondents did not know what happened.

- Three were able to answer that a mass murder or violence took place. A havo 5 student answered: “In 1621 the ‘bloodbath of Banda’ occurred, in which the Banda Islands were conquered by the VOC.” A vwo 6 student was also able to explain the reason behind the massacre, they stated that: “Jan Pieterszoon Coen committed mass murder to punish the population for trading with the English.”

Question 3: Did the VOC participate in slave trade?

- 21 respondents answered no.
- 19 answered yes.

Question 4: Was slavery common in the Dutch East Indies, or was it quite rare?

- 30 respondents thought it was common.
- 10 thought slavery was quite rare.

Question 5: Was forced labour common in the Dutch East Indies, was it rare, or did it only occur during the Cultivation System?

- 27 respondents said it was common.
- 13 said forced labour was rare.

Question 6: Were famines common in the Dutch East Indies?

- 23 respondents answered yes.
- 17 answered no.

Question 7: What happened during the Bersiap-period? If you don’t know, skip this question.

- 39 respondents had no idea what happened.
- One havo 5 student was able to answer that: “The Bersiap-period was a period of severe violence in the Dutch East Indies.”

Question 8: Who was/were the most important figures regarding the Indonesian independence?

- 22 respondents could not list anyone.
- 11 participants thought it was Mahatma Gandhi.

- Only seven participants answered correctly and named Sukarno (two respondents also listed Mohammad Hatta).

Conclusion Sub-question 1

Among the respondents of this questionnaire, there was more awareness about the dark pages of Dutch colonial history than I had expected. After all, 53% of the respondents knew about the slave trade by the VOC, 75% was aware of the slavery in the Dutch East Indies, 68% knew about the forced labour and 58% of the participants knew that famines were. I was surprised by this, because none of the *Geschiedeniswerkplaats* textbooks that I analysed mentioned any of those matters. I also doubt that *Geschiedeniswerkplaats*' most recent version (which I unfortunately was not able to acquire) suddenly did include all of the aforementioned issues. Therefore, I think it is likely that they were either discussed in class by their teachers or they might have heard about it from other sources. Still, a few of the questions do reveal some gaps in the participants' knowledge. For instance, only one out of the 40 respondents was able to answer question 7 about the Bersiap-period, even though that period is arguably an important aspect of Dutch colonial history. Yet, this was less of a surprise since none of the analysed textbooks mentioned anything about the Bersiap. Furthermore, only three respondents knew about the massacre at the Banda Islands, despite the fact that the 2012 *Geschiedeniswerkplaats* textbook does discuss it. Yet, I found the answers to the question asking about the most important figures of the Indonesian independence movement probably the most surprising. While it is a relatively easy question, only 7 respondents (17.5%) was able to name Sukarno. 22 students (55%) did not know the answer and 11 participants (27.5%) thought it was Gandhi. This correlates to the learning materials analysis, since it was quite evident that most (if not all) of the analysed materials included quite short and concise discussions about Indonesian nationalism and decolonisation. The *Geschiedeniswerkplaats* textbooks do discuss Sukarno and Indonesian nationalism, however, perhaps the lack of attention to the topic has resulted in a lack of knowledge here. Later in the questionnaire, there is also a question asking the participants about the reasons behind the emergence of nationalism in Indonesia in the 20th century. This question also showed that there is a lack of knowledge among the respondents about Indonesian nationalism.

5.2 Sub-question 2. What opinions and attitudes do high school students hold on colonial history?

Question 9: How do you feel about the VOC? Was it an organisation with great entrepreneurial spirit that the Netherlands should be proud of? Or does the organisation also have more negative sides?

- Ten respondents believed that the Dutch should be proud of the VOC. These respondents mostly felt it was an impressive organisation that achieved a lot for the Netherlands. For instance, a havo 5 student answered: “VOC gave the Netherlands power, so I see it as an impressive enterprise.” Some students did mention the negative sides, but still believed that the Dutch should be proud. For instance, a havo 5 student remarked: “The Netherlands should be proud of it, that they traded slaves was maybe negative, but everyone did that during that time.”
- Five respondents answered that the Dutch should not be proud. These students listed forced labour and violence as reasons as to why the organisation should not be revered. A havo 5 student said: “The Netherlands should not be proud of it, because there was forced labour. This isn’t normal, and this is definitely not something that we should be proud of.”
- Still, a majority of 25 respondents expressed that they had a mixed opinion on the matter. These students mostly felt that there were reasons to be proud but also felt there were negative sides. For example, a havo 5 student said: “It gave the Netherlands a good position in a political sense, but the slavery, the forced labour and the murders are unforgivable.” A vwo 6 student said: “The trade and the organisation were great, we should be proud of that. But the treatment of the indigenous population was really awful.” A few students also expressed disapproval about how the VOC is discussed in their learning materials. A havo 5 student commented the following: “I think it’s a bit of both, but our books only talk about the good things about the VOC despite the fact that there are more negative sides to it as well.”

Question 10: Jan Pieterszoon Coen was governor general of the VOC and in some cases, he used violence to attain trade monopolies in the Indies. Do you see him as a decisive ruler who has meant a lot for the Netherlands, or do you think he went too far?

- Five respondents answered that Coen was a strong and decisive leader who did what he had to do in order to reach his goals.
- Four respondents had a mixed opinion.
- Still, a majority of 31 respondents answered that Coen went too far. The consensus among these students seemed to be that he was not a good man due to the violence and murders he

committed in the Dutch East Indies. Some even called him a horrible man. A vwo 6 student said the following: “I think that the things he did were necessary in order for the VOC to maintain its trade position, but he did many inhumane things so as a human being, he went way too far.” Another vwo 6 student remarked: “Too far, trade monopolies are not worth all the violence and the murders that he committed.”

Question 11: Do you think that the Netherlands kept the Indies mostly to make profit from it, or do you think that the Netherlands also had good intentions as well for the Indonesian population (for instance, the Ethical Policy)?

- Two respondents did not know how to answer or chose to skip the question.
- A large majority of 38 respondents stated that they felt the Netherlands did it mostly for economic reasons; to make profit. A havo 5 student answered: “Mostly to make profit for themselves; Indies lost, disaster born.” (*Indië verloren, rampspoed geboren*) A vwo student wrote: “No, they USED another country for selfish gains.” Yet, some of them also felt that besides money, the Dutch also did it for power. A vwo student said the following: “I think that the Dutch mostly just cared about power, raw materials/spices.” Five respondents also brought up the White Man’s Burden. For instance, a havo 5 student said: “The White Man’s Burden led the Dutch to think that they had good intentions, but it only led to disrespectful treatment of the population of the Dutch East Indies.”

Question 12: What are the main reasons for the emergence of nationalism in Indonesia?

- A majority of 19 respondents did not know how to answer the question.
- According to eight respondents, the main reason for the emergence of nationalism was the oppression by the Dutch.
- Six respondents answered it was solely because of the education the Indonesians received from the Dutch. For instance, a vwo student said: “At schools, children received western education with ideas about nationalism and independence.” Another vwo 6 student commented: “Because the Dutch educated them, which gave the Indonesians a lot of knowledge.”
- Four participants answered that nationalism was a result of a growing need for equality, freedom and self-determination among the Indonesians.
- Three students believed that it was due to racism and discrimination by the Dutch.

Question 13: How do you feel about the police actions? Was it wrong of the Netherlands to send troops to the Indies to reclaim the colony?

- 27 respondents were of the opinion that it was wrong. According to them, the Netherlands should have just let it go and let Indonesia be independent. Many of them expressed regret for the violence that did take place during that time. A havo 5 student said the following: “Yes, the Netherlands should have realised that it was a lost cause and that independence was simply inevitable. The police actions were unnecessary and there was way too much violence.” A vwo 6 student answered: “Yes, it was definitely wrong. They killed so many people because they wanted to stay in power. The people in Indonesia fought for their freedom, and the Netherlands should have given it to them.”
- 4 respondents did not think the police actions were wrong. A havo 5 student remarked: “I understand why they did what they did, otherwise the Netherlands would have lost power.”
- 9 respondents did not know.

Conclusion Sub-question 2

Question 9 about the VOC and question 10 about Jan Pieterszoon Coen show that there is awareness about the shadow sides of VOC history among a majority of the respondents. Yet, I found it interesting that a few of the respondents also said in their answers to these questions that they felt that their history textbooks do not pay enough attention to the negative sides of the VOC. This might indicate that the awareness does not stem from their learning materials, but from other sources. I do also think this might be the case because the respondents listed things such as forced labour and slavery by the VOC, things that are not discussed in any of the *Geschiedeniswerkplaats* textbooks. However, question 12 about the reasons for Indonesian nationalism shows that there is less awareness about Indonesian nationalism. There does seem to be a lack of understanding of the Indonesian perspective. This makes sense since the discussions about Indonesian nationalism and decolonisation are generally quite short in the learning materials. Still, what the questions also have showed is that many of the participants do clearly disapprove of some sides of the VOC, of Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the economic exploitation of the Indies and the police actions. Some respondents had very strong opinions on the matters. The history might have occurred a long time ago, but the questionnaire does show that young people today do still care about it.

5.3 Sub-question 3. What opinions do high school students hold on current issues around colonialism in the Netherlands?

Question 14: The History Canon was revised this year due to the criticisms that it didn't include enough stories and perspectives of women and people of colour. Do you agree that the Canon needed to be changed? If you don't know, skip this question.

- 21 respondents did not know about the issue.
- 15 participants stated that the changes were necessary. These students mostly argued that all sides of the history should be explored by the Canon. For instance, a havo 5 student said the following: "I agree, different sides of a story always make it more reliable." A few students also talked about the importance of adequate representation in learning materials such as the Canon. For example, a vwo 6 student said: "Yes of course, it is important for young people to see the representation and also learn about the negative sides of Dutch history." Another vwo 6 student said: "Yes, because history belongs to everyone, incl. women and people of colour."
- 4 students believed that the changes were not needed.

Question 15: Do you think that history learning materials pay enough attention to Dutch colonial history?

- 25 respondents answered yes.
- 15 answered no.

Question 16: Do you think that history learning materials pay enough attention to the perspectives and experiences of other peoples/people of colour?

- 12 respondents answered yes.
- 28 answered no.

Question 17: Recently there have been a lot of discussions about the controversial statures of historical figures such as Jan Pieterszoon Coen. Do you think that these kind of statues should be taken down?

- 21 respondents thought that the statues should not be taken down. These students mostly argued that they should stay because figures like Coen are a part of Dutch history. A vwo 6 student for instance, stated: "No, statues from people like that should stay because these

people have had a significant impact on Dutch history. Just because their actions were wrong, doesn't mean they aren't important." Still, quite a few of them did argue for the placement of a sign to bring awareness about the more negative things that he did. For instance, a havo 5 student answered: "Not really, because they are a part of our history, but I do think that there should be an extra description to inform people about the bad sides."

- Ten students believed that the statues should be removed. They expressed that Coen did terrible things and that for that reason, his statues should go. One havo 5 student answered: "Yes, if we have really learnt from our past then we should realise that these kinds of statues should be removed."
- Nine participants had no opinion on the matter.

Question 18: What is your opinion on the apology by King Willem Alexander in March for the excesses of violence in the period 1945-1949 by Dutch military officers? Was it unnecessary, or was it appropriate? Explain.

- 24 respondents thought that the apology was necessary. They felt that an apology should have been offered a long time ago, but despite that, they believed it was good that it was finally offered. A havo 5 student said: "It was necessary, because it shows them that we care." Another havo 5 student stated: "It was necessary, maybe it will give the Indonesians more peace." A vwo 6 student answered: "I think it's good that he did that, but it should have been done much sooner. It was necessary because we did awful things there, still it would have been better if it was done sooner, because many victims are now already dead."
- 12 respondents thought that the apology was unnecessary. These students mainly were of the opinion that it was a long time ago and that Willem Alexander does not have anything to do with it. A few also felt that the apology was unfair to the Dutch soldiers who had fought for the Netherlands in Indonesia.
- Five participants had no opinion about it.

Question 19: Indonesia declared its independence on 17 August 1945. Do you think that the Netherlands should acknowledge this date?

- 25 respondents said that the Netherlands should acknowledge the Indonesian independence date. A havo 5 student said: "Yes, I think that the Indonesians deserve that after all that the Netherlands has put them through." A vwo 6 student remarked something similar: "Yes, because that's how the Indonesians see it and the least that we can do is adopt it."

- Eight participants did not think the Netherlands should acknowledge it, because according to them, Indonesia was simply just not independent during that time. For instance, a 15 student stated: “No, since the transfer of sovereignty of the colony only occurred in 1949.”
- Seven students had no opinion on the matter.

Question 20: Should the Dutch government make more efforts to make reparations to the families/descendants of victims of Dutch police violence?

- 20 respondents said yes, but some of them also said that sufficient research should be done first, to make sure that the reparations only go to people that really deserve it.
- 14 participants said no. Most of them felt that it is just too long ago.
- Six students had no opinion.

Conclusion Sub-question 3

From these questions about the students’ opinions and perspectives on current issues around colonial history, it can be concluded that the level of engagement and awareness about the issues among the respondents is quite high. Many of them are aware about and also had strong opinions on topics such as the statues, the History Canon, the apology by King Willem Alexander etc. Perhaps some of these issues were discussed in class, yet, I would think it is more likely that they heard about these issues on television or social media since these topics have received much media attention in recent years. Apart from that, question 1 also revealed that 60% of the respondents had learned about Dutch colonial history from other sources besides school, and many of them listed television and social media.

Apart from this high level of engagement, I also felt that the questionnaire results showed that there is much compassion and empathy for Indonesia among the students. Regarding the question about the apology by King Willem Alexander, the number of students who believed that the apology was necessary was quite high (60 %). Many felt that it was the right thing to do and that it should have been offered much sooner. The answers showed compassion for the Indonesians; for example, a few students said that they hoped it would bring them peace and others stated that they simply deserved an apology. A majority also believed that the Netherlands should recognise the Indonesian independence date of 17 August 1945 and a majority also felt that the Netherlands should make more efforts to make reparations to the families/descendants of victims of Dutch police violence. The question about Coen’s

statues revealed that a majority of 60% believes that the statues should stay since they are a part of Dutch history and have historical value. However, many of those respondents did also think that a sign or something like that should be added to the statues in order to bring more awareness to the negative things that the depicted figures did in the past.

So, how do the students feel about history education themselves? The results of this questionnaire showed that 25 students (62.5%) believed that their learning materials pay sufficient attention to Dutch colonial history, while 15 students (37.5%) did not think so. On the other hand, a majority of 28 students (70%) answered that they felt that their learning materials do not pay enough attention to the perspectives and experiences of other peoples and people of colour. Many respondents also felt that the changes to the History Canon were necessary and that it was important for the Canon to include more women and people of colour. From these questions, it can be concluded that a large amount of the students is content with the amount of attention that Dutch colonial history receives in their learning materials. Still, the questionnaire results also revealed that a vast majority of the respondents do think that both their learning materials as well as the History Canon fall short when it comes to the representation of people colour. It appears that many of the students do feel that the learning materials do not sufficiently include the perspectives of people of colour and do not explore their experiences and stories enough.

6. Conclusion

Through an analysis of several textbooks, it has been explored in this thesis how Dutch colonial history has been represented in Dutch secondary education learning materials from 2006 to 2016. The research has shown that through the years, some improvements have been made when it comes to the representations of the Dutch colonial past in the materials; the newer textbooks do bring more attention to existing public debates about colonial history, discussions about the history are more balanced, the narratives are less Eurocentric, and the language use is more neutral. However, there are still a few issues that can be recognised regarding the newer textbooks. First of all, the amount of attention that the topic of Dutch colonial history receives is still very limited in the newer textbooks. I do think that more attention should be paid to the subject. Secondly, I find it quite problematic how the textbooks keep using juxtaposing images of Belgian Congo and the Dutch East Indies to make Dutch colonialism look less bad in comparison. It would be better if the textbooks sometimes also included images showing the more negative parts of the Dutch colonial past. Last of all, there are still some issues regarding language use in the newer textbooks. In some cases, the language use and descriptions are vague and misleading. I think that the learning materials still have a long way to go, but at least some improvements have already been made. I only hope that the materials will continue to improve in the future.

So, what kind of awareness do the learning materials try to induce in high school students about colonialism? I think that the older materials (those from 2006, 2007 and 2008) only induce a limited awareness and understanding about the Dutch colonial past. Those textbooks pay very little attention to the subject and often ignore the negative parts of the history. During my own time in high school, I actually used one of the analysed textbooks myself (*Geschiedeniswerkplaats vwo* from 2006) for several years. And while history was one of my favourite subjects, I found that when I graduated, I still only knew very little about Dutch colonial history. Like the other older materials, it only created a limited understanding about the colonial past. Still, the learning materials have changed and improved since then, and it is noticeable that for the newer editions of the materials, the authors did make more efforts to induce a broader awareness about the colonial past as well as a better understanding about the negative sides of the history. There still might be quite some issues when it comes to the representations of colonial history in the learning materials, but at least things are headed in the right direction.

7. Bibliography

Learning Materials

- Berents, Dick, Pia Fruytier, Mark Hagedaars, Jessie Jongejans, Marc Kropman, Toos Kruithof, Daphne van Manen, Idzard van Manen, Anjo Roos, and Marlouk Wester. *Memo Geschiedenis voor de Tweede Fase Handboek vwo*. 's-Hertogenbosch: Malmberg, 2008.
- Boonstra, Robert, Albert Jan Bosch, Cor van der Heijden, Raymond de Kreek, Jan van Oudheusden, Marian Veldkamp, Jos Venner, Ludwich Verberne. *Feniks Geschiedenis voor de Bovenbouw havo Overzicht van de Geschiedenis*. Amersfoort: ThiemeMeulenhoff, 2012.
- Bruijn, Pieter de, Geertje Dekkers, Pia Fruytier, Mark Hagedaars, Paul van Houdt, Marjonnie Maan, Jaap Nieuwstraten, Carlijn Oldenkotte, Judith Tadema, Libertien Weijenbergh. *Memo Geschiedenis Leer/Oprachtenboek Bovenbouw havo*. 's-Hertogenbosch: Malmberg, 2016.
- Bruijn, Pieter de, Geertje Dekkers, Pia Fruytier, Mark Hagedaars, Paul van Houdt, Marjonnie Maan, Jaap Nieuwstraten, Carlijn Oldenkotte, Judith Tadema, Libertien Weijenbergh. *Memo Geschiedenis Leer/Oprachtenboek Bovenbouw vwo*. 's-Hertogenbosch: Malmberg, 2016.
- Geugten, Tom van der, Bernadette Hijstek, Dik Verkuil. *Geschiedeniswerkplaats Geschiedenis Tweede Fase vwo Handboek historisch overzicht*. Houten: Noordhoff Uitgevers, 2012.
- Kreek, Raymond de, Ludwich Verberne, Jos Venner, Albert Jan Bosch, André van Voorst, Jan van Oudheusden, Marian Veldkamp, Robert Boonstra, Cor van der Heijden, Maria van Haperen. *Feniks Geschiedenis voor de Tweede Fase Overzicht van de Geschiedenis*. Utrecht/Zutphen: ThiemeMeulenhoff, 2007.
- Verkuil, Dik, Bernadette Hijstek, Tom van der Geugten, and Erik Betten. *Geschiedeniswerkplaats Geschiedenis Tweede Fase havo Handboek historisch overzicht*. Houten: Noordhoff Uitgevers, 2006.
- Verkuil, Dik, Bernadette Hijstek, Tom van der Geugten, and Erik Betten. *Geschiedeniswerkplaats Geschiedenis Tweede Fase vwo Handboek historisch overzicht*. Houten: Noordhoff Uitgevers, 2006.

Secondary Sources

- Achiume, Tendayi. United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. 7 October 2019. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=25100&LangID=E>
- AD. “Dat witte Nederlanders profiteerden van uitbuiting moet in lesstof”. Last modified on July 16, 2020. <https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/dat-witte-nederlanders-profiteerden-van-uitbuiting-moet-in-lesstof~ab6b8a13/>
- Baay, Reggie. *Daar Werd Wat Gruwelijks Verricht: Slavernij in Nederlands-Indië*. Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 2015.
- Bijl, Paul. “Colonial Memory and Forgetting in the Netherlands and Indonesia.” *Journal of Genocide Research* 14, no. 3-4 (2012): 441-461.
- De Correspondent. “Wie Bepaalt Wat Er in de Geschiedenisboeken Komt?” Last modified on October 2, 2017. <https://decorrespondent.nl/7385/wie-bepaalt-wat-er-in-de-geschiedenisboeken-komt/1953476810285-c6acfa52>.
- De Gelderlander. “Is er genoeg aandacht voor racisme en slavernij in onze boeken?” Last modified on June 20, 2020. <https://www.gelderlander.nl/arnhem/is-er-genoege-aandacht-voor-racisme-en-slavernij-in-onze-boeken-er-wordt-nog-best-veel-nadruk-op-gelegd~aad62b78/?referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F>
- De Volkskrant. “‘Onze Coen’ of ‘walgelijke genocidepleger’: Hoorn verdeeld over betwist standbeeld.” Last modified on June 17, 2020. <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/onze-coen-of-walgelijke-genocidepleger-hoorn-verdeeld-over-betwist-standbeeld~b65d17eb/>
- De Volkskrant. “Persoonlijke verhalen centraal in tentoonstelling slavernij Rijksmuseum.” Last modified on December 10, 2020. <https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/persoonlijke-verhalen-centraal-in-tentoonstelling-slavernij-rijksmuseum~b8eb3817/>
- Het Parool. “Nieuwe canon: niet beter dan de oude, maar anders.” Last modified on June 23, 2020. <https://www.parool.nl/nederland/nieuwe-canon-niet-beter-dan-de-oude-maar-anders~b1bc752b/>
- Nieuwenhuys, Karel van. “Using Multiperspectivity to Break through Eurocentrism.” *Public History Weekly* 5 (2017): 9.

- NL Times. "Dutch need more education on impact of colonialism & slavery, says UN rapporteur." Last modified on July 16, 2020. <https://nltimes.nl/2020/07/16/dutch-need-education-impact-colonialism-slavery-says-un-rapporteur>
- NOS. "Floris eruit, Marga Klompé en Anton de Kom erin: de nieuwe geschiedenis canon." Last modified on June 22, 2020. <https://nos.nl/artikel/2338111-floris-eruit-marga-klompe-en-anton-de-kom-erin-de-nieuwe-geschiedeniscanon.html>
- NRC. "JP Coen; bekijk het koloniale verleden eindelijk eens van de andere kant. Last modified on August 7, 2020. <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2020/08/07/jp-coen-bekijk-het-koloniale-verleden-eindelijk-eens-van-de-andere-kant-a4008186>
- NRC. "Vergeet het verdriet van de mensen uit Nederlands-Indië niet." Last modified on August 14, 2020. <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2020/08/14/vergeet-het-verdriet-van-de-mensen-uit-nederlands-indie-niet-a4008829>
- Oostindie, G.J., Hoogenboom, Ireen, and Verwey, Jonathan. "The Decolonization War in Indonesia, 1945-1949; War Crimes in Dutch Veterans' Egodocuments." *War in History* 25, no. 2 (2018): 254-76.
- Oostrom, F.P. van, and Commissie Ontwikkeling Nederlandse Canon. *A Key to Dutch History: Report by the Committee for the Development of the Dutch Canon*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007.
- Rijksmuseum. "Pieter Cnoll, Cornelia van Nijenrode en hun dochters, Jacob Coeman, 1665." Accessed December 13, 2020. <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/SK-A-4062>
- RTL Nieuws. "Racisme en slavernij in het onderwijs: 'Niemand wordt racistisch geboren'" Last modified on June 12, 2020. <https://www.rtlnieuws.nl/nieuws/nederland/artikel/5151331/racisme-en-slavernij-het-onderwijs-docenten-blm-petitie>
- Sardiman A.M., and Amurwani Dwi Lestariningsih. *Sejarah Indonesia Kelas 11 Semester 1*. Jakarta: Pusat Kurikulum dan Perbukuan, 2014.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. "Colonial Aphasia: Race and Disabled Histories in France." *Public Culture* 23, no. 1 (2011): 121-156.
- Tanaka, Yuki. *Japan's Comfort Women : Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Tetteroo, Sander. "Famine in the Netherlands East Indies, c. 1900-1904. Research Master History Specialization: Colonial and Global History. 26 February 2014.

- Vink, Markus P.M. "Freedom and Slavery: The Dutch Republic, the VOC World, and the Debate over the 'World's Oldest Trade'." *South African Historical Journal : SAHJ* 59, no. 1 (2007): 19-46.
- Vos, Mieke de. "The Return of the Canon: Transforming Dutch History Teaching." *History Workshop Journal* 67, no. 1 (2009): 111-24.
- Weiner, Melissa F. "Colonized Curriculum." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 2, no. 4 (2016): 450-65.
- Weiner, Melissa F. "(E)RACING SLAVERY: Racial Neoliberalism, Social Forgetting, and Scientific Colonialism in Dutch Primary School History Textbooks." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 11, no. 2 (2014): 329-51.

8. Appendices

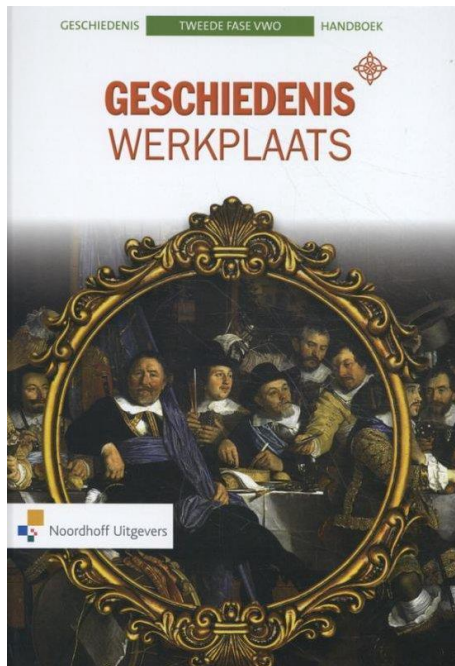
8.1 An Overview of the Analysed Learning Materials

Geschiedeniswerkplaats Geschiedenis Tweede Fase havo Handboek historisch overzicht from 2006 by Noordhoff Publishers

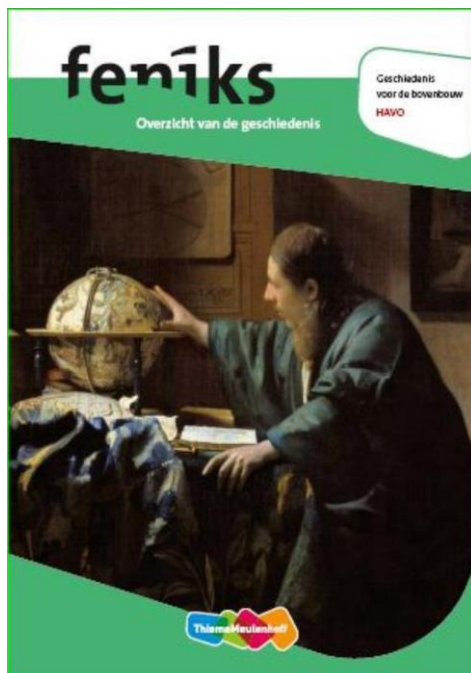
Geschiedeniswerkplaats Geschiedenis Tweede Fase vwo Handboek historisch overzicht from 2006 by Noordhoff Publishers



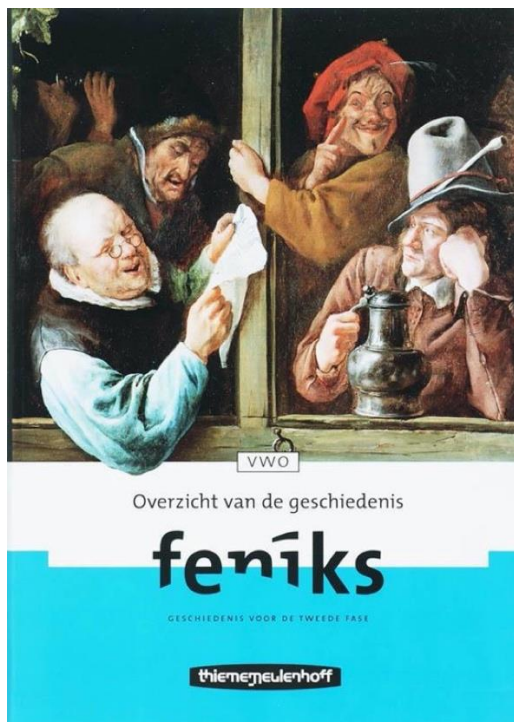
Geschiedeniswerkplaats Geschiedenis Tweede Fase vwo Handboek historisch overzicht from 2012 by Noordhoff Publishers



Feniks Geschiedenis voor de bovenbouw havo Overzicht van de geschiedenis from 2012 by ThiemeMeulenhoff



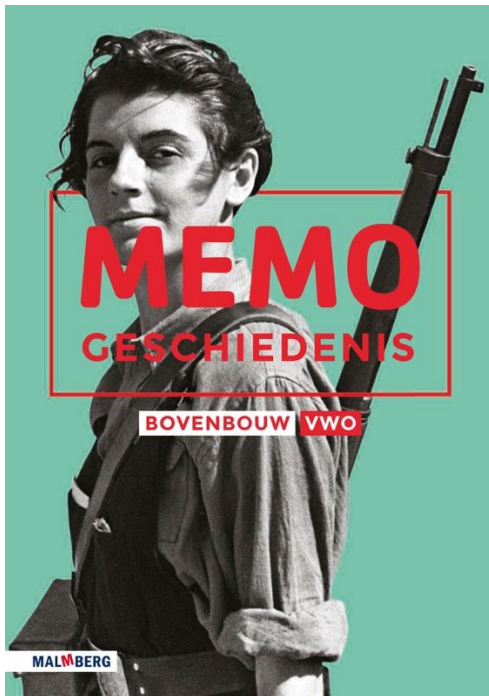
Feniks Geschiedenis voor de tweede fase vwo Overzicht van de geschiedenis from 2007 by ThiemeMeulenhoff



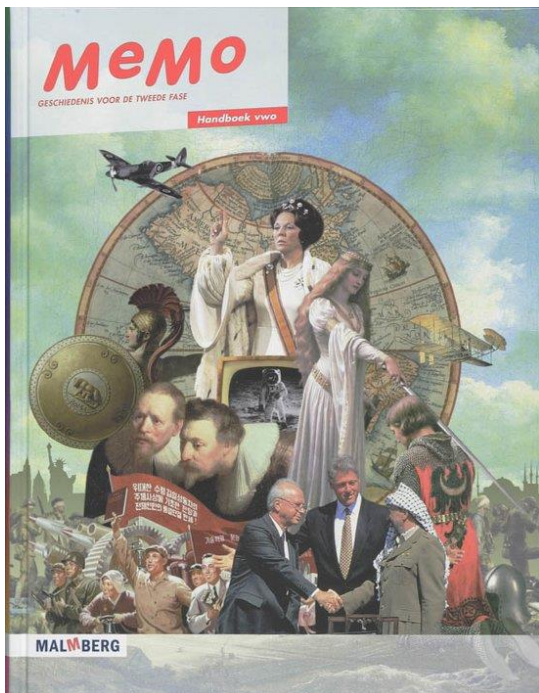
Memo Geschiedenis Bovenbouw havo leer/opdrachtenboek from 2016 by Malmberg Publishers



Memo Geschiedenis Bovenbouw vwo leer/opdrachtenboek from 2016 by Malmberg Publishers



Memo Geschiedenis voor de tweede fase Handboek vwo from 2008 by Malmberg Publishers



8.2 The Questionnaire

(See English version below)

Leerjaar: **Lesmethode:** Memo / Feniks / Geschiedeniswerkplaats /
Niveau: mavo / havo / vwo **Sprekend Verleden / anders:**

Vraag 1: Waar heb je je kennis over het Nederlandse koloniale verleden vandaan? Alleen van school/schoolboeken, of ook van andere bronnen (films, tv, literatuur, sociale media, familie)?

.....

Vraag 2: Wat gebeurde er op de Banda-eilanden in 1621? Weet je het niet, sla dan deze vraag over.

.....

Vraag 3: Handelde de VOC in slaven?

Ja / Nee

Vraag 4: Kwam slavernij vaak voor in Nederlands-Indië, of was dit vrij zeldzaam?

.....

Vraag 5: Kwam dwangarbeid veel voor in Nederlands-Indië, zelden, of alleen maar tijdens het cultuurstelsel?

.....

Vraag 6: Kwamen hongersnoden vaak voor in Nederlands-Indië?

Ja / Nee

Vraag 7: Wat gebeurde er tijdens de Bersiap-periode? Weet je het niet, sla dan deze vraag over.

.....
.....
.....
.....

Vraag 8: Wie was/waren de belangrijkste figuren m.b.t. de Indonesische onafhankelijkheid?

.....
.....
.....

Vraag 9: Wat vind je van de VOC? Zie je het vooral als een indrukwekkende handelsonderneming waar Nederland trots op kan zijn, of heeft de organisatie volgens jou ook minder goede kanten?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Vraag 10: Jan Pieterszoon Coen was gouverneur-generaal van de VOC en gebruikte in sommige gevallen geweld om handelsmonopolies te verwerven in Indië. Zie je hem vooral als een daadkrachtig bestuurder die veel heeft betekend voor Nederland, of ging hij soms ook te ver?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Vraag 11: Denk je dat Nederland Nederlands-Indië behield om er vooral zelf van te kunnen verdienen, of denk je dat Nederland ook goede bedoelingen voor had met de Indonesische bevolking (bijv. Ethische Politiek)?

.....
.....

.....
.....
.....

Vraag 12: Wat zijn de belangrijkste oorzaken van het ontstaan van het nationalisme in Indonesië?

.....
.....
.....

Vraag 13: Wat vind je van de politionele acties? Was het het verkeerd van Nederland om troepen te sturen om de kolonie terug te winnen?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Vraag 14: De Geschiedenis Canon is dit jaar aangepast vanwege kritiek op het feit dat het te weinig verhalen en perspectieven van vrouwen en mensen van kleur zou bevatten. Ben je het ermee eens dat de Canon veranderd moest worden of niet? Weet je het niet, sla dan deze vraag over.

.....
.....
.....

Vraag 15: Vind je dat geschiedenis schoolmaterialen genoeg aandacht besteden aan de Nederlandse koloniale geschiedenis?

Ja / Nee

Vraag 16: Vind je dat geschiedenis schoolmaterialen ook genoeg aandacht besteden aan de perspectieven en ervaringen van andere volken/mensen van kleur?

Ja / Nee

Vraag 17: Er zijn tegenwoordig een hoop discussies over de controversiële standbeelden van historische figuren zoals Jan Pieterszoon Coen. Vind je dat dit soort beelden verwijderd zouden moeten worden?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Vraag 18: Wat vind je ervan dat Koning Willem Alexander in maart excuses aanbood voor de geweldsexcessen in de periode 1945-1949 van het Nederlandse leger in Indië? Was dit volgens jou wel, of niet nodig? Leg uit.

.....
.....
.....
.....

Vraag 19: Indonesië riep op 17 Augustus 1945 de onafhankelijkheid uit. Vind je dat Nederland deze onafhankelijkheidsdatum officieel zou moeten erkennen?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Vraag 20: Vind je dat de Nederlandse overheid meer zou moeten doen m.b.t. herstelbetalingen voor de nabestaanden/families van de slachtoffers van Nederlands militair geweld?

Ja / Nee

English Translation

Grade:

Academic level: mavo / havo / vwo

Learning method: Memo / Feniks / Geschiedeniswerkplaats / Sprekend Verleden / other:

Question 1:

Where do you get your knowledge on Dutch colonial history from? Only from school/learning materials, or also from other sources (film, TV, literature, social media, family)?

Question 2:

Wat happened at the Banda Islands in 1621? If you don't know, skip this question.

Question 3:

Did the VOC participate in slave trade?

Yes / No

Question 4:

Was slavery common in the Dutch East Indies, or was it quite rare?

Question 5: Was forced labour common in the Dutch East Indies, was it rare, or did it only occur during the Cultivation System?

Question 6: Where famines common in the Dutch East Indies?

Yes / No

Question 7: What happened during the Bersiap-period? If you don't know, skip this question.

Question 8: Who was/were the most important figures regarding the Indonesian independence?

Question 9:

How do you feel about the VOC? Was it an organisation with great entrepreneurial spirit that the Netherlands should be proud of? Or does the organisation also have more negative sides?

Question 10: Jan Pieterszoon Coen was governor general of the VOC and in some cases, he used violence to attain trade monopolies in the Indies. Do you see him as a decisive ruler who has meant a lot for the Netherlands, or do you think he went too far?

Question 11: Do you think that the Netherlands kept the Indies mostly to make profit from it, or do you think that the Netherlands also had good intentions as well for the Indonesian population (for instance, the Ethical Policy)?

Question 12: What are the main reasons for the emergence of nationalism in Indonesia?

Question 13: How do you feel about the police actions? Was it very wrong of the Netherlands to send troops to the Indies to reclaim the colony?

Question 14:

The History Canon was revised this year due to the criticisms that it didn't include enough stories and perspectives of women and people of colour. Do you agree that the Canon needed to be changed? If you don't know, skip this question.

Question 15:

Do you think that history learning materials pay enough attention to Dutch colonial history?
Yes / No

Question 16:

Do you think that history learning materials pay enough attention to the perspectives and experiences of other peoples/people of colour?
Yes / No

Question 17:

Recently there have been a lot of discussions about the controversial statues of historical figures such as Jan Pieterszoon Coen. Do you think that these kind of statues should be taken down?

Question 18:

What is your opinion on the apology by King Willem Alexander in March for the excesses of violence in the period 1945-1949 by Dutch military officers? Was it unnecessary, or was it appropriate? Explain.

Question 19: Indonesia declared its independence on 17 August 1945. Do you think that the Netherlands should acknowledge this date?

Question 20:

Should the Dutch government make more efforts to make reparations to the families/descendants of victims of Dutch police violence?

Yes / No